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The Politics of Hallowed Ground: Wounded Knee and the Struggle for Indian Sovereignty. By Mario Gonzalez and Elizabeth Cook-Lynn.

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brother of stupidity, has multiplied and overpopulated both Europe and the western hemisphere. And there is still the wish that Native peoples will vanish.

Native American Voices is often a requirement in my classes. The students wonder why they were never taught this in American and world history classes in high school. They, too, worry about the value of life in the future.

But thanks to the labors of people like Lobo and Talbot, Native peoples will not fade into the sunset. Philip Deer succinctly states the determination of the Native nations to continue: "We are a people that are made and placed here for a purpose. Through many struggles, through many years of struggle and sufferings we refuse to die" (p. 477).

Darryl Babe Wilson

The Politics of Hallowed Ground: Wounded Knee and the Struggle for Indian Sovereignty. By Mario Gonzalez and Elizabeth Cook-Lynn. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1999. 428 pages. \$39.95 cloth; \$19.95 paper.

This is an insider's account of the Oglala and Minneconjou tribes' attempt to establish the 1890 Wounded Knee massacre site as a national American monument. The preface states that the book is of a "mixed genre," meaning that the writing is neither historical nor social, but more interdisciplinary and informal. The authors suggest that this format is an attempt to present history in a more conversational and anecdotal way, which will allow the story to be told against the background of federal laws and historical events that will give the reader a better understanding of Sioux culture, history, and government. The heart of the book is the diary kept by Oglala attorney Mario Gonzalez between 1989 and 1992 when he represented the Pine Ridge Wounded Knee Survivor's Association (WKSA). Author Elizabeth Cook-Lynn provides a narrative interpretation of Gonzalez's diary accounts, arguing that the chronicle allows for wide interpretive latitude.

Gonzalez is an enrolled member of the Oglala Sioux tribe. He gained his reputation in Indian law when he represented the Oglala in the Black Hills claim. The University of Saskatchewan awarded him the first Distinguished Aboriginal Lawyer Achievement Award in 1995, and he is currently the attorney general for the Kickapoo tribe in Kansas.

Cook-Lynn is professor emerita of English and Native American studies at Eastern Washington University, and is an enrolled member of the Crow Creek Sioux tribe. She is a novelist, poet, literary critic, and founder of *Wicazo Sa Review*, an academic journal. Her book *Why I Can't Read Wallace Stegner and Other Essays: A Tribal Voice* (1996) won the Gustav Meyer Award for Human Rights. Cook-Lynn resides in the Black Hills of South Dakota.

The Politics of Hallowed Ground is indispensable for those interested in American Indian issues. Unlike so many who write about Indian affairs, both Gonzalez and Lynn-Cook are intimately acquainted with issues relating to the Sioux nation. Their knowledge of the issues is well demonstrated on every page. Gonzalez was a practicing attorney on the Pine Ridge Reservation for

more than two decades and authored both the Bradley Bill (1987) and the Martinez Bill (1990), which call for a return of major portions of federally owned land in the Black Hills to the Sioux .

As one might infer, Gonzalez and Lynn-Cook see the world through a pro-Indian lens. Tribal sovereignty and Indian self-determination must be asserted against an ever-encroaching United States government. "A colonial government whose main government principle is theft is what Lakotas say has confronted them from the beginning of their relationship with the United States," writes Lynn-Cook (p. 28). She also maintains, "the crisis in Indian leadership can be confronted only if the legitimacy of tribal government is acknowledged" (p. 124). They hold that most Indian history has been written from white historians' viewpoints.

These issues, along with internal Sioux politics, define the impasse over the proposed Wounded Knee national historic site. By 1991, after serving five years as the representative for the Pine Ridge WKSA, Gonzalez, obviously frustrated, exclaimed in his diary, "I still find it difficult to understand why Indian people are so hard to please" (p. 179). By then a stream of seemingly irreconcilable differences had blocked the proposed national historic site at Wounded Knee. One of the major complications sprung from the fact that those buried in the mass grave at Wounded Knee were Minneconjou from the Standing Rock Reservation. They had their own WKSA under the leadership of Sam Eaglestaff, an elder. Eaglestaff, however, died in 1992 after battling a long illness. The Minneconjou want a second memorial on their land and have threatened to move the bodies in the mass grave back to their reservation. In addition, the residents of the Wounded Knee community insist that they should have primary say over the Oglala Sioux Tribal Council in any project affecting their community. Many Pine Ridge residents, including William Hollow Horn and his relative by marriage, Oliver Red Cloud, have publicly opposed a federal monument primarily because they do not want the National Park Service to control the land, estimated at about 1,200 acres. Also, the Roman Catholic Church owns the cemetery site and has a church next to the gravesite. In January 1992 Bishop Charles Chaput of Rapid City indicated that the Wounded Knee parishioners "absolutely did not want the church moved or the cemetery touched" (p. 212).

How the 1890 tragedy is interpreted provides perhaps the event's most insurmountable obstacle. The Sioux insist that their interpretation must prevail. They claim it was not a conflict, but a criminal event because of the slaughter of unarmed Indians. "The Wounded Knee Massacre of 1890 was a crime against humanity for which the United States must be indicted," writes Gonzalez (p. 23). The Sioux will not accept the more benign government proposals, which they say cite only "white" sources.

Based on available evidence, the federal government has refused to apologize for the massacre, but has issued a statement of regret. The US government has not compensated Wounded Knee survivors and has refused to rescind the many medals of honor issued to the military involved in the massacre. It seems most unlikely that the government will agree to provide the proposed \$10 million-plus for a monument describing Wounded Knee as a deliberate murder of unarmed Indians.

Although Wounded Knee reeks of controversy, serious accounts support a more balanced interpretation. The standard analysis, anthropologist James Mooney's *The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890*, should be consulted. Mooney's sympathy for the American Indian was beyond dispute. He visited Pine Ridge shortly after the massacre and his book has become the event's best reference. It has been updated by much subsequent research, including Robert Itley's *The Last Days of the Sioux* (1963) and Michael Sievers' "The Historiography of the 'Bloody Field ... that kept the Everlasting Word': Wounded Knee" (*South Dakota History* [Winter, 1975]).

Gonzalez and Cook-Lynn include 132 pages of appendices and forty-one pages of notes that greatly complement their work. The notes in particular furnish fresh and incisive insights. My thanks and appreciation to them for writing a most enjoyable and profitable book. More contributions like this from the American Indian community should be welcomed by all.

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Pueblo Profiles: Cultural Identity through Centuries of Change. By Joe S. Sando. Santa Fe: Clear Light Publishers, 1998.

Until the generation of scholars that reached maturity in the late 1960s, there was no tradition in American biography of writing about any Indian people who were not artists, colorful war chiefs, or another kind of highly visible leader. It seemed as if both scholars of the American Indian and professional biographers were unable to grasp the modest idea that Indian people had heroes, role models, and other people of importance by their own lights and standards of evaluation who were not artists or war chiefs. At that, such artists as were selected for biographical attention were chosen because they were regarded as important enough by white canons of judgment to merit this kind of attention....

It is against this background that Joe Sando's achievement must be seen for it to be fully appreciated. Sando's profiles are concerned, first and foremost, with serving the Pueblo people, to ensure their survival and well-being. All are people who were and are important in the eyes of Pueblo people; many are even important in the eyes of the national Indian community. Yet, all are important as well by the canons of achievement established by the larger society.

—Alfonso Ortiz (pp. 305–306)

In what must have been some of his last written words, Alfonso Ortiz encapsulates the content and value of this book with his customary humanist sensibility, considered activism, and analytical insight.

As Ortiz and others have argued, stereotypes of Native Americans evolved historically as "the frontier" shifted. The war-bonneted, teepee-dwelling, buffalo-hunting icon was a product of the nineteenth century. By the late twentieth century, Ortiz suggests, that image was gradually being supplanted by a