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REVIEWS

American Colonies: The Settling of North America. Volume 1, Penguin History of the United States. By Alan Taylor; edited by Eric Foner. New York: Penguin Books, 2002 (originally published by Viking Penguin, 2001). 526 pages. $16.00 paper.

Alan Taylor's recent synthesis of US colonial history represents a defining moment in the study of North American Indian history. Never before, nor to such a successful extent, have the diverse sets of sixteenth-, seventeenth-, and eighteenth-century Indian-European relations found their way into a single narrative of early America. As Taylor powerfully demonstrates, early American history must be understood in tandem with American Indian history, not independently in segregated categories of "Indian" and "white," but in interlinked processes of devastation and re-creation, adaptation and survival. American colonial history developed not in isolation from the First Americans but *through* the complicated economic, social, political, demographic, and religious interactions between Native peoples and Europeans. From initial colonial encounters through the rise of Euro-American nation states, American Indians figured centrally in the making of America.

Such claims are nothing new. Indian historians as well as a generation of early American historians have recently recast the spatial and temporal boundaries of colonial history, incorporating diverse Native and non-Anglophone populations into the calculus of early America. Indebted to and building upon such works, Taylor's history offers far more than a multicultural or multiracial retelling of early America. By reexamining the histories of Native peoples within various imperial contexts, Taylor both challenges familiar portraits of the formation of colonial settlements and in the process offers a harrowing reassessment of the intentions, effects, and legacies of European expansion. The results are astounding. In nineteen lucid and engaging chapters, Taylor interweaves the histories of Spanish, French, Dutch, Russian, and British colonialism and demonstrates the upheavals on the American continent unleashed by European contact and settlement. From the Rio Grande to the Hudson, from Florida to Vancouver Island, European colonization ushered in cycles of disruption, positioning select groups of settler populations to prosper at the expense and often misery of others.

Following a brief introduction and the seemingly requisite chapter on pre-Columbian history, Taylor's narrative soars. In three stunning chapters on the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century origins of American colonialism, Taylor assesses the economic and religious motives that first propelled Spain and Portugal into the exploration of lands across the Atlantic prior to Columbus' fateful voyage. Unlike many early American historians, Taylor takes Iberian colonialism seriously and seeks to historicize its European and Atlantic origins. Trade with West Africa, the settlement of the Azores, the familiar conflicts between Christians and Moors, and most tellingly the subjugation and eventual genocide of the Guanche people of the Canary Islands positioned Iberia to begin its global conquests. The year 1492 represents a powerful extension of Spanish ambition, built upon preexisting and fine-tuned institutions of conquest.

The discussion of Spain's violent march through the Caribbean, Mexico, and the American Southeast and Southwest extends Taylor's thesis while also revealing his broader purposes. By foregrounding sixteenth-century Spanish-Indian relations, Taylor employs a "continentalist" perspective to early American history while de-privileging traditional Anglocentric historiographic traditions. Spain's brutal conquest of the Caribbean and Mexico becomes, however, more than an unhappy prologue to US history; it sets in motion demographic, ecological, and epidemiological change, as well as more familiar political, economic, and social forces that wedded Europe to the Americas. Synthesizing the vast literature, particularly by Alfred Crosby on ecological imperialism and the demographic consequences of the Columbian exchange, Taylor demonstrates how the postcontact holocaust of Native Americans as well as Indian contributions to the diet and health of Europeans became among the most significant outcomes in early American history: "In effect, the post-Columbian exchange depleted people on the American side of the Atlantic while swelling those on the European and African shores. Eventually, the surplus population flowed westward to refill the demographic vacuum created on the American side" (p. 46). African, Indian, and European worlds became forever interconnected following 1492, as a nexus of exchange, trade, and slavery bound diverse populations throughout the Atlantic.

Again, such claims are nothing revelatory; indeed, Crosby's findings have filtered throughout academic and popular presses over the past decade. Taylor's insistence, however, on grounding all discussions of the formation of colonial societies on Indian diseases, on the disruptive cycles of warfare unleashed by depopulation, and most powerfully on the systematic use of settler violence against Indian communities recasts the imaginary field of early America. In New England, "the pursuit of Puritan ideals and Puritan prosperity depended upon dispossessing the Indians and transforming their lands" (p. 186); in Virginia, following the 1622 Powhatan attack on Jamestown, "the colonial leaders felt delighted by the opportunity to dispossess and exterminate the Indians" (p. 135); while along the lower Hudson, even the often idealized Dutch under Willem Kieft in 1643 "made a bloody example of one Algonquian band that, oblivious of danger, had encamped on Manhattan Island. Kieft sent soldiers at night to surprise and butcher at least

eighty Indians, mostly women and children." Taylor, in effect, has mastered the past generation of ethnohistorical, environmental, and American Indian histories and uses such findings to demythologize colonial history. In the process, he drives multiple nails into the coffin of American "exceptionalism"; the Cold War intellectual tradition, most notably espoused by Perry Miller, which viewed English colonialism in North America in hallowed and "exceptional" terms, now appears as an uncanny artifact of moral, political, and intellectual decay. Extending John Murrin's claim that settler violence structured the formation of European colonial societies and that "most American colonies were founded by terrorists" (Murrin, "Beneficiaries of Catastrophe: The English Colonies in America," in *The New American History*, ed. Eric Foner, 10), Taylor locates Indian violence, death, and disease at the center of early America.

For American Indian historians, such chilling conclusions might appear overdrawn. The past generation of early American Indian historians, including Richard White, James Merrell, Theda Perdue, Daniel Richter, and Neil Salisbury, among others, has powerfully demonstrated not only the centrality of Indian peoples to the making of early America but also the resiliency of Native peoples caught in the maelstrom of European colonialism. While Taylor remains in obvious debt to those scholars, his discussions of Indian adaptation and agency remain truncated. Despite his intentions and sympathies, Taylor's Native peoples still ultimately lack the power and capacity to retain autonomy against a relentless engine of dispossession. In his curiously structured conclusion, for example, Taylor moves far beyond the normative boundaries of the field with a chapter on the Pacific from 1760–1820. Leaving the Revolutionary War and its aftermath to four scant paragraphs—without mention of Thomas Paine, Lexington, Concord, Saratoga, or Yorktown—Taylor interlaces the histories of Californian, Northwest Coast, and even Hawaiian Native peoples into his conclusion, underscoring his broader continental focus and intentions. These Native peoples, however, like those in other imperial zones, still face the inevitable: incorporation, dispossession, and implied cultural declension. Taylor, thus, lays limited groundwork for nineteenth- and twentieth-century narratives of Native endurance, nation-building, and sovereignty.

As a professor of history at the University of California at Davis and author of several works on the early republic, including the Pulitzer Prize-winning *William Cooper's Town* (New York, 1995), Taylor apparently has not only paid his debts to early American historiography but is now also attempting to drag the field out of its historic parochialism and ethnocentrism. To such an end, he succeeds masterfully. His treatment of Indian history becomes the most obvious example of such continentalist intentions; sections on the southern "gun trade," the Great Plains, and the Pacific appear in greater detail than the Salem Witch trials, republicanism, or backcountry colonial agrarianism. For a field that used to be criticized for knowing more and more about less and less, Taylor offers a stark challenge: ignore the continent's competing Indian and imperial actors at one's peril. Indians and Indian-imperial relations not only matter but also provide the threads that link the diverse colonies of North

America together. Through their changing Indian policies, British, Dutch, French, Spanish, and Russian settlers established unique regional colonies out of the chaos engendered by contact. Indians, thus, not only are at the center of early America, they also help to *center* early American history.

Taylor's synthesis represents, then, an important milestone for early American Indian history. Notwithstanding his repeated use of the "low counters" in pre-Columbian population estimates, his inability to reconcile discussions of the Bering Strait with Native oral traditions, and his failure to introduce cultural relativism into his discussion of ritualized human sacrifice and torture, Taylor's narrative will quickly compete with or replace other surveys of early America; it could even provide a useful survey of colonial Indian-white relations despite five chapters without any strictly Indian content. While one might wonder whether the achievements of Indian history have come at the expense of others—there are no exclusive chapters, for example, on women, workers, or African Americans—Taylor has issued an important corrective to generations of intellectual disregard and neglect. For its synthetic brilliance and accessibility, *American Colonies* will likely become the defining historical narrative of early America.

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American Indian Literature, Environmental Justice, and Ecocriticism: The Middle Place. By Joni Adamson. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2001. 213 pages. $46.00 cloth; $19.95 paper.

This book promises much, but, in the end, delivers very little of positive value. This seems due, at least in large part, to the fact that its author, University of Arizona assistant professor Joni Adamson, does not appear to be especially conversant with—or is unwilling to honestly confront—either the literary or the activist contexts she purports to address. In either event, her focus in terms of literature is so constricted as to be distortive, all but nonexistent where the realities of activism are concerned. Overall, it seems as if she has done nothing so much as polish up the notes she uses to teach her lower division undergraduate literature and writing courses, added a few anecdotal observations about the teaching experience (pp. 89–93), then topped things off with observations contrasting the beauty of purple owl clover to the malignant townhouse sprawl of Tucson (pp. 5–6).

The result is confused, confusing, often trite, and always a very long way from the comprehensive examination of "how mainstream conceptions of 'wilderness' and 'nature' create blind spots in the environmental movement" Adamson says at the outset she will deliver (p. xix). Still less does she produce anything resembling a coherent articulation of how environmentalism might reconceptualize itself by assimilating American Indian understandings and priorities—a process she repeatedly refers to as establishing a "middle place" (p. xvii)—in order to foster "concrete social and environmental change" (p.

xix). The scope of her textual analyses is so circumscribed that she fails as well in her stated goal of providing an "orientation to a literature that is more theoretically, multiculturally, and ecologically informed" than that currently holding sway in mainstream circles (p. xx).

It's not that there are no bright spots. Adamson develops a decidedly partial but nonetheless rather well-honed description of the arrogance and flagrant racism infecting the outlook of the late Edward Abbey (see esp. p. 45). As an alternative, or possibly an antidote, she offers the vision of Acoma poet Simon J. Ortiz, presenting it with a wonderful blend of insight and sensitivity (pp. 51–76). Yet the deficiencies which riddle Adamson's analytical approach can first be discerned in her juxtaposition of Abbey's work with that of Ortiz's. For starters, consideration of Abbey's writerly output does not go beyond the essays collected in *Desert Solitaire*—the man published a dozen other books, after all—while a much broader range of Ortiz's material is referenced. And, while pains are taken to situate Ortiz's holistic thinking on the relationality of humans and nature squarely within his own people's spiritual tradition, that of Abbey is treated much more ambiguously, in a manner concerned with his attitudes rather than their source.

The disparity seems initially quite peculiar, since the archetype upon which Abbey bases his perception of the separation of humanity from nature is hardly obscure. On the contrary, it will be found on the very first page of Genesis and is shared to one or another extent by virtually everyone who was raised in a Judeo-Christian society. This last perhaps accounts for Adamson's unbalanced handling of the two writers. Acknowledging the true magnitude, character, and sociocultural implications of the conceptual gulf dividing Abbey's standpoint from Ortiz's would have in a sense been self-defeating for her, devoted as she is to an "I'm ok, you're ok" sort of multiculturalism in which all points of view can be reconciled merely by "communicating," adopting "appropriate reading strategies," and attaining thereby an "intercultural understanding" that converts "contested terrain [into] common ground" (pp. xvii–xviii, xix).

Small wonder the author omits mentioning the markedly different conclusions reached by American Indian Movement (AIM) leader Russell Means in his much-reprinted essay "For the World to Live, Europe Must Die: Fighting Words on the Future of Mother Earth" (appended to his autobiographical *Where White Men Fear to Tread*, St. Martin's, 1996). The fact is that AIM itself is mentioned nowhere in Adamson's book. Nor, despite their obvious centrality to her topic, is any other Native North American activist group aside from the Dinéh Alliance (pp. 32, 52, 74, 76-7, 129). Instead, readers are offered lengthy elaborations upon the fictionalized hypotheses advanced by several *non*activist Native authors about how social and environmental movements "should" be organized—cross-culturally, of course—as if they had thereby invented the political equivalent of a wheel (see, e.g., pp. 85, 175–7).

Utterly eclipsed in Adamson's rendering is the fact that a number of important indigenous activist/writers—Means, not least, but also the poet and recording artist John Trudell (whose several CD's since 1985 include *aka Graffiti Man* as well as a book, *Stick Man*, Inanout, 1994) and

poet/essayist/conceptual artist Jimmie Durham (*Columbus Day*, West End, 1983; *A Certain Lack of Coherence*, Kala, 1993), and a score of others—have struggled valiantly to translate such ideas into practice, thus equipping themselves with a far greater wealth of insight and experience in these matters than any of the writers the author selected to represent Native North America (the sole exception is Winona LaDuke, mentioned in passing on p. 129).

There is either a woeful ignorance of Native rights politics at work here, or Adamson's is an exercise in deliberate obfuscation, a clear indication as to which can be gleaned from Adamson's tendency to deal with environmental activism in much the same way she does the Indian variety. On this front, the only organizations mentioned are the Sierra Club and the Environmental Defense Fund (pp. 25, 77). Although both groups certainly qualify as "mainstream," they share little in common with the brand of radicalism inspired by Adamson's exemplar of environmentalist literature, Edward Abbey. Here, the motive underlying the author's narrowness of focus is again obvious. Had she cast even a sidelong glance at Abbey's other books—far and away the most influential of which is *The Monkeywrench Gang* (Dream Garden, 1975, 1985)—reference to Earth First!, whose "rednecks for the wilderness" comprised unquestionably the most "Abbeyite" of all environmentalists, would have been unavoidable.

Bringing up Earth First!, however, would have necessitated Adamson's departing from the sharply constricted—sanitized?—literary axis by which she represents environmentalism—a line running from John James Audubon through John Muir and ending in the Abbey of *Desert Solitaire*—to deal with the likes of Dave Foreman (*Ecodefense: A Field Guide to Monkey Wrenching*, Ned Ludd, 1987; *Confessions of an Eco-Warrior*, Crown, 1991), and "Miss Anthropy" himself, Christopher Manes (*Green Rage*, Little, Brown, 1990). Dealing with those authors would have compelled her to confront the implications of Abbeyism, not merely in terms of its instigator's personally privileged arrogance, but in its more significant relationship to what Janet Biehl and Peter Staudenmaier have called "ecofascism" (*Ecofascism: Lessons from the German Experience*, AK, 1995). On that basis, Adamson might have positioned herself to accord their proper meanings to such virulent Abbeyist manifestations of anti-Indianism as former Greenpeace hanger-on Paul Watson's ongoing campaign against the resumption of traditional Makah whaling (see Robert Sullivan, *A Whale Hunt*, Scribner, 2000).

As with the earlier-mentioned "man in nature vs. man apart from nature" dichotomy, fascism and antifascism form a far more deep-set and intractable polarity than Adamson is willing to admit, since it is not in the least susceptible to being "reconciled" through a process of "communication," intercultural or otherwise (Watson, in fact, can lay claim to being something of a media expert). In such circumstances, as Means' neglected essay points out, "healing" can begin only when the negative pole has been eliminated. Adamson's response to this inconvenient reality is consistent: she simply ignores it, leaving the Abbeyist variant of Earth First! as unmentioned as she did AIM. Indeed, her depiction of environmental politics is so vacuous that it misses altogether the ascendance within Earth First! itself, beginning in the late

1980s, of a faction associated with the late Judi Bari which ultimately supplanted hardline Abbeyism in favor of something resembling the multiculturalist stance the author advocates (e.g., Susan Zakin, *Coyotes and Town Dogs: Earth First! and the Environmental Movement*, Viking, 1993; Judi Bari, *Timber Wars*, Common Courage, 1994).

At a more purely textual level, Adamson bandies about terms like "environmental racism" (pp. xv–xvi, 76, 132, 168, 175) without ever referencing such cornerstone works on the topic as Robert D. Bullard's *Confronting Environmental Racism* (South End, 1993) and Al Gedicks' *The New Resource Wars: Native and Environmental Struggles Against Multinational Corporations* (South End, 1993), or key thinkers like Vandana Shiva (*Monocultures of the Mind*, Zed, 1993) and Kirkpatrick Sale (*Dwellers in the Land*, New Society, 1991).

On the whole, the sheer detachment of Adamson's book from the movement it purports to inform militates strongly against its utility in instructional settings. That detachment includes the localized contexts she quite correctly insists are most appropriate to learning (pp. 93–97, 112–115)—without so much as a hint that the late Paulo Freire, among others, made the same case thirty years ago (*Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Herder and Herder, 1973). Similarly, the intercultural methodology she calls for (pp. 97–101) has been described elsewhere, and far more thoroughly, by educational theorists like Peter McLaren (*Revolutionary Multiculturalism: Pedagogies of Dissent for the New Millennium*, Westview, 1997). Moreover, the not infrequent shots Adamson aims at the vanities of scientism are taken with no reference to writers like Vine Deloria, Jr., who refined the very critique she deploys (*God Is Red*, Grosset & Dunlap, 1973; *The Metaphysics of Modern Existence*, Harper & Row, 1978; *Red Earth, White Lies: Native Americans and the Myth of Scientific Fact*, Scribner, 1995). Without seeking to "valorize academicism" (pp. 93, 96), it seems fair to observe that attribution is not the least important obligation attending scholarship.

A fundamental problem with her material is that even when Adamson is doing what she presumably does best—literary criticism—the bulk of her effort is bound up in explaining what the Native writers she treats have already explained by virtue of writing their poems and novels. If "ecocriticism" is to serve a useful purpose, it will be in connecting the views expressed through fiction to those articulated in nonfiction and, more importantly, to tangible political phenomena Adamson conspicuously avoids. In fact, she resolutely refuses even to get the first part right. By inserting herself into the Native fictive discourse in the hallowed role of "interpreter"—otherwise known as the "Great White Expert"—she substitutes her own voice for those of the authors she "analyses," thus duplicating a transgression she rightly ascribes to Edward Abbey (p. 45).

The outcome, given all that has been said above, is predictable. Although claiming to gaze, along with Muscogee poet Joy Harjo, into "the terrifying abyss of genocide and loss" (pp. 124–7, 165), for example, Adamson somehow manages to conclude—as Harjo neither would nor could—that a viable resistance strategy may be discerned in training Navajo teenagers to work for the Peabody Coal Company (pp. 49–50). That this approach is roughly the equivalent of arguing that an appropriate response to the Nazi genocide might

have been for Jews to seek employment with I. G. Farben seems not to have occurred to her, a matter demonstrating rather graphically the extent to which she is divorced from the meaning of her own words.

A still more egregious abuse of her sources will be found in Adamson's spending two full chapters "embracing" Leslie Marmon Silko's *Almanac of the Dead* (pp. 128–179), with all its elaborate explication of the theme that armed insurrection is increasingly a liberatory imperative, only to conclude that the appearance of "gun control [as] a 'hot-button' issue" in American electoral politics is one of the most "promising" developments in recent memory (pp. 178–179). *This*, after a section wherein the virtues of the continuing struggle waged by the EZLN in Chiapas have been extolled at length, albeit, and tellingly, Adamson endeavors to assign the Zapatistas' success to their innovative use of communications technology rather than weaponry (pp. 126–138). Suffice it to observe here—as is made clear in every study of the Chiapas uprising published to date, *none* of them cited by Adamson—that without their initial resort to arms, the subsequent dexterity with which the Zapatistas have availed themselves of the internet would be irrelevant (see John Ross, *War from the Roots*, Common Courage, 1995; *The War Against Oblivion*, Common Courage, 2000).

American Indian Literature, Environmental Justice, and Ecocriticism is studded with comparable inversions of both fact and indigenous sensibility. Adamson's performance reeks of the NIMBY (not in my backyard) mentality—a perverse form of American exceptionalism manifested through insistence that the harsh requirements of revolutionary social change are applicable everywhere but here, in the proverbial belly of the beast—for which liberal Euro-Americans have been long and deservedly notorious. Ultimately, the transparently cooptive nature of her "interpretive" process, if it may be called that, is intellectually integral to the "neocolonial alchemy" Eduardo Galeano once described in its more material dimension as embodying a figurative transformation of "gold into scrap metal" (*The Open Veins of Latin America*, Monthly Review, 1973, p.12). Her book thus fulfils a function diametrically opposed to its author's pretensions, reinforcing and in palpable ways completing the hegemony it ostensibly rejects.

A volume of the sort Joni Adamson says in her introduction she's written is very much needed. Hopefully, someone will shortly undertake to write it.

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Briefcase Warriors: Stories for the Stage. By E. Donald Two-Rivers. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001. 287 pages. $27.95 cloth.

Briefcase Warriors: Stories for the Stage is a collection of six American Indian plays by E. Donald Two-Rivers (Anishinaabe). Two-Rivers comments in the preface, "It seems that any time there is an Indian character in a play, he always has to be this quiet presence or else a violence freak. You know, I'm getting tired of

this crap. Whatever happened to the regular Indian guy?" (p. vii). *Briefcase Warriors* answers this question with several examples of the "regular Indian" character in contemporary and often urban circumstances. Half of the plays in this volume examine Indian people making a place for themselves within contemporary society, and while the other half deal with environmental issues and the struggle for social justice, all of the plays communicate their message with a strong dose of humor.

Forked Tongues is a play of human relationships and deception set against the milieu of a southern tent revival. Three urban Indian men are traveling through Georgia on their way back to Chicago when they stop to score a meal and some gas money by appealing to Christian charity. Issues of race, class, and Indian identity are explored on the characters' journey of discovery to human connectedness and eventually love. Along the way both Mack Iron-Horse and Reverend Clyde Turner are revealed as trickster characters with a common bond. This play requires a multicultural cast to achieve its full impact.

Chili Corn is a young Indian woman running from an abusive relationship in the play of the same name. She functions as an observer of the activities of a local AIM chapter in 1970s Chicago. Through this microcosm, the play takes a critical yet humorous look at the internal bickering, missed opportunities, and waylaid ideals of the American Indian Movement. Two-Rivers throws cultural misrepresentation, Indian sports mascots, and mistaken identity into the mix to give *Chili Corn* its satirical bite.

Old Indian Trick, or an Old Urban Indian Story as Told by an Old Urban Indian Who May Have Lied is a story set in the back alleys and mobster society of Chicago. This play is a witty tale of the shady deals and sexual politics among a group of Indian gangsters, their women, and the tough-talking female detective with a taste for kinky bedroom antics who pursues them. The old Indian trick of the title is only one of several twists that this story takes, and to reveal it here would ruin the discovery for the reader.

These three plays all show the "regular Indian guy" coping with the circumstances in which he finds himself. While Two-Rivers does not speak explicitly to issues of cultural loss or accommodation, those issues are an implicit background element in all of these plays. The characters in these three plays fall into the categories of those who live their Indian-ness, those who live at the intersection of cultures, and those who are only incidentally Indian.

The two one-act plays in the collection, *Winter Summit, or the Bang-Bang Incident* and *Coyote Sits in Judgement*, would make for an exciting evening of theatre when paired on a single bill. *Winter Summit* shows several anthropomorphic characters gathered at their one-thousand-twenty-first summit to deal with the mysterious and threatening "Bang-Bangs" who are encroaching on their habitat. The animal characters speak in contemporary street slang that gives the play's environmental message a sense of immediacy. *Winter Summit* is reminiscent of William S. Yellow Robe, Jr.'s, *The Council*, but is more accessible and would be more easily staged (William S. Yellow Robe, Jr., *Where the Pavement Ends: Five Native American Plays*, 2000:71–126). *Coyote Sits in Judgement* is a modern allegory of materialism and its effect on the quality of life and human rela-

tionships. Coyote the trickster has been summoned to settle a dispute between Business and his exploited partner, Technology. In the end the dispute goes unsettled and the audience is left to question whether humanity will ever learn to coexist with the natural order. Both of these plays can be produced with color-blind casting and are appropriate for adolescent to adult audiences from.

Shattered Dream is the most fully realized play in this collection. In it Two-Rivers brings together his environmental and social justice themes, as well as exploring issues of cultural identity, race, sexual orientation, generational division, and frictions between urban and reservation culture. The play tells the story of community activists organizing against the expansion of a hydroelectric project on a reserve in Ontario, Canada. Two-Rivers states in his preface that the play was "inspired by the Hydro Quebec issue in Canada" (p. ix). This play contains many incidents that will be familiar to those cognizant of Native issues such as corporate exploitation, broken promises, tribal government corruption, violence, police intimidation, and false accusation. The play ends with a measure of justice, and though he is not totally triumphant, the "regular Indian guy" does win a victory and survives to carry on the struggle. *Shattered Dream* shares many thematic elements with Hanay Geiogamah's *49,* (Hanay Geiogamah, *New Native American Drama: Three Plays,* 1980:91–133). Both plays examine cultural identity, generational division, violence, police intimidation, and false accusation, but Geiogamah draws on the past and delves into metaphysical realms while Two-Rivers focuses on the present and remains in concrete reality.

Briefcase Warriors: Stories for the Stage is an important addition to the publications in American Indian drama, and E. Donald Two-Rivers is an important new voice in the theater. He draws sensitive portraits of real Indian people dealing with real problems in contemporary society. These are multi-dimensional characters whose identities do not need to be bolstered by feathers and beads to validate their Indian-ness. If you are looking for stereotypical icons of Indian culture you won't find them here, but you will find human beings involved in struggles that should concern all of us.

For further reading and research in American Indian theater this reviewer suggests *Seventh Generation: An Anthology of Native American Plays* (Theatre Communications Group, 1999), *Stories of Our Way: An Anthology of American Indian Plays,* (UCLA American Indian Studies Center, 1999), and *American Indian Theatre in Performance: A Reader* (UCLA American Indian Studies Center, 2000).

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Common and Contested Ground: A Human and Environmental History of the Northwestern Plains. By Theodore Binnema. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001. 263 pages. $29.95 cloth.

Ethnologists and ethnohistorians have long recognized that tribes are not homogenous sociological constructs that exist in space and through time.

Rather the social construction of "tribes" is often composed of peoples of multiple ethnic and sometimes distinct linguistic origins. As multiethnic entities, it is not surprising that their intra-ethnic and interethnic interactions would be multidimensional, complex, and, sometimes, contradictory. Using an impressive array of primary documentation, Theodore Binnema focuses on the history of human interaction between A.D. 200 and 1806 across the northwestern plains, emphasizing the political, diplomatic, military, and environmental dimensions of indigenous history. Binnema's thesis confirms the established premise that tribal societies of the region are not homogenous cultural and linguistic constructs. Quite the contrary, indigenous communities were quite often multi-ethnic entities that entered into complex relationships with each other and later with Europeans, basing their decisions on the ever-shifting cultural landscape.

Binnema sets the stage for his thesis in chapters one and two. He provides a solid synthesis of the ecological conditions of the Northwestern Great Plains. In a common-sense style, he outlines the multifaceted web of environmental variables that dictate the region's rhythm of life. After weaving together the major climatological, geographical, and ecological variables that comprise the northwestern plains, the author reaches the conclusion that every indigenous community that came to reside in the region relied heavily on a bison-hunting and gathering subsistence strategy. The objective material conditions, that is, the regional ecology and climate, made other subsistence strategies tenuous.

Having established the environmental conditions that regulated human activity on the northwestern plains, the author turns his attention to detailing the spectrum of warfare, trade, and diplomacy through time. Examining the early historical period, the author extends his discussion of this web of relationships into the archaeological era. He notes that since A.D. 200, the late prehistoric period, diverse indigenous communities migrated to the northwestern plains, forming dynamic relationships with each other. Each society made alliances, fought, engaged in trade, and intermarried with each other. Arguing the archaeological evidence masks ethnic diversity, Binnema notes that many ethnic communities speaking different languages and dialects resided in the region. Knowing the history of these multiethnic communities is essential, he argues, to fully comprehend the early equestrian era.

In the next chapter he outlines the major migrations of various societies that would emerge from the archaeological record into the historical record. Moving between the historical documents and the archaeological record, Binnema connects various historical "tribal" societies with particular archaeological phases. Although connecting archaeological traditions to historically identified indigenous communities, he also notes that these communities have continuously incorporated "foreign" groups and individuals into their societies, along with "foreign" cultural materials (p. 74). Despite acknowledging the multidimensional complexity of tracing specific ethnic entities across space and through time, the author locates and associates specific indigenous societies across the protohistorical northwestern plains.

In the next chapter, Binnema details the diffusion of gun and horse use among northwestern plains societies. Largely following the ethnohistorical chronology originally crafted in Frank Secoy's 1953 classic work, he provides

a much richer historical picture of the impact of these two introduced tools. Drawing on primary documents, Binnema examines the ebb and flow of indigenous relations within the evolving regional and international political economy. Most impressive is the folding of European colonization into the region as a variable of social change.

From the mid-eighteenth century, northwestern plains societies witnessed massive changes. Various populations migrated into the region; other societies left forever. The introduction of guns and horses continuously altered indigenous relationships. Moreover, the permanent European presence, along with the fur trade, realigned indigenous affairs. In chapters six and seven, the author succinctly outlines those variables and their implications for northwestern plains indigenous communities. Indigenous communities witnessed radical shifts in military and economic adavantage with each other and Europeans. They also experienced demographic and sociological upheavals introduced by European-borne infectious diseases. One consequence of these factors, the author argues in chapter seven, was the rise in warfare and conflict among Northwestern Plains societies. Binnema argues that the penetration of the fur trade led to the formation of two competing alliance blocks. These alliances, he contends, struggled for dominance and control of the growing fur trade, using every military advantage they had at their disposal. Those struggles utlimately resulted in the emergence of the northern coalition as the regional dominant force.

The next chapter, "The Apogee of the Northern Coaltion, 1794–1806," discusses the factors that led to the northern coalition's emergence as a force across the northwestern plains. Building on his previous arguments, Binnema demonstrates that more-dependable access to valuable resources, demographic superiority, as well as evolution of the economic landscape with respect to the distribution and access to European resources conspired to weaken severely the southern coalition. However, as his epilogue points out, the northern coalition's regional supremacy was short-lived. Once again, the political economic landscape shifted, dictating an alteration in power and alliances; the northwestern plains had entered a "new era" (p. 197).

There are certainly a number of points discussed in this work that will raise scholarly eyebrows. Some scholars will question Binnema's interpretation of the region's archaeological data, particularly ascribing singular, historical ethnic identities into the late prehistoric period. Others will note his lack of theoretical depth in understanding ethnogenetic theory. Some scholars may also take issue with the simplicity of his conclusions. These criticisms, while worthy of further discussion and debate, should not overshadow this work's major contribution.

Common and Contested Ground: A Human and Environmental History of the Northwestern Plains draws attention to the intimate relationships societies maintained from the late prehistoric period until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Drawing on a wide array of historical resources, Binnema skillfully uses an impressive array of primary sources to highlight significant points of trade, warfare, and diplomacy while simultaneously weaving each unique experience into the wider political and economic climate of the region. As

this work continually points out, Northwestern Plains societies interacted with each other within the context in the evolving political economic infrastructure of the northwestern plains. Unlike previous historical studies that focus on specific events or issues, Binnema paints with a broad regional brush. While his macrohistorical analysis does gloss over critical points and leaves some arenas unexplored, it is a valuable addition to the region's indigenous history. In an objective, yet synthetic fashion, Theodore Binnema has laid bare the driving forces of indigenous relationships within a regional context. I recommend this work to anyone interested in Native American history of the northwestern plains.

Gregory R. Campbell
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Creation Myths and Legends of the Creek Indians. By Bill Grantham. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002. 337 pages. $55.00 cloth.

In the time before Columbus arrived, the Muscogee Creek people formed one of the largest groups of people in North America. They were at the core of a major confederacy of tribes in the southeastern states before the forcible removal of most of the members to Indian territory, now called Oklahoma, in connection with Indian removal or the Trail of Tears in the Jacksonian era in American history. The Creek Confederacy was able to weave together a large multiethnic number of tribes, with a considerable diversity of languages, customs, and values. In its diversity, however, core and common ways of doing things and making common decisions also developed side by side with the core Muscogee Creek values. Differences in values and languages among the member groups were generally respected.

The contact with Europeans provided a major challenge to the Creeks in dealing with the clash of civilizations that was to follow. The depth and complexity of Creek values and organization is an important part of human history. The differences in weapons technology—guns overcame bows, arrows, and clubs in the decisive Battle of Horseshoe Bend in 1814,—made way for Creek removal. In addition to the military and economic threat to the survival of Creek ways, internal divisions of mixed bloods and full bloods contributed to the erosion of Creek tribal values.

A key to the survival of the Creeks was their reorganization after removal and the attempt to maintain the coherence and continuity of Creek values. The latter are still treasured by many Creeks in Oklahoma and parts of the Southeast. The major rituals still survive, especially in the stomp grounds of Oklahoma. There they maintain their oral traditions the best they can without depending on academic scholarship to know how to be a Creek. Many Creeks today research their own traditions and write about them and also enshrine them in stories, poetry, plays, and music. However, there remains the legacy of earlier ethnographic work on Creeks, which has mixed usefulness in understanding the traditional and contemporary world of the Creeks.

Bill Grantham has gone through much of the early and better-known ethnographic literature including the work of John Swanton, Frank Speck, Albert Gatschet, W. O. Tuggle, and others. Except for a few contemporary stories, not much is original in this work. Grantham has basically arranged excerpts from the literature using his own categories of subject matter with labels such as cosmogony, cosmology, ceremony and ritual, and myths and legends. The book can be helpful to those who want a quick overview of the earlier literature and the information given by Indian informants to professional or amateur ethnologists without having to read all of Swanton's or the other writers' works. But without internally consistent philosophical tools or analysis, the stories tumble out in a jumbled fashioned with uneven standards of translation and clarity of meaning.

Grantham, of course, is correct in saying that myths and legends should not be trivialized but seen as depositories of a sense of cosmic order and as keepers of values. However, without an analytical framework or in-depth interviewing in Creek, the work is a hodgepodge of information that will need careful sifting through for the serious reader. For the casual reader, it provides a reference of sorts for some Creek stories and legends.

Joyotpaul Chaudhuri
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Drawing Back Culture: The Makah Tribe's Struggle for Repatriation. By Ann M. Tweedie. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002. 208 pages. $30.00 cloth.

This small book examines the very large and complex issues surrounding the Makah Indians' efforts to regain sacred and cultural material based on the legal framework of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, 1990 (NAGPRA). It is a reworking of the author's Ph.D. dissertation, in which she acted as a participant observer in her research on the Makah reservation. In the best tradition of progressive anthropology, the author takes the stance of an advocate for her research subjects, and clearly sees the work as benefiting the Makah Nation in its attempt to "draw back culture" that was sold to buyers from large museums in the early part of the last century.

The Makah Nation reservation extends over fifty-five square miles of the Olympic Peninsula in the northwest tip of Washington state. This isolated location spared the Makah from much of the ethnocide of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, although they were still subjected to a deliberate assault on their culture, traditions, and Indian identities. And as has been the case with other Indian nations, much of their sacred and ceremonial material culture such as masks, rattles, clothing, whaling gear, totems, and tools, now resides in museum collections around the world.

NAGPRA is a progressive piece of legislation that mandates the return or repatriation of (besides Native American human remains) objects of "cultural patrimony which shall mean an object having ongoing historical, tradition-

al, or cultural importance central to the Native American group or culture itself, rather than property owned by an individual Native." It requires all federal agencies and museums to return such material to the appropriate Native group, and requires the agencies to consult with the Indian tribes. It is essentially human rights legislation, and promotes equal partnerships between Indian nations and government agencies, the renewal of Native American spiritual practices, and the privileging of the ownership rights of tribal peoples over their own historical material culture.

It is, however, a one-size-fits-all legislation, and its intrinsic paradigm of the communal sharing of the earth and of important objects being shared and owned by tribal peoples in common is based largely on European ideals of the noble savage, and on Plains Indians practice of communitarian living and ownership. As the author points out, this legislation simply does not fit Makah reality: literally everything in the Makah world was privately owned by individuals. Private property rights were carried to an extreme seldom seen at the northwest coast: not only were songs, dances, names, and ceremonial regalia owned by individuals, but the land, rivers, beaches, and huge stretches of ocean were all in private hands. Nothing of use in the Makah universe was communally owned. The very concept of common ownership is still entirely foreign to them in relation to ceremonial objects. So this particular tribe, because it adhered to its traditional indigenous ownership patterns, became ineligible for repatriation of its cultural patrimony under NAGPRA. This situation seems paradoxical, given that the spirit of the legislation is to promote the return of such material to its rightful former owners.

There are other aspects of traditional Makah culture that challenge modern American liberal attitudes toward Indian rights and reparations. The Makah were always a hierarchical, caste-ridden society, with a small aristocracy at the top who owned everything and a large mass of commoners and slaves who did all the work but owned little. Thus, if traditional objects are to be repatriated to the Makah under their own terms of ownership, the material would go directly to the heirs of the aristocracy—directly from a museum display case to a private home. However, since the discovery of the wonderfully preserved remains of their culture (dating back to circa 1500 A.D.) in 1970, the Makah have built a state-of-the-art museum and cultural center on the reservation. Objects of their cultural patrimony could be repatriated to the museum and the process of repatriation on behalf of the whole tribal group could in itself create positive community values, like the shared ownership of significant sacred objects and the renewal of traditional group spiritual practices with the appropriate ritual tools. It would represent a healthy democratizing spirit to remove historical materials important to the whole community from the private collections of a few individuals.

A progressive postmodern view, however, might note that if the United States is to be a truly pluralistic society that accepts diversity in cultural expression among Americans, then the unique and traditional patterns of Makah culture should be celebrated and encouraged, regardless of Eurocentric ideas about how they should behave. And if the Makah are prevented from reclaiming their material heritage by the letter of the law, it could be argued that they are being discriminated against on the basis of their culture and ethnicity.

It is in this area of advocacy for the Makah in their efforts to have their cultural property returned that the author attempts the Procrustean feat of trying to make private Makah ownership patterns fit the communal ownership model mandated by NAGPRA. She offers "strategic" and "flexible" interpretations of private ownership that are embedded in a social framework. For instance, she argues that the ceremonial gear used in the Wolf Ritual or Klukwalle was used on behalf of the tribe as a whole, even though it went home with someone after the event, and that this communal use which benefited the entire group should qualify such objects for return as being "of importance central to the Native American group." This approach is clearly consonant with the spirit of the law, which seeks to benefit Native people and hopes to promote a cultural renewal in their societies.

It should be noted, however, that the author, in her laudable effort to promote the interests of an oppressed people in repossessing their cultural property, has vitiated her own professionalism. Having combed the anthropological literature on the Makah and Nuu-chah-nulth peoples, and obviously having found no support for any other ownership pattern than the individualistic and private, the author offers a clear and tendentious misreading of one single paragraph from Colson's 1953 work "The Makah Indians." She states that it "represents the only source identified to date that takes an opposing viewpoint" (p. 103). But an unbiased reading of the passage clearly shows it to be a comment on the variety of privileges and resources that were owned by the individuals within family groups or households among the Makah. The passage bears repeating, since the author vests it with such unique importance in creating a space for negotiating ownership models under NAGPRA.

Theoretically, control of the ritual property was in the hands of the male head of the house [family], but all "members of the group [family] had access to its resources. The group [family] also owned ceremonial privileges, or tupat in the form of personal names, dances, costumes, games, songs, and roles in the secret societies. These tupat could be used only by its members" (p. 102). The passage is part of a discussion of family groups as the primary political and economic units of Makah society, and simply highlights the privileges that were owned by individuals within the family unit. Nowhere in Colson's 300-page work does she offer a genuine model of communal ownership among the Makah. It is hard, though, to fault a researcher for her ethical stance when she seeks to benefit an oppressed minority through her work. And Ann Tweedie has done her homework, for besides the problematic reference to Colson's work, she brings into her discussion the Tlingit and Haida clan groups, Trukese lineage patterns, and Ifugao property laws in an effort to "demonstrate how the boundaries between individual and communal ownership can be blurred enough to allow Makah tribal members room to negotiate" (p. 114).

The Makah and their traditional society challenge many commonly held preconceptions. They have always lived in a highly stratified, caste-ridden, slave-owning society. Their loyalties have never extended beyond the family unit. Their fiercely enacted practice of private ownership has only been equaled by late modern capitalism. Since 1999 they have begun killing whales

again, creatures which are an emblem of a new ecological paradigm for many people. They stretch our vision of what respect for other cultures really entails. They put us to the test: can we create a space in the modern American super-state that genuinely values and respects the reality of another way of being in the world? This fine volume of work reflects in itself the tensions and paradoxes involved in such a project, at the level of policy and legislation; and it makes a genuine and important contribution to the literature, and to the real people that the literature represents.

Arnold Kruger

Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, & Transgender Myths: From the Arapaho to the Zuni. Edited by Jim Elledge. New York: Peter Lang, 2002. 216 pages. $29.95 paper.

In this investigative and documentary homage to the work of Will Roscoe, Elledge republishes a selection of thirty of the hundreds of tales cited in Roscoe's "Bibliography of Berdache and Alternative Gender Roles Among North American Indians" (*Journal of Homosexuality* 14, 3/4 (1987): 81–171) and in Roscoe's 1998 book, *Changing Ones: Third and Fourth Genders in Native North America* (St. Martin's Press). The myths are arranged in seven categories: "Origin of the World" (three tales), "Origin of the Two-Spirits" (six tales), "Men Who Become Women" (five tales), "Pregnant Men" (three tales), "Love Between Women" (two tales), "Violence and the Two-Spirits" (four tales), and "Didactic Myths" (six tales). In a ten-page introduction Elledge explains his rationale for the use of the terms "gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender" in the title of his book instead of the term "Two-Spirit." The latter term has been used colloquially since the early 1990s by many Native and First Nations individuals to refer to their gender identity and sexuality. He also gives examples of how some indigenous terms, purportedly predating precolonial times, have been put into writing by anthropologists, historians, and others who "collected" ethnographic and mythological stories from indigenous people willing to share aspects of their cultural beliefs with outsiders. The difficulty is that Elledge seems to take the English-language representation of indigenous terms within the myths as evidence of actual gender performance by real, rather than mythic, people. In addition, I am also concerned about lifting mythological stories (and characters) out of context of the full study without providing commentary about that context. Examples follow.

The challenge for this review was to locate a sampling of the original sources in order to check the veracity of Elledge's categorization of the myths and to recontextualize the samples. I began with the two examples from Elsie Clews Parsons' *Tewa Tales* (originally published in 1926 by the American Folk-Lore Society, and republished in 1994 by the University of Arizona Press, Barbara Babcock, editor): "Warrior Girl" (placed by Elledge in his "Origin of the Two-Spirit" category) and "The Hopi Ghost Kills and Gambles" (placed in "Didactic Myths"). Both of these stories are about the Hopi-Tewa of Arizona, sufficiently different in social organization from Upper Rio Grande Tewa that

it is necessary to emphasize the matrilineal (Arizona Tewa) and patrilineal (New Mexico Tewa) structural basis in order to appreciate the fact that the "Warrior Girl" described to Parsons in the early 1920s is still part of the Hopi-Tewa mythos and has no cognate in Upper Rio Grande Tewa communities. In Parsons' retelling of the myth neither she nor the narrator make any claim that the warrior girl described was the "first" girl who was told to go fight the enemy because she preferred not to do female household chores. In fact, the girl in the story flaunts her female sexuality by raising her skirt as she engages the enemy in battle. She is so courageous and successful that she is transformed into a being wearing a special mask. The People pay her high regard during her lifetime and after her death; and her mask is retained by the Cottonwood clan people (for a recent rendition of this story, see Sue-Ellen Jacobs et al., *Two-Spirit People*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997, pp. 32–35).

The second Parson story, "The Hopi Ghost Kills and Gambles," includes reference to techniques for initiating a cacique (spiritual elder) as he prepares to take his place as both mother and father of the people, as a man who must "think like a woman and a man" (p. 158), which is one of the expected abilities of a Tewa Pueblo leader (cf. Tito Naranjo and Rina Swentzell, "Healing Spaces in the Tewa Pueblo World," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 13: 3&4 [1989]: 257–265). Neither of these stories is about sexuality: the former is about blending gender roles (it's okay for a girl to be a warrior); the latter is about thinking within the paradigm of a balanced gender-dualism in order to fulfill the requirements of becoming a respected and wise spiritual leader. Both stories represent continuing Tewa values.

After looking at Parson's stories I proceeded to investigate the original sources of some of the other stories. The Crow story, "Red-Woman and Old-Man-Coyote's Wife," intrigued me because it appeared to be simply a "homosocial" story about two women of power negotiating, in a simple give-and-take discussion, how to shape the world and who should occupy the various parts of it. But the reason Elledge placed this story in the "origin of the two-spirit" category is revealed well into the narrative: Old-Man-Coyote's wife tells Red-Woman (whom Lowie assumes to be "… identical with Hícictawîa," see below) that her wish to have all people be all the same will lead to "'lots of trouble. We'll give women a dress and leggings to be tied above the knees so they can't run, and they shall not be as strong as men.' [The narrator continues] That is why men are stronger than women. They made a mistake with some, who became half-men, since then we have had bāté (berdaches)" (p. 90—a third gender. If Lowie (who recorded this story) asked for more details, he did not supply any in his original publication from which the story is taken. However, Elledge provides us with part of Lowie's original footnotes: "1. Doubtless meant to be identical with Hícictawîa" (Lowie, p. 70, in Elledge, p. 91). I read about Hícictawîa in Lowie so I could place this story in the larger context of Crow culture. Red-Woman or Hícictawîa is a central figure in several stories in Lowie's *Myths and Traditions of the Crow Indians* (New York: American Museum of Natural History Anthropological Papers, vol. 25, part I, 1918). In the stories I read, with the exception of the first story where she and Coyote's wife create all the people including the "bāté (berdaches)," she is transformed

from a benign woman into an evil old woman who seduces a young boy and binds him to her will, as she makes him build a tipi, hunt for her, and generally take care of her. She usually gets killed horrifically by brothers of the boy. There is no mention of sexuality in any of the stories about Red-Woman. The Crow word *bāté* does not appear anywhere else in the original source. Lowie's parenthetical definition "(berdaches)" is also not repeated elsewhere in the book. It would have been very helpful if Elledge had elaborated on the enigmas associated with the tale he included as evidence of creation of a gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender person "bāté." I believe he means for the reader to take the stories at face value: myths in which a third-gendered person (either a woman-man or a man-woman, or someone who is more than a man or woman) is created or otherwise an actor in Native North American societies, as evidence for the acceptance of (or even expectation that there will be) third-gendered people in "real" life.

My last example of contextual disarray comes from Elledge's extraction of the last two lines in the first stanza of Wheelwright's English translation of (Navajo Medicine man) Hasteen Klah's "chant of the meeting and mating of Etsan-ah-tlehay, the Changing woman with Johonah-eh, the Sun" (14, "Why They Saw Each Other" in *Texts of the Navajo Creation Chants*, Peabody Museum, Harvard University, no date, no page). The translated chant reads (emphasis added, indicating the lines Elledge used as an epigram):

> The earth is looking at me; it is looking up at me;
> I, I am looking down at it.
> *I, I am happy, he is looking at me;*
> *I, I am happy, I am looking at him.*

In Anglo or non-Native writings about Native American sexualities and genders there is often a realized temptation to selectively procure evidence of homosexual or homoerotic love. The chant chosen here is from a song that is performed to reaffirm the heterosexual union of a mythical woman, in this case Changing Woman, with a mythical male, the Sun. I read this as a living *nadleh* (an androgynous or hermaphroditic) medicine man (Hasteen Klah) singing part of the story of heterosexual creation of life—it is a love song, but the glamour of love is not between two males. "In singing this chant, Hasteen Klah is the mediator between the human world and the spiritual world. He is using this song to explain how the evolution of the earth takes place" (Wesley Thomas, personal communication, 2002).

In contrast to what I perceive to be Elledge's misunderstanding of the Navajo religious chant and the Tewa stories of cultural androgyny, thus misleading readers, other stories I checked are excellent examples of the complexities of human origin stories. For example, the Coos story collected by Frachtenberg in the early 1900s tells how two young men begat the world when one became pregnant (although the narrator suggests that this is a virgin birth by implying that they did not have sex) and delivered a girl-child from whom "all the people took their origin" (p. 4). The two "Arrow Young Men" were the creators of the world.

Jim Elledge has done a favor for those of us who love to read Native North American mythologies by bringing together the thirty tales originally identified by Will Roscoe as indicating aboriginal acknowledgment of multiple genders and sexualities. The stories rarely glorify the position of the "third" or other gendered persons (elaborate discussions of third and other gender characteristics and roles appears in Jacobs et al 1997, but in that book see especially pp. 156–173 for Wesley Thomas' "Navajo Cultural Constructions of Gender and Sexuality" for a Navajo's descriptions of five genders), but neither do they disparage such persons. Elledge's selection is a balanced representation of the diverse tribal myths that deal with this topic. The implication for contemporary two-spirit (gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgendered) Native North Americans is quite simply further validation for a customarily (albeit mostly "long ago") acknowledged presence and importance of the talents of third and other gendered people in the oral literature of The People. As for my picky critical remarks above, especially concerning the taking of elements or whole tales out of cultural context: well, that is part of the scholarship in the social science approach to studies of two-spirit people. We want to keep the cultural context at hand when reading, or studying, or even recording mythological and empirical tales. As part of our work we need to be able to return to original sources to be certain that protocols of cultural context are met, and this includes assessing additional footnoted sources (unfortunately not included in Elledge's bibliography).

I am very grateful for the research assistance provided by Karen Fieland, Malena Pinkham, and Erin Stanley of the HONOR Project, a National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH)-funded Two-Spirit Wellness Study at the University of Washington, School of Social Work; and to Professor Karina Walters, principal investigator of that project, for making her two-spirit research team available to me for this work.

Sue-Ellen Jacobs
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Heart of the Rock: The Indian Invasion of Alcatraz. By Adam Fortunate Eagle and Tim Findley. University of Oklahoma Press, 2002. 215 pages. $29.95 cloth.

The *Heart of the Rock: The Indian Invasion of Alcatraz*, by Adam Fortunate Eagle written in collaboration with Tim Findley, is another valuable firsthand account of the American Indian occupation of Alcatraz, 1969–1971. Fortunate Eagle is a master storyteller, and Findley is an outstanding writer, and as they were actual participants, this book is a must for any serious student of the Alcatraz occupation. The book is highly recommended and is an easy read. It is a welcome addition to my Alcatraz library even with the concerns I express below.

The title *The Indian Invasion of Alcatraz* itself is a misnomer, since the historical event was initially a nonviolent event. Even Adam Fortunate Eagle's earlier book on the subject was entitled *ALCATRAZ! ALCATRAZ! The Indian*

Occupation of Alcatraz Island, 1969–1971 (Heyday Books, 1992). The word *invasion*, as defined by the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, is "the act of invading, especially an attack in war when the enemy spreads into and tries to control a country." The word implies that it was a violent event such as when Hitler invaded Poland in 1939, the D-Day invasion of Normandy, or the Bay of Pigs invasion in Cuba. True, Alcatraz was eventually inhabited by a lawless society and many felonies and crimes went unprosecuted, but the original intentions of those who landed in 1964 and 1969 were peaceful. The authors correctly mention that initially "there were no guns or armaments of any kind" (p. 113).

The authors assert that "history should record that it was really the inspiration and dogged determination of Richard McKenzie which led to the first 'invasion.' It's McKenzie, a Sioux from Rosebud, South Dakota, who should be remembered, if not as the ultimate 'father' of Indian Alcatraz, then certainly as the grumpy uncle of its motivation (p. 8)." The authors' troublesome evaluation of the circumstances echoes an undocumented 2001 National Park Service statement in which the occupation is incorrectly called "an invasion." The 11 June 1971 federal removal by armed force was more of an actual invasion of Alcatraz than the peaceful 1964 and 1969 landings (p. 204). The latter document states that "most importantly" the 1969 occupation was due to Adam and Richard Oakes. Unfortunately, too often in history women have not been given the full credit they deserve. History should record that Belva Cottier, a Lakota Sioux woman with some Irish blood, was as much of a moving force behind the occupation as Adam and both Richards. Belva is the "mother of the occupations," as she conceived of the first nonviolent Alcatraz occupation in 1964, and later urged Richard Oakes and other students to reclaim the island twice in November 1969, without the use of force. Without her instigation, the Alcatraz occupations might have never happened. In 1964 Belva read in the newspaper that the government had declared Alcatraz Island surplus. She remembered the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 that her elders spoke about when she was a child on the Rosebud Reservation. She urged her husband, Allen Cottier, and four other Sioux men to claim the island, based on the treaty which stated that any male Sioux over eighteen years old who was not living on the reservation could claim surplus government land. Belva is perhaps the most significant American Indian woman of the twentieth century as she was behind the Alcatraz occupations.

As a child she was sent to a government boarding school away from her parents. The school was surrounded by barbed wire and the Indian pupils endured forced marches, whippings, and their mouth being washed out with soap when they spoke their Native language. Belva's Alcatraz action inspired other women to participate in the occupation, such as Wilma ManKiller at San Francisco State College who was to become the chief of the Cherokee Nation later in her life. Belva, who arrived in California in 1943, founded the Sioux Club in the San Francisco Bay Area in 1957. The club offered mutual support, job training, assistance with housing, drug rehabilitation, and an opportunity to share and retain culture through dances and powwows. Belva died at age seventy-nine on 2 May 2000.

There are some minor errors in the book. For example, the book jacket states the "occupation lasted two years," while it lasted actually nineteen months, not twenty-four. The nineteen-month duration was subsequently correctly mentioned (p. 201). A reference to "A bird like the pelican, which in Spanish is 'Alcatraz,'" is not exactly correct (p. 4), as the Spanish name was Isla de los Alcatrazes (Island of the Pelicans). A cartographer misspelled the Spanish name, dropping off the "es," and the name Alcatraz stuck.

The photography in the book is a treat, as several photos by Vincent Maggiora, Brooks Townes, and Ilka Hartmann are published for the first time. Perhaps the most valuable part of this book is the detailed account of the Sausalito Halloween party that led to the 1969 occupation. It was that party and the gathering at San Francisco State College that Richard Oakes related in a *Rampart's Magazine* article, "Why we took Alcatraz," which spurred the 1969 occupation. In that magazine article Oakes correctly mentioned a woman elder at the back of the room who told them now was time to retake Alcatraz. That individual was Belva Cottier.

It is men like Adam Fortunate Eagle and Tim Findley who have helped us remember this significant event in American Indian history. Adam's writing style is refreshing. This book is an important addition to the current scholarship regarding the occupation. I hope Adam Fortunate Eagle has inspired other scholars to write more on the subject, as the story is far from complete, and that his work has motivated young people to interview their elders and save their oral traditions on tape and film, before they pass into the spirit world.

John Garvey

Land, Wind, and Hard Words: A Story of Navajo Activism. By John W. Sherry. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002. 246 pages. $29.95 paper.

Land, Wind, and Hard Words: A Story of Navajo Activism is one of the latest contributions to the growing literature on contemporary American Indian activism. Earlier books such as Troy Johnson, Joan Nagel, and Duane Champagne's *American Indian Activism: Alcatraz to the Longest Walk* (1997) and Paul Chaat Smith and Robert Allen Warrior's *Like a Hurricane: The Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee* (1996) analyze supratribal activism, while Peter Matthiessen's *In the Spirit of Crazy Horse* (1992) and Russell Means' *Where White Men Fear to Tread, the Autobiography of Russell Means* (1995) focus upon individual experiences within that broad social movement. John W. Sherry's focus is a description and documentation of the environmental-justice efforts and sacrifices of Diné CARE (Citizens Against Ruining our Environment, an all-Navajo environmental organization) activists to protect the people from uranium radiation poisoning, to save sacred land, and to defend the land and forests within the Diné (Navajo) Nation.

Anthropologist Sherry's original work, albeit far more descriptive than theoretical, provides a new understanding of the relationship of one American Indian nation's economic development to the imperialistic eco-

nomic interests of corporate Euro-America. Perhaps the book's most dramatic illustration of the ruthlessness of economic imperialism is Sherry's poignant description of the 1993 mysterious death of one of the key Diné CARE actors, Leroy Jackson, and the impact of his violent death upon his family and the activist community. Unfortunately, Sherry's limited theoretical analysis is handicapped by his apparent lack of a full understanding of both economic imperialism and the special sovereign status of American Indian nations; he also fails to explain how constitutional and Indian case law as well as congressional support could have been utilized by Diné CARE.

Sherry has, for the most part, successfully tied the past to the present by using the literary device of combining relevant parts of Diné creation and morality stories with their contemporary story of survival and the resultant ethical conflicts. However, the powerful roles of women in the ancient stories is never paralleled in Sherry's telling of the contemporary story. Leroy Jackson's tragic fate and the heroic contributions of John Redhouse and other men need to be told, but the significant work of and the sacrifices paid by Diné CARE women including Leroy's wife Lucy, Lori Goodman, and others must be given equal if not more weight.

Sherry's book is beautifully written when explaining the connections between the land and the sacred and highly descriptive in providing lists and other documentation. At other times one wonders, though, if more than one person wrote the book or if the editors took undue liberties. The "pulp novel" or mass-media detective style of the first chapter not only appears to have been written or have been strongly influenced by another person but also distracts from the quality of the rest of the book. The first two pages begin with an awkward discussion equating the Diné concept of maleness with aggression, fierceness, and violence, all highly problematic translations that carry negative Euro-centric connotations. Additionally, the description does not reflect the concept of "hard" as used in the title, a far more fitting reflection of the intensity of the rains of the arid Southwest. This misunderstanding also obscures the discussion of the male and female aspects of life. Sherry cites an excerpt from a discussion with two male activists (p. 37) and uses the adjective "aggressive" to describe male nature. Neither the footnote nor the methodological discussion states if this conversation is based upon Sherry's memory or was actually taped. If the conversation was taped, Sherry does not indicate if he explored the speakers' understanding of the word. Of course, this type of clarification is both critical and essential for respondents whose first language is not English. Sherry's linguistic ethnocentrism is further revealed when he describes Leroy Jackson's "incidental mispronunciations" as "strange" (p. 86) but never labels his own problems with the Diné language as "strange." In addition to the problems of translating Diné concepts into English, the author as well as his copyeditors were apparently unaware that "gobbledygook" is not a nonsense word coined by Leroy Jackson as Sherry claims (p. 86) but rather a concept used to describe unintelligible and usually wordy jargon.

Throughout the book Sherry explains that although he realizes he is an "anthro," he has been accepted into the Diné community and was invited by

the Diné to write about their CARE activism. His defensiveness is humorous at one level, especially when he attempts to describe initial reactions to his professional status as "ambiguous" in scenes that are anything but ambiguous; however, his extensive apologia about his role as anthropologist, an explanation which could be reduced to a brief paragraph in the preface, raises serious questions about the depth of his understanding of indigenous culture, especially his incomplete apprehension of the use of traditional satirical humor, often called Indian humor. One also wonders if, in addition to seeking Diné approval, his other underlying motive is to court Eurocentric academic acceptance.

Apparently, Sherry is a recovering anthropologist. His work *Land, Wind, and Hard Words: A Story of Navajo Activism,* although limited by remnants of his anthropological ethnocentrism, is an important first step in documenting tribally specific environmental activism and its connection to land and traditional culture. Lay readers will find the book to be an easy read, and high school students as well as postsecondary undergraduate and graduate students in anthropology, environmental studies, cross-cultural studies, American Indian Studies, social movement studies, sociology, political science, economics, and history will find useful information.

Karren Baird-Olson
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Native Waters: Contemporary Indian Water Settlements and the Second Treaty Era. By Daniel McCool. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2002. 237 pages. $45.00 cloth.

Daniel McCool, a professor of political science and director of American West Center at the University of Utah, writes books about western water with terrific titles. He's already published *Command of the Waters*, a book which borrows its title from the seminal 1908 *Winters* decision and which deals with federal development and Indian water rights. Now, in his latest and perhaps most interesting study, *Native Waters: Contemporary Indian Water Settlements and the Second Treaty Era*, McCool takes on the recent efforts of a broad array of stakeholders in western waters to finally settle the claims of Native Americans to the shared waters of western rivers through political settlements rather than judicial decrees.

In an earlier essay-length version of this book published in Char Miller's *Fluid Arguments: Five Centuries of Western Water Conflict* (University of Arizona Press, 2001), McCool laid out the ways in which the current water settlements resembled the nineteenth-century land settlements. In those nineteenth-century land treaties, Native Americans "relinquished" their aboriginal titles to vast expanses of the United States in exchange for a firmer federal guarantee to much smaller reservations. Now, in the twenty-first century, Native Americans are exchanging often undefined, and certainly unrealized, rights to water for firmer federal guarantees to actual water and real projects. Both,

argued McCool, involved bargaining between unequal parties, often following bitter conflict. Both resulted in written documents between sovereign governments intended to be permanent resolutions to that conflict. Both came from situations where the Native American options were extremely limited and essentially involved a direct trade-off of Indian resources for money. Finally, both assumed that Indians would willingly give up large potential claims for a steadfast government guarantee that their remaining resources would stay in their possession forever. By comparing land and water settlements starkly in that way, the prospect for real justice emerging from the recent water settlements is not rosy.

But in *Native Waters* McCool does not make such a stark comparison. The material in the book-length study is, as one would expect, more detailed, more nuanced, and more complexly presented than in the essay version, but as a result the conclusions are sometimes harder to see. In the first two chapters McCool lists the seventeen Indian water settlements completed thus far and mentions nineteen other settlements that currently (2001) are in negotiation (pp. 7–8). The rest of the book is built around chapters that assess the settlements theme by theme, rather than settlement by settlement. Chapter four, for example, gauges the finality of all the agreements, while chapter five estimates how much water the agreements have reallocated. As a result, most of the seventeen completed settlements show up in different ways in each of chapters three through nine. The thematic treatment makes it difficult to grasp the full extent and possible impact of any one settlement as a whole.

McCool grounds the abstract thematic treatment of most chapters in what he calls "vignettes," reports from particular places about particular current events. Most of the vignettes put a human face on the water settlement themes. For example, at the end of chapter two on "a vision of good faith," McCool concretely compares an 1863 massacre of Northwestern Shoshone with a 1996 friendly community meeting between the Shoshone Bannock tribe and their white neighbors. Charming as the story is, it is hard to see what specific point it makes with respect to water agreements. It does not shed much light on the vague description in the preceding chapter about alternative mediation techniques in water disputes. Other vignettes are more apropos, but often aren't particularly well integrated in the thematic discussion of which they are a part. As a result, some of the chapters do not have a center that holds.

Much clearer are chapters like the one titled "Another Kind of Green" (chapter eight), which deals with the controversy over the power of Indian tribes to market water guaranteed by them in negotiated settlements to thirsty off-reservation, downstream users, mostly cities. Here McCool addresses "the convoluted politics and law, and the promise and perils, of water marketing" (p. 182). In analyzing the marketing situation he focuses almost exclusively on the 1992 Ute Water Settlement and its aftermath. As an example of his more general point, McCool's analysis is particularly illuminating and comprehensive.

His discussion of many other issues involved in controversial, complex settlements is much more scattered and harder to assess. The latest iteration of the Amimas-La Plata project in southwest Colorado and northwest New

Mexico illustrates McCool's problem. The project would settle some, but not all, of the water claims of at least three tribes: the Southern Utes, the Ute Mountain Utes, and the Navajo. One form or another of the project has been around since the 1922 Colorado River Compact. Interest groups have changed over the years, with the environmental community emerging as the most recent wild card, playing a new ace, the Endangered Species Act. Some articles that were lately published in the *Natural Resources Journal* develop the recent conflicts comprehensively. McCool, however, discusses different aspects of the Animas-LaPlata project in twelve separate locations in *Native Waters*. If you're looking for an understanding of a particular important water settlement, you are not going to find it in one place in *Native Waters*.

What you will find is an interesting and important, if scattered, account of the latest effort of the United States and other parties to deal with long-standing Native American claims to an increasingly scarce resource. The settlements that McCool describes and categorizes so well are being played out against a legal and political background that only makes solutions even more opaque. The recent Arizona Supreme Court decision adopting a "homelands" definition of the extent of reserved water rights for tribes only further complicates the Winter's doctrine backdrop to the settlements. The change from a Democratic to a Republican administration in 2000 may also fundamentally alter critical political support for equitable water settlements. Based on the factors that McCool identifies so clearly, he concludes that it remains to be seen whether the spate of recent settlements results in a fairer accommodation of Native American claims to water than the nineteenth-century Indian treaties accomplished for land. Recent events make the analysis in this unique book even more important to understand.

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Nunavik: Inuit-Controlled Education in Arctic Quebec. By Ann Vick-Westgate. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2002. 337 pages. $39.95 cloth.

In her book, *Nunavik: Inuit-Controlled Education in Arctic Quebec*, Ann Vick-Westgate presents a case study of an indigenous community's efforts to take control of its future by changing the educational system. Located in far northern Quebec, the fourteen Inuit communities of Nunavik developed a process to evaluate and restructure their school system. This process, which began in 1989 and concluded in 1992, involved parents, students, elders, school board members, teachers, staff, and government officials all working together to determine the types of reforms that had to take place and would result in the establishment of a culturally based educational system. The two key groups in this effort are the community-based Kativik School Board (KSB) and the evaluating agent, the Nunavik Educational Task Force (NETF). As Vick-Westgate describes this joint effort, "The Nunavik Educational Task Force initiated a process that resulted in positive change in the schools of Northern Quebec.

In doing so, they and ultimately the Kativik School Board itself, questioned the methods of the existing system of schooling in Arctic Quebec and acknowledged the failure of that system" (p. xviii).

Prior to her work with the Inuit communities of Quebec Vick-Westgate was involved in Native American education on the Pine Ridge Reservation of South Dakota. She participated along with Oglala Lakota students and teachers in a community and cultural history project. During 1970 the author turned her attention to issues of cross-cultural programs, the incorporation of indigenous knowledge into Western-based curricula. She also has extensive experience in working with Alaskan Natives to develop their own educational system. From 1989 through 1993, she served as principal investigator of the National Science Foundation network project, where she identified successful educational programs in circumpolar indigenous communities from Alaska to the Sami areas of Scandinavia. Vick-Westgate's primary purpose for writing this book is to show support for the Inuit people of the communities of Nunavik in their efforts to define education in their own terms. The author presents a historical account of what has transpired in their schools and raises their concerns for the future. She also attempts to expose non-Inuit educators to a small portion of the Inuit worldview through the history and goals of Inuit-controlled education. Finally, the author states, "This book proposes some of the contributions—rooted in traditional values—which indigenous communities can make to the redesign of schooling for all students in the 21st century" (p. xii).

Many factors led up to the educational reforms in Nunavik. The James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement was a major contributor. Signed on 11 November 1975, this agreement between the indigenous nations of Arctic Quebec addressed education issues along with land ownership. It was during this era that Quebec was exerting provincial control over education and initiating strict control over language instruction and curriculum. Through this legislative act the Inuit were granted the power to redesign and administer education within their communities (p. 238).

The residents of Nunavik were willing to examine their educational system from a historical and cultural perspective. They felt compelled to look beyond the limitations of a western-based education system to their own traditional Inuit forms of education. Formal education was a new concept to the Inuit of northern Quebec. Many of the residents of Nunavik did not believe that learning had to be restricted to a classroom in a school building. As addressed in the chapter "The Community Speaks Out," the Inuit felt free to criticize the existing parameters and to define new purposes for education. The fact they are still close to the values in their traditional society enables them to integrate these values into their educational philosophies (p. 239).

The most powerful influence on the evaluation and redesign of the Nunavik educational system was the willingness of community members to participate in the process and to address difficult issues and concerns. This proved to be a challenging task for the community. It meant that everyone in the community was given a voice, which was valued and respected. Those in

leadership roles had to accept the criticism along with the praise. Elders and young students alike were given equal opportunities to share their opinions and educational experiences. A highlight of the book is the extensive transcripts from the meetings, interviews, and expressed opinions of the people of Nunavik. The inclusion of the voices of the Inuit people of Nunavik brings this book to life.

The research presented by Vick-Westgate is interdisciplinary. Scholars interested in indigenous education will find the book's inclusion of a global perspective appealing; it presents not only an extensive examination of Inuit education from historical and contemporary views, but also comparisons within the circumpolar nations of the United States, Greenland, and the Sami communities of Europe. The educational achievements of the Sami people have received very little publicity within North America, so it is an intriguing enhancement to the study.

The fields of multicultural, bilingual education and curriculum reform are reflected in the discussions concerning the "Inuitizing" of western-based educational systems. The debates and interviews that present the views of elders, parents, students, and educators on the need to include Inuit language and cultural values in the redesign of the school system and its curriculum are similar to those taking place in other indigenous communities. During a 1991 municipal meeting, a Nunavik community member offered the following remarks, "Our culture should not be shoved aside.… Success in a different culture is the only one recognized. We cannot afford to lose our culture just to gain recognition" (p. 160). This powerful statement reflects the educational conflicts faced by numerous indigenous nations concerning the education of their people.

The research area, which the book speaks to the loudest, is that of community and school collaboration. The question facing both Native and non-Native leaders is how to bring the many individuals who are involved in the education process together effectively. How to connect parents, school personnel, students, outside consultants, and government officials to engage in constructive planning and debate? The evaluation and redesign process was open to input from every citizen of Nunavik. Inclusion of the voices of the community did not come without initial resistance. The question of who would have the right to evaluate and redesign the schools was controversial. It was eventually recognized that everyone held a responsibility in the development of the new Inuit-controlled school system. Included in this model for educational reform are the views of outside experts. Input from outside specialists and experts gave additional credibility to the research and findings of the Nunavik Educational Task Force and the Kativik School Board. "Outside expertise and resources will be needed to continue improving the educational system in Nunavik, but each community must first identify the needs, develop and sustain the commitment to attack problems at the local level or the attempts at change will fade away and fail" (p.242).

Vick-Westgate has presented an example of an indigenous community's determination to maintain its sovereignty by controlling the education system of its children. She summarizes the challenge taken on by the people of

Nunavik, "The Inuit of Quebec have made great strides toward redefining education from the ground up and creating a school system which is based on Inuit values and the concerns and goals which they have for their children" (p. 252). The Nunavik Educational Task Force summarized the challenges facing Arctic residents in education with these words, "There are many challenges ahead of us, but we have many advantages. We are small in number and are not burdened by a heavy load of inflexible institutions. We have the potential to be world leaders in education, not for the recognition, but because it is in us to do" (p. 236).

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Recollections from the Colville Indian Agency 1886–1889. By Major Rickard D. Gwydir; edited with an introduction by Kevin Dye. Spokane: Arthur H. Clark, 2001. 134 pages. $28.50 cloth.

According to the author, nineteenth-century Indian agent Rickard Gwydir, *Recollections from the Colville Indian Agency 1886–1889* provides the reader with a wonderful glimpse into the perspective and mind-set of "liberal" white America's attitude toward the Indian, as set within the context of one of the most volatile eras for the tribes of the Plateau.

The mid-1880s were a particularly turbulent and important transitional period for the Plateau peoples of eastern Washington and northern Idaho. The tribal memories of recent conflicts and wars, treaty negotiations and executive orders, and the initial establishment of reservations were fresh. While the Colville Reservation had been established in 1872 by executive order, the issuing of subsequent executive orders added considerable confusion over the exact boundaries of the reservation, which tribes were to be included within the reservation, and the degree of authority to be asserted by Indian leaders and by federal government agents. Leaders such as Skolaskin, the dreamer-prophet of the Sanpoils, contested the control of government agents and Christian missionaries, while others, such as Tonasket (Tonaskat) of the Okanogan, were supportive of the agents and missionaries. It had only been in 1885 that Indian leader Joseph and his band of Nez Perce were placed by the federal government on the Colville Reservation, resulting in significant tension with the various Salish-speaking tribes who feared they would be displaced from their ancestral lands by the newcomers. Through the accounts of Gwydir and the excellent background materials provided by the book's editor, Kevin Dye, the context of events and key tribal leaders are nicely presented in *Recollections from the Colville Indian Agency*.

In the midst of confusion and conflict Rickard Gwydir arrived. Appointed in 1886 as the Indian agent for the Colville Reservation, Gwydir's jurisdictional responsibility included not only the Okanagan, Sanpoil, Nespelem, Lakes, Colville, Moses band of the Columbia, and Joseph band of Nez Perce, but also the Coeur d'Alene (in Idaho) and Spokane (in eastern Washington)

tribes. As conveyed in his recollections, Gwydir thus had an opportunity to know and work with such leaders as Joseph of the Nez Perce, Skolaskin of the Sanpoils, Moses of the Columbia, Tonasket (Tonaskat) of the Okanogan, and Lot and Garry of the Spokane. Thus he had the ability to provide an additional, albeit Euro-American, perspective on and insight into the personalities of these key leaders. His appointment came in the wake of corruptions and scandals brought on by so many of the previous Indian agents. In the accounts of Gwydir we witness a fine example of a nineteenth-century, liberal American's attempt to "save the Indian," and, as an agent of the federal government, his efforts to restore honesty and integrity to its trust responsibilities. Gwydir's attempts at policy reform are glimpsed in his "Annual Reports to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," for 1888 and 1889, included as appendices. A real pleasure for this reviewer in reading *Recollections from the Colville Indian Agency* was in gaining a sense of the personality and motivations of Gwydir himself.

Rickard Gwydir exemplified the perspective of liberal, white American toward the Indian of the late-1800s. As an Indian agent, he sought to foster economic self-reliance for the Indian and equality under the law. Universal schooling and health care, prohibition of liquor, and the break-up of all vestiges of tribal communalism (as the soon-to-be enacted Dawes Act sought) were among the ways to "civilize" the Indian. To "save the Indian" from total obliteration brought on by disease, starvation, and the inevitable displacement by the "white race" (p. 38), Gwydir sought to assimilate him and her. As such, we see in Gwydir's writings and actions a very paternal role toward the Indian in which the Indian is as a "child at school" (p. 110) and the agent a missionary and "parent."

Gwydir certainly also had a rather romantic view of the Indian, almost in the vein of the "noble savage" image. Gwydir sought to convey something of the "barbaric splendor" (p. 20) of the Indian before their way of life, which Gwydir romanticized and cherished, was irretrievably altered. After eventually settling in the Spokane, Washington area following his tenure as an Indian agent, the storyteller in Gwydir found ample opportunity to share his acquired lore with audiences eager to glorify the "vanishing American." After all, Gwydir wrote and left his memoirs to a pre-World War I white public, when Indian interest was apparent in popular culture. Throughout this secondhand book, he recounts various narratives including stories often originally learned by him as secondhand or even thirdhand accounts. They were only written down by Gwydir after years of telling the tales to his Euro-American audiences. Gwydir's nuances, imagery, and values are thus well ingrained in these Indian narratives, as can be seen in the concluding and lengthy story of "The Adventurous Brave." It should be noted that Gwydir makes no pretense that these stories are somehow "authentic" Indian accounts; they are simply "good stories" he sought to keep alive and pass on to others in his community. And this is not to suggest that the narratives, or the events and characters of Gwydir's stories, are not without solid historical foundation; they most certainly are.

The texts for this book were edited and annotated by Kevin Dye. Gwydir left the manuscript to his family after his passing in 1925. It was brought to

Dye's attention through the efforts of Rick Gwydir, the grandson of Rickard Gwydir, who provided Dye with additional family background materials. Dye offers a solid introduction to the entire manuscript, with a biography of Rickard Gwydir and a discussion on the nature of the text itself, including consideration of such topics as the "authenticity" of tribal narratives and the audience Gwydir sought to address. In a preface to each chapter and with the extensive use of footnotes, Dye also does a great job introducing background information that contextualizes the particular events and personalities introduced in each chapter. Any reader not well acquainted with the historical context of mid-1880s Plateau Indian affairs will find Dye's efforts at providing background materials particularly helpful.

While there can be unwarranted typographical errors discovered in any newly edited work, *Recollections from the Colville Indian Agency* has a fair number of obvious misspellings and other typos that can be rather distracting for the reader. In addition, there seems to be a missing section of the "Annual Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1888" related to the Coeur d'Alene Reservation (appearing in Appendix 2). While references to other books are provided in the footnotes, it would have been helpful to the reader if Dye had included a complete bibliography or reference list of those sources at the end of the work. In addition, the curious reader would be well served with the inclusion of a brief biographical sketch of the book's editor, Kevin Dye. Nevertheless, these annoying editing-related errors and omissions should not be held against the overall value of this important contribution to the literature on the history of Indian-white relations among the Plateau peoples.

Recollections from the Colville Indian Agency 1886–1889 is a readable and accessible work, recommended for all audiences, which offers insights into an Indian agent and the tribal leaders he worked with at a critical time in Indian-white relations.

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Sister Nations: Native American Women Writers on Community. Edited by Heid E. Erdrich and Laura Tohe. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2002. 230 pages. $24.95 paper.

Sister Nations is a new collection of poetry and short stories that fits neatly into the genealogy of edited collections of creative work by Native writers. It is, however, in Laura Tohe's estimation, one of only three books in the past three decades that have specifically collected Native American women's writing. Like Rayna Green's *That's What She Said*, *Sister Nations* does not aim to be comprehensive, but works to open the world in new and unvoiced ways. Tohe notes the book's debt to Green's early collection, and to the comprehensive and sizable anthology *Reinventing the Enemy's Language* edited by Joy Harjo and Gloria Bird. But while Harjo and Bird's text weighs in at 576 pages and covers a broad range of voices, visions, and topics, Tohe and Erdrich's volume is

selectively defined by the theme of the collection, that of community. Both strategies are important; the new volume offers the reader a close reading of some of the themes raised in the larger volume. There is also an important relationship between *Sister Nations* and collections of writings by women of color, a much larger group of texts. For instance, the new edition of *This Bridge Called My Back* and the recently published collection of essays reviewing the impact of that volume, *This Bridge We Call Home*, assert a community of women in ways similar to *Sister Nation*, but defined by politically and socially constructed contexts of nation, state, and economies. The volume under review here amplifies a community of women/sisters that is clearly defined by affiliation and commonality of experience from a very specific identity location.

Winona LaDuke writes the forward to the book, and remembers fondly the women who have been included in the collection. She begins by reminding us that "the women are telling stories, the women are singing" and admonishing us to listen. And this is important, to listen to these voices as they sing the community of Native women into being in the twenty-first century. In their introduction, editors Heid E. Erdrich and Laura Tohe offer unique insights into the process of making a book happen. They talk about the editorial process—of choosing, of designing, of talking and reading, of categorizing and defining in new ways the ideas, insights, and artistry of a wide range of writers. The book itself is divided into four sections, with a mix of poetry and short stories. Each section opens with a two-page introduction that carefully frames the material, and moves the reader into the ideas that are being explored.

The first section, "Changing Women," expresses the "transformative and re-creative abilities of being female, of being changing women" (p. 4). Kateri akiwnzie-damm (Anishinaabe) opens the book with an amazing poem, "Sleepwalker": "I / fall / asleep / in a house of old bones" (p. 7), then works to bind the wounds of separation and decay, calling on grandfather and grandmother to see her and lead to the medicine and the healing. So the journey of this collection begins as a dream state, a call to the gathering of the community here and beyond. The language of the poems in this section is brilliant, from the "cauldron womb" of Ester Belin's "First Woman" to Susan Deer Cloud's "Land of Ma'am."

In the second section, "Strong Hearts," poems and stories "are at once political and personal," organized "around the notion of strength, the strength of bone and of that most powerful muscle in our bodies, the heart" (p. 65). In "The Shawl" Louise Erdrich returns again to the themes of her longer work—unimaginable pain and women's brilliance in the face of chance and destiny. These first two sections replay and amplify explorations of community, blood, and history found in a number of Native collections, all the while focusing on women's voices that are full of strength and hope in the face of cultural change and transformation.

Section Three, "New Age Pocahontas," returns to the problems of the stereotypes of Native women circulating in mainstream cultural practices, the images in popular movies, the press, and in the new age spirituality movements. Some of the strongest work is here, refusing simple responses of denial

and anger. Marcie Rendon asks, "What's an Indian woman to do / when the white girls act more Indian / than the Indian women do?" It's a brilliant reversal, throwing into relief the problems of just what the categories "Indian" and "white" might really mean in the everyday. Pocahontas, Butter Maiden, Maize Girl all make appearances in this section, only to be vividly deconstructed and reconstituted as The Frybread Queen, Fleur, and White Buffalo Calf Woman among others.

The collection includes a widely representative set of women writers, but highlights clusters of tribal groups. There are excellent writers here—several are nationally and internationally recognized as among the best tribal voices of our time. Some of the writers are clearly known in other less mainstream circles. But the differences in market reputations do not indicate a disparity in the quality of the work. Joy Harjo's beautiful short story, "How to Get to the Planet Venus" stands next to Esther Belin's brilliant poem "Emergence" in respectful and joyous dialogue. Belin, like many of the newest generation of Native poets and writers, upends easy assumptions about mothers and daughters, fathers and geography, sex and cars (well maybe not about sex and cars). Both works are included in the final section, "In the Arms of the Skies," a section that stands out in the book as one of the rare moments in Native fiction when "sensual and erotic love" is explored, one of those moments that Laura Tohe, in the section's introduction, describes as "few and far between" in the body of work written by Native women.

The prose pieces included here are wonderfully chosen: brief and shiny, each one intense, condensed. The shortest is less than half a page long, and juxtaposes past and present, traditional and Christian, masculine and feminine brilliantly. Diane Glancy's "The Abandoned Wife Gives Herself to the Lord" first quotes Chief Mark on monogamy as epigraph, then revisits the notion of wives as seen from the perspective of a woman thinking of becoming a bride of Christ. There are remarkable prose pieces here by Haaland, Smith, Harjo, Toledo-Benalli, Coke, and Danforth, and two by Louise Erdrich.

Yes, the narrative thread of this collection is that of community. But the community Erdrich and Tohe reveal here is one made through memory and remembrance, through affinity and affirmation, not only through geography and blood. Urban and reservation life are bound here by the common ground of storytelling and sisterhood. As Heid E. Erdrich remarks on the process of making this community, "So we began to gather voices that would explore the warmth, the fierceness, the cutting humor, and the tough love that is the heart of 'Indian Country,' that is the Native American woman in her world, our world" (p. xiii).

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Surviving Through the Days: Translations of Native California Stories and Songs, A California Indian Reader. Edited by Herbert W. Luthin. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002. 651 pages. $60.00 cloth; $24.95 paper.

Herbert Luthin has done us all a great favor in assembling this anthology of California Native stories and songs. It is a comprehensive collection of songs, creation myths, stories, reminiscences, and anecdotes drawn from the large number of Native cultures in the state. It is not exhaustive, but his sampling of a far bigger body of literature offers interest to just about everyone.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century when Indian populations were declining everywhere, many interested people, amateurs and scholars alike, feared that Native oral literature would disappear with "the vanishing American." So, trained and untrained linguists went into the field with their pencils and paper, occasionally their primitive recording devices, and sometimes a camera to collect everything they could. The Department of Anthropology was founded at the University of California in 1902 more or less specifically to forward this effort. There was a sense of desperate urgency: When the house is on fire, says Luthin, using J. P. Harrington's metaphor, you have to rescue what best can be saved.

There was no time then to "process" the material, to translate it properly, to explicate the linguistic, cultural, historical allusions imbedded in the songs and stories, to evolve an aesthetic that would help us understand and appreciate the literature. Consequently, much of what was collected was cataloged and stored in archives. Much of it is still there.

A great deal was published, of course, often in "raw" form. A good example is the old University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology (UCPAAE). In its pages, the collectors frequently offered their field notes, hoping someone at some future time would be able to interpret what they had acquired. One often finds, for example, a phonetic transcription of a Native-language song or story as collected, followed by a literal translation or gloss of the words and their fragments, and followed by an attempt to give the sense of the song or story in readable English. Part of Luthin's example from a Hupa story, "The Boy Who Grew Up at Ta'k'imiɬding":

Ta'k'imiɬding nat'tehɬdichwe:n
at Ta'k'imiɬding he grew up
He grew up at Ta'k'imiɬding;

xontah nikya:w me' ts'isla'n— kile:xich.
House Big in he was born a boy
He was born in the Big House— a boy.

Hawa:ɬ ang' ɬahxw na'k'iwing'ash wchst'e'
then it was nothing but he sang continuously
He would do nothing but sing all the time.

Such a presentation derives from the firm belief that the center of interest is in the native-language text (a legacy of Franz Boas). And thank goodness, some of those old scholars shared that belief! Otherwise, we would have lost a great deal, not only of the languages themselves, but of qualities of the aesthetic presentation. Luthin quotes a number of examples where particles meaning "he said" or "it is said" were in the phonetic transcription but not in the gloss or the free translation. Sometimes, he shows us how a phrase boundary or a line break affects the story. Such small things, of course, change the relationship of the teller to the tale, add an element of performance, and thus enhance the aesthetic and literary effect.

In the 1960s and 1970s, a group of researchers emerged, led by Dell Hymes and Dennis Tedlock, who focused on collecting such "ethnopoetic" values, as well as the language. These men and women recorded dramatic gestures, intonation patterns, emphasis, pauses for dramatic effect, all those literary and rhetorical devices that give the song or story both meaning and enjoyment.

Usually, these ethnopoetic devices make the song or story much more accessible to English speakers. For example, consider the question-answer repetitions in this passage from "Grizzly Bear and Deer" (from Edward Sapir, *Yana Texts*, 1910):

"Where are they?" she said.
She asked a poker; it didn't answer.
She asked a stone; it didn't answer.
She asked the earth;
She asked the stick;
She asked the fire;
[a pause, which conveys "They didn't answer."]
She asked the coals;
"Yes, indeed," they said;
"They have run south," they said.

The narrative device of looking everywhere (Native narratives often search north, east, south, west; and some add "up" and "down" as well), delaying the discovery for dramatic effect, patterning the elements in threes with a pay-off in the fourth repetition— these are almost universal features of narratives found in almost all cultures. And the rhythms that the repetitions of intonation patterns generate are not far removed from the verse devices of:

Gonna wash that man right out of my hair,
Gonna wash that man right out of my hair,
Gonna wash that man right out of my hair,
And send him on his way.

This is not far removed from Mississippi blues, or the bluegrass traditions that were behind them, or the English folk ballads behind them, or the biblical and Hebraic prosodies at the root of much of our rhetoric; listen to

Lincoln at Gettysburg or Kennedy at the Berlin Wall, and you will hear them again. Part of Luthin's point (and a great deal of his effort) is to show us that, if or when we approach the Indian songs and stories with some sensitivity to their inherent qualities, most of the strangeness of a language and culture far removed from us begins to disappear.

All this and more is the extended subject of *Surviving Through the Days*. Luthin seems very familiar with the archives, both used and unused. He has selected a rich variety from those archives, including some old familiar favorites, but also introducing many new pieces. Each of the selections comes with considerable notes about the singer and/or narrator of the song or story, notes about the collector and translator, notes regarding analysis and transcription. In addition, Luthin gives us an extensive general introduction and, at the end, several essays on Native California languages and oral literatures. This "apparatus" of notes and perspectives helps us understand and appreciate these Native California literary treasures.

The organization of the book is more or less spatial. Luthin starts with stories from the most northwestern of California tribes and works his way down to the most southeastern tribe. In between, we get a healthy representation of the literary traditions of California before contact with the whites.

Readers somewhat familiar with the subject will meet the work of many an old friend: Ishi, William Benson, Jaime de Angulo, J. P. Harrington, Dell Hymes, Alfred Kroeber and his amazing corps of anthropologists and linguists. He or she will also see work by much younger people, many of them Natives or mixed-bloods with advanced degrees: Leanne Hinton, Greg Sarris, and others. We hear singers like Grace McKibbin, Mabel McKay, and others unfamiliar to most of us but legendary in their tribes.

The book gives me an almost cosmic perception of the interconnectedness of a subject that is by its nature multifarious. Those old collectors by and large knew each other and had evolved a vast network of information, tips, native contacts, methods, and even avenues of publication. One begins to see that it was no accident that Kroeber sent his best graduate students to study Karuk and Mojave, Yana and Chumash, bracketing the state from one end to the other and from side to side. It is a little more astonishing that so many of them became the titans of studies in oral languages and literatures.

They gave us a glimpse of the world before the present people, back in the days when only spirits inhabited the earth. There were giants in the earth in those days, when animals talked. But they weren't really animals, not just animals. They were the pure spirits who later became animals. The stories of their interactions taught the Native people an ethic of how to treat the world and each other, a psychology of being, an epistemology, a worldview. *Surviving Through the Days* is a fine introduction to that world. Libraries, amateurs and professionals alike will be interested in this book.

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Swept Under the Rug: A Hidden History of Navajo Weaving. By Kathy M'Closkey. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002. 336 pages. $32.95 cloth.

M'Closkey's stated purpose is to uncover the extent of impoverishment of the Navajo that has existed for over a century and continues today; to reveal the relationships of the import and investment markets in textiles that have contributed to this impoverishment; and, finally, to offer a new way of looking at weaving that finds its base in "communications theory." She offers her story of the development of Navajo weaving in the twentieth century as an alternative to that found in the extant literature. She asserts that to understand Navajo weaving adequately we must understand Navajo kinship systems, Navajo cosmology, and Navajo language, thereby reconfiguring weaving as "a cosmological performance."

M'Closkey focuses on the economic exploitation of Navajo weavers. She contends that, due to the combined effects of the high investment potential of historic Navajo textiles and the production of inexpensive copies of Navajo weavings in Mexico and abroad, the demand for contemporary Navajo textiles has seriously diminished. The author combines archival research with a review of extant literature in the field and reservation fieldwork. Using the Lorenzo Hubbell papers housed at University of Arizona Special Collections, she claims that she has produced "the first study to extract detailed financial information from records directly related to Navajo trade before 1950" (p. 6). Although it was consulted, she explains that most extant published literature on Navajo weaving has not been useful to her because it is either too general or too ambiguous. Her fieldwork included interviews with more than thirty weavers and follow-up interviews with several of their families. M'Closkey used information garnered from interviews with weavers carried out by Clarenda Begay, curator at Ganado 1985–86 and now curator of the Navajo Nation Museum at Window Rock, and National Park Service oral history interviews with elderly Navajo informants conducted in the early 1970s.

Anyone with even a cursory knowledge of Navajo weaving realizes by now that exploitation of weavers has occurred. However, if we intend to move on from this point armed with the knowledge and tools necessary to attempt to resist future exploitation, we must gain a more complete understanding of the social, historical, and political circumstances that contributed to this oppression. Simply accumulating more evidence of the exploitation gets us nowhere. M'Closkey does not seem to concern herself with locating points of resistance that have enabled cultural survival. Instead, she favors an approach that limits itself to an unveiling of the exploitation. Might it not be more revealing and useful for future strategy to attempt to locate the points of resistance and the social factors that have worked to enable resistance? M'Closkey complains that, while the weavers remain invisible, dealers, traders, and so forth are given too much attention in the literature on Navajo textiles. The irony is that she perpetuates this focus herself.

For example, M'Closkey offers development and use of trademarks as a possible remedy to the proliferating market in "knockoffs." As she explains,

the Navajo Nation Council explored the possible effectiveness of such a trademark as recently as 1998. The author does not seem to be aware of the fact that this strategy was attempted in the past but did not prove to be a workable solution. She makes no mention of such past efforts, most notably omitting the concerted efforts by the Indian Arts and Crafts Board to institute trademarks in the 1930s.

M'Closkey's survey of extant literature on Navajo weaving leads her to conclude that little attention has been given to aspects of Navajo weaving that regard it as anything other than a commodity or that analyze its visual aspects as anything other than mere decorative design. The one exception she finds is structuralist anthropologist Gary Witherspoon who, she reports, asserts that weaving has been a major factor in the perpetuation of Navajo lifeways. She contends that the only alternative to Witherspoon's approach is that of museologists who purportedly regard Navajo weaving as "art" rather than craft. She finds this approach, grounded in Western aesthetics, unacceptable.

Museologists, M'Closkey contends, are wedded to an empiricist view that privileges description, measurement, and classification over cultural context. However, what she fails to realize is that facts regarding a weaving's physical composition are not gathered so as to remove the textile from its context. Rather, they are used to construct and flesh out context. This kind of research ultimately works to render the individual weaver *more* visible. Details of yarn and dye usage and of a piece's provenance are tools used to attribute works to particular artists. Determining by whom and when a piece was made allows us to geographically and historically situate it. M'Closkey seems to have little awareness of the nature of art historical methodologies and how they can be useful in achieving the goals she espouses. Without establishing this context, we cannot adequately perform the kind of analysis she advocates. You cannot get to the significant and more interesting aspects of such cultural production until you have completed this initial foundational study. If you forgo it, you sacrifice accuracy and thus risk misattribution and misrepresentation of the context of a work's production.

M'Closkey is right in contending that the individual Navajo women who wove these textiles have been inadequately represented in the historical record. A recuperative project in which they are written back into the record via archival and ethnographic research is imperative. However, to contend that they have been invisible—"swept under the rug"—is a misrepresentation. There are a significant number of twentieth century and contemporary Navajo weavers with considerable name recognition whose lives and work have been well documented. These include Daisy Taugelchee, Gladys and Ruby Manuelito, Suzy Black, Despah Nez, Anna Mae Tanner, Alberta Thomas, Sadie Curtis, Virginia Deal, Kalley Keams, and D. Y. Begay.

Another problem with this book is the choice of authoritative sources. M'Closkey's use of numerous exhibition catalog essays written by gallery owners as the basis for her assertion that nineteenth-century Navajo weavings were crucial to the development of American abstract art in general and color field painting in particular is perhaps the most blatant example of the kind of misinformation that can result from the use of such sources. Such catalog essays,

especially those issued by commercial galleries, are often unreliable sources of scholarship. Written as public relations for galleries (and sometimes museums), they are not subject to the rigors of the scholarly referee process and may, thus, express ideas that are not commonly accepted by scholars in the field.

Although there is very little scholarship on Navajo textiles that is informed by recent theoretical discourse, there is a wealth of general literature on Navajo weaving. The literature on the trading post system is much less extensive. The classic source is Frank McNitt's *The Indian Traders* (1962). Willow Roberts Powers' *Navajo Trading: The End of an Era* (2001) is a more recent source on the topic. Powers presents a viewpoint quite different from M'Closkey's. Funded by the United Indian Traders Association (UITA), a nonprofit organization originally formed in 1931 to assist traders in legal disputes and marketing matters, Powers' study serves as an argument in defense of the trading post system. Despite its funding source, it does retain a degree of objectivity and thoroughness that M'Closkey's study lacks. Powers gives a detailed accounting of the rationale and actions of the DNA (Navajo) People's Legal Services, the legal defense association that was instrumental in outlawing questionable trading practices on the Navajo Reservation. M'Closkey, on the other hand, does not seem to feel obligated to present the opposing views that would result in a more balanced scholarly study.

M'Closkey claims that her approach is different because, as "a communications perspective," it is based on the premise that "a phenomenon can be known only in context" (p. 17). She contends that we cannot separate a Navajo weaving from its context if we are to discern its full meaning and significance. This is undoubtedly the case. A fuller explication of her methodology—what she describes as "a communications perspective"—would be helpful. It would allow the reader to more easily discern the theoretical foundations of her argument. In the end, the fundamental problem with this study is that it focuses on "evidence" of exploitation. Rather than analyzing the complex social and cultural interactions and contexts—both Native and non-Native—that have worked to produce such exploitation, M'Closkey focuses on the *effects* of such exploitation. As a result, her analysis lacks depth, coherence, and relevance.

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Take My Land, Take My Life: The Story of Congress's Historic Settlement of Alaska Native Land Claims, 1960–1971. By Donald Craig Mitchell. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2001. 679 pages. $29.95 paper.

Don Mitchell's *Take My Land, Take My Life* is the second part of a two-volume history of relations between Alaska Natives and American "visitors" from the Treaty of Cession in 1867 to the passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act in 1971. The first volume, *Sold American: The Story of Alaska Natives and Their Land, 1867–1959,* is a history of Native life in the territory of

Alaska from the purchase of Russian claims in 1867 to the achievement of statehood in 1959. *Take My Land, Take My Life* continues the story through the passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) in 1971, which the author calls "the most generous and innovative aboriginal claims settlement in U.S. history."

Several themes running through *Take My Land, Take My Life* are important in understanding Mitchell's interpretation of Native claims in Alaska. First is the insistence that the colonial history of Alaska is distinctive and sets Natives apart from other aboriginal peoples in the United States. *Sold American* is essentially a testament to this reasoning. Alaska Natives, for example, were never forcibly removed from their land and crowded onto reservations. They therefore were able to play an active part in the territory's commercial economy as fishers, whalers, laborers, and guides. Employment, for the author, is an important assimilative experience that leads to preferences for both western goods and western institutions. Further, through missionary schools some Native individuals acquired the skills and the language that enabled them to effectively organize their communities, gain the right to vote, elect their own leaders to the legislature, and eventually fight for their land rights. The author then uses this "distinctive history" to question and sometimes denigrate the counsel of policy makers like John Collier whose views of Indian societies were "utopian" or Felix Cohen's hopeless romanticism and "rose-colored picture of Indians."

Take My Land, Take My Life continues this critique of misinformed individuals meddling in the affairs of Alaska Natives in a discussion of Project Chariot, a milestone of the Native claims movement. Project Chariot refers to the plan of Edward Teller, the father of the hydrogen bomb, to create a deep-water port by detonating underwater thermonuclear devices near the Inupiat village of Point Hope, on the coast of northwestern Alaska. The concerns over Teller's project led to a request by David Frankson, the president of the village council in Point Hope (on the advice of the Bureau of Indian Affairs' [BIA] area director), for assistance from the Association on American Indian Affairs (AAIA). According to Mitchell, the AAIA had an agenda of federal trusteeship and reservations that was utterly out of line with Native thinking and Alaska history. Mitchell, however, does credit AAIA leaders with organizing the Conference on Native Rights in Barrow in 1961 which led to the recognition that Congress and the US Department of the Interior had important responsibilities with regard to the protection of aboriginal lands and a call for public land withdrawals around Native villages. He also suggests that the general counsel of the AAIA and the Alaska director of the BIA convinced Stewart Udall, the Interior secretary to impose a freeze on the selection of lands by the state. This becomes an important incentive in the eventual settlement of the conflict over lands and compensation.

At this point, another theme emerges, the peripheral involvement of Native people in the claims movement. Mitchell begins the first chapter with a conclusive statement from his earlier work: "Between the Alaska purchase in 1867 and Alaska statehood in 1959, rather than defending their own interests Alaska Natives depended for the safeguarding of their land rights largely

upon sympathetic non-Natives." A final theme in both *Sold America* and *Take My Land* is based on the value of consumerism and self-interest and the irrelevance of the precontact Native world that is described in Hobbesian terms as "cold, harsh, and short." Today, aboriginal culture is a hindrance to an improved living standard. For example, in explaining poverty in Tyonek, a small village near Anchorage, Mitchell argues that poverty there is "no different from other villages in which Alaska Natives found themselves trapped between a subsistence hunting and fishing economy that no longer produced a psychologically satisfying material culture and a white cash economy" (p. 68) The solution, according to the author, is instilling in Indians "an addiction to the goods to which whites are addicted" which will then attach "them to us by the strongest of all ties, interest" (*Sold American*, p. 18). Therefore, for the author, the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act "may be the first fair test of Washington's theory that economic assimilation will alter Native American attitudes to non-Native advantage" (*Sold American*, p. 21). Individualism and private enterprise will also grant Alaska Natives more opportunity for independence and full participation in the life of modern society and avoid the constraints of reservations, trusteeship, and BIA paternalism. These values are already prevalent, for Natives are "as interested as any other human beings in making money" (p. 238) and will, if given the chance, enthusiastically exploit their lands and their resources.

Take My Land, Take My Life then becomes an historical biography of individuals who contributed to a settlement that embodied what Natives wanted and what they needed. Though Native leaders were not as influential as "contemporary Native legend" would have it, their actions did have some effect on strategy and the terms of the settlement.

Non-Natives involved in the passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement act can be roughly divided into those who directly affected the lobbying effort and the content of the legislation, and those who brokered the settlement. In the first group were attorneys and congressional staffers who helped finance Native conference and organizational activities, enabled aboriginal leaders to gain access to the corridors of power in Congress and the White House, and recommended specific provisions of ANCSA that authorized state-chartered corporations to receive the monies and land, state sharing of royalties, and national interest land withdrawals.

The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act was signed into law in December 1971. The act provided for compensation payments of approximately $962 million dollars and the conveyance of 44 million acres of land to village and regional corporations. The regions were given significant responsibilities over the distribution of money, the control of subsurface resources, and economic development. Villages were expected to use and manage their lands and support local commercial activities. While Mitchell and many others were impressed with the generosity and foresight of Congress, others were more skeptical. In the words of two leaders from the Barrow in a letter to President Nixon: "Although this is a settlement of our land rights the State of Alaska comes first, the federal government comes first, the third parties who have federal and state leases on our land come first.... We have been denied our

lands, the value of our lands, the opportunity to form an economic basis and our culture is being banished to the eternal night of the Arctic Slope."

The first part of this letter to the president alludes to the obvious point that the primary beneficiaries of ANCSA were not the Natives of Alaska but the energy companies who received right of way permits to build a TransAlaskan pipeline that has generated billions of dollars in profits; the state of Alaska that now freely owns 104 million acres of land and has derived tens of billions in revenue from royalties and taxes; and the conservationists and federal government that were able to add over 103 million acres of land to the national systems of parks, refuges, and forests. The reference in the last sentence of the letter to Nixon to the banishment of Inupiat culture (and presumably other Native cultures) is a less evident issue and one that is contorted in *Take My Land, Take My Life*.

In Mitchell's portrayal of the Native claims movement aboriginal culture is not only fading, it is largely irrelevant. The evidence for cultural decline? The preference for modern technology and goods like refrigerators, rifles, aluminum boats, interior plumbing, oil furnaces, snow machines, and so on. The adoption of tools and implements is hardly an indication of the decline or disappearance of Native culture. Subsistence hunting, fishing, and gathering, or what Natives refer to as their way of life, was in 1971 and is today an integral part of Native existence. The average person in rural areas consumes 375 pounds of wild foods a year. In the interior and the arctic the averages are twice as high. Subsistence resources are also used for clothing, transportation, heating, housing, and arts and crafts. Traditional values of sharing, cooperation, reciprocity, respect for elders, spirituality, and consensual decision-making continue. Though aboriginal languages are in decline in some communities, they are vibrant in others, particularly among Yupik speakers in southwestern Alaska. Customary rules guide the distribution and consumption of subsistence foods. Many Natives consider themselves first and foremost hunters and fishers. There is evidence too that subsistence economies are not only resilient, but also growing in some villages.

What is central to Mitchell's analysis is the value of a market economy based on self-aggrandizement, private property, and profit-driven corporations. He concludes his work with an endorsement of ANCSA and indictment of the act's critics. "Whoever leads it, a discussion about the future of Native villages in the twenty-first century must begin by acknowledging that ANCSA was not, as its most vocal critics within the Native community now charge, a scheme hatched by a malevolent Congress to steal Native land and destroy traditional Native cultures by requiring Alaska Natives to organize corporations. Rather, as the story of Alaska Natives and their land that has been told in this and the companion volume documents, ANCSA was an unprecedented experiment in Native American economic self-determination that Alaska Natives actively participated in crafting" (p. 541). Unquestionably, the twelve Native regional corporations have become a vital force in Alaska. Their activities encompass oil and gas services, tourism, catering, investments, real estate (in and out of the state), timber harvesting, construction, and government contracting. These firms could benefit individual Natives through employ-

ment and the distribution of dividends. With a few exceptions neither have been realized. Of the more than 13,000 employed by the regions only 13 percent are Native shareholders. The 180 village corporations make even fewer opportunities available. Whatever work they offer represents only 15 percent of what is needed. The impact of dividends, especially on rural incomes, has been limited. Between 1995 and 1997, the average annual dividend payment of the ten corporations that represent rural areas in Alaska (excluding Sealaska [Juneau] and Cook Inlet, Inc. [Anchorage]) was $486. Even Mitchell admits that ANCSA "has done little to alleviate the economic and social problems that are pandemic to Native villages" (p. 504).

What is missing in Mitchell's work is a substantive discussion of Native governments. In his concluding observation in the paragraph above he maintains, "Alaska Natives actively participated in crafting" the claims act. This is partially true for there were dozens of individual Natives who worked hard for settlement. What is overlooked, though, are the Traditional and Indian Reorganization Act tribal councils that actually represented Native peoples. Mitchell dismisses them after explaining Secretary of the Interior Udall's decision to consult with Native leaders: "In August 1966 the assumption that Alaska's 50,000 Native residents were organized enough to have leaders empowered to negotiate 'consensus legislation' was a fiction" (p. 113). The presumption is either that the leaders did not exist or did not have the authority to represent the people they served. Where is the evidence for this assertion? Later, the author claims that because of "poor communication and limited technology villagers could not be kept abreast of the debate and terms of a claims settlement" (p. 487). One can imagine their response when they discovered that they had given up their rights to hunt and fish and most of their lands. Thus, the idea that tribal governments should play an important role in negotiations over their lands and that they could play an integral part in the future of Native village is completely lost in *Take My Land, Take My Life.* To suggest otherwise, the author contends, is to "retreat into a local cultural past" with "the end result ... to be disastrously left behind by the rest of the world" (p. 505).

There is much to question in Mitchell's analysis of Alaska Native lands and claims: his casual acceptance of American military might and missionary interpretation; his over-reliance on discriminatory doctrines like the unlimited power of Congress; or mischievous legal decisions that permitted the confiscation of aboriginal lands without procedural protections or fair compensation (*Tee-Hit-Ton Indians v. United States*). There are also the unsubstantiated propositions that ANCSA is the right policy for those who had little to do with its creation; or that economic development can proceed without viable tribal organizations; or that state-chartered corporations and governments are the preferred means to achieve what Alaska Natives desire.

These comments are not meant to disparage the impressive amount of thought and research that has gone into both *Sold America* and *Take My Land, Take My Life.* Both volumes provide a treasure of information about the history of Native relations with non-Natives, the inner workings of the political process in Alaska and Washington, D.C., the issues that surrounded ANSCA

and other important legislation, and valuable background to recent controversies over tribal sovereignty and subsistence. There is added insight in his work because of his experience as an executive and lobbyist with the Alaska Federation of Natives and as a practicing attorney. The current book under review and his extensive writings on public policy and the law are must reading for any serious student of the affairs and history of Alaska Natives.

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The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540–1760. Edited by Robbie Ethridge and Charles Hudson. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 2002. 369 pages. $50.00 cloth.

With a blossoming of new research in ethnohistory, linguistics, archaeology, folklore, and literary studies, recent years have seen a reawakening of scholarship focused on the Native peoples of southeastern North America. This new collection of essays, edited by Robbie Ethridge and Charles Hudson, profits from and consolidates much of this work, particularly ongoing collaborations between archaeologists and historians seeking to better understand the social transformations experienced by Natives and newcomers during the region's colonial era.

The papers gathered in this collection derive principally from the 1998 Porter L. Fortune, Jr., History Symposium held at the University of Mississippi. All of the contributions focus on the sociopolitical reorganization of southeastern Indian societies in the wake of European contact. More than a random assemblage of essays, the volume is coherently organized on the basis of geographic subregions. One or more authors examine each corner of the southeastern region, and influences from beyond and within its subareas are given close consideration. The papers also share thematic and topical concerns, at the core of which are issues of Native response to the sweeping demographic, economic, and political changes triggered by French, English, and Spanish exploration and colonization of eastern North America. The papers thus provide useful and comparable overviews of social transformations within these regions. The volume builds upon and compliments the monographic works of the symposium participants and on several earlier collections treating related themes, especially Hudson and Carmen Tesser's *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South 1521–1704* (1994).

The volume is a useful and interesting contribution to interdisciplinary Native American studies. The authors particularly integrate the findings of archaeological and ethnohistorical research, but many also derive insights from demography, historical linguistics, biological sciences, and other fields. All of the contributors provide valuable assessments of current knowledge of the region, but some papers are especially interesting. By mentioning them, I hope to suggest the richness of the volume as a whole.

Penelope Drooker examines the Ohio Valley with an eye toward understanding the precontact to historic transition in a region where this question

has received little attention. Her research relates to broader patterns of population movement throughout eastern North America and she treats this material with sophistication and care. Her findings refine a general explanatory model that will be useful for thinking about population movement on colonial landscapes. She also begins to work on understanding the Shawnee emergence out of the historical mists of the contact era.

John Worth continues his ongoing efforts at understanding Native societies in Spanish Florida by demonstrating a remarkable proposition—that those southeastern Indian societies that participated in Spain's mission-based "Republic of Indians" preserved precontact systems of leadership and social organization more fully than did the peoples of the interior who resisted missionization and became the powerful confederacies of the later colonial period.

In very clear language, Marvin Jeter synthesizes a vast body of recent work on historical archaeology centered on present-day Arkansas. He lays out a number of competing models for understanding the contact era in the northern Lower Mississippi region. The implications of this work are vast. Among the many issues they raise is the problem of cultural affiliation as implemented under the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). A clear discussion of the complex issues being worked on in this region, Jeter's overview is invaluable, particularly as it exposes rather than glosses over the controversies currently being debated among specialists.

Patricia Galloway contributes an elegant essay, this time expanding outward from her studies of Choctaw social history to describe and explain the contrasting historical fortunes of all the peoples of the Lower Mississippi. In doing so, she shares the core focus of other volume contributors. What she adds is an especially careful consideration of both the limits imposed by the available sources (archaeological and written) and an awareness that other information (ethnographic and oral historical) may be usefully drawn upon to address questions of regional social history.

As is common to such volumes, there is some variation in depth or maturity of the individual treatments. Some authors are well established while others are junior. Some reiterate arguments found elsewhere, while others advance new interpretations or consider less well-tread ground. Within this context, the volume holds together very well and is at its best an area-by-area assessment of the ways common factors such as disease, unequal trade relations, and population movement played out differently in varied environmental, social, and historical contexts.

Having pointed to some of the book's many merits, I wish to make one critical observation. With the exception of Galloway, none of the authors even suggests that insight into the issues at question might be gained through dialogue with, and study among, the modern descendants of the colonial-era populations. While there are few ethnographers presently seeking to do so, I have had the personal good fortune to experience traditional southeastern Indian cultures and social systems firsthand in Oklahoma through the generosity of numerous Yuchi, Creek, Shawnee, Seminole, Cherokee, and Caddo people. These experiences have been rich and rewarding in and of themselves, but have also helped me grapple with the challenges of doing social

and cultural history. My own view of this matter is not new, as "upstreaming" from fieldwork to history has long been a central method in ethnohistory.

In his introduction to this volume, Hudson dismisses the culture concept as having "little analytical utility." He argues that anthropologists "have not devised ways of conceptualizing or measuring degrees of cultural difference. And despite a great deal of effort, they have not developed good ways of explaining or even describing cultural change" (p. xii). While the culture concept has been battered and critiqued in recent years, Hudson's assessment seems unfair. To take a recent example from my own work, Victoria Levine and I recently published a paper (in *Ethnomusicology*, vol. 46) that described and analyzed a southeastern Indian musical genre regionally. In it we at least took another stab at "conceptualizing" cultural similarity and difference, examining its implications for regional social patterning, and suggesting its implications for building appropriate models of southeastern Indian social and culture history. Distributional analysis of the musical repertoire we are studying suggests that most of the songs we are examining were probably in existence during the time period treated in the Ethridge and Hudson volume.

Writing off the culture concept and the historical possibilities of ethnographic fieldwork will not bring us any closer to understanding the full range of forces that shaped the lives of Native people in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century South; it will only cause us to privilege material over immaterial factors, emphasize change over continuity, and stress external forces over indigenous ways of grappling with change. Such a material bias is indexed in this volume when, for instance, the disappearance from the archaeological record of Mississippian valuables such as engraved shells is taken as a sign of decreased social contact and exchange across the region, in addition to its conventional association with social devolution. In contrast, distributional and contextual study of immaterial "cultural" forms such as ritual practices and medicinal beliefs suggests that post-Mississippian social networks remained complex and may have even intensified with the emergence of non-elite "business and leisure travel." This "travel" can be linked to the dramatic population shifts documented in this volume by Drooker and Smith and the emergence of the deerskin trade discussed by most of its contributors.

If "the social and political reorganization of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century native Southeast" was the "next big question in southeastern Indian studies" that motivated this important volume, perhaps future work can be directed toward developing a more nuanced understanding of the continuities that link this era to those that followed (p. vii). A more sophisticated model emphasizing change has now replaced the early twentieth-century theory of simple tribal continuity that Hudson and his collaborators have deconstructed. Perhaps now scholars can reopen the question of continuity in new ways. Such a project will be of particular interest to southeastern Indian people themselves.

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Trusteeship in Change: Toward Tribal Autonomy in Resource Management. Edited by Richmond L. Clow and Imre Sutton; foreword by David H. Getches. Boulder: University Press of Colorado; 2001. 488 pages. $59.95 cloth; $24.95 paper.

In fall of 2002, tens of thousands of fish lay dying on the shores of the Klamath River where the river opens to the Pacific on the Yurok Indian Reservation. Only in the last decade had the Yurok tribe regained control of the fishery, and with that they began a conservative fishing program that has resulted in a trend of increasing salmon runs. Although the tribe has invested years of time and energy to this recovery, restoring watershed functions and reintroducing traditional practices, in the summer of 2002 political and economic forces well outside of tribal control brought on disaster.

For at least two years prior to the 2002 incident, tribal fisheries experts testified in court and political hearings that low water levels caused by upstream diversions were harming the fish. But no less an esteemed body than the National Research Council declared that there was no scientific evidence to support this contention. Picking and choosing among its science and scientists and ignoring its own Fish and Wildlife and Marine Fisheries Services, the federal government assented to an unprecedented reduction in flow for the Klamath to benefit upstream farmers. The result: dead fish, a devastated fishing economy, and an overwhelming sadness for all those who know the river or grieve for yet another squandered precious resource.

Such events are just part of a long line of environmental management decisions that have brought misery to tribes since the establishment of reservations. Undeveloped or selective science, suppression of indigenous practice and knowledge, and dismissal of cultural institutions have repeatedly contributed to poverty and to environmental degradation under federal natural resource management schemes. Now tribes are increasingly assuming control of natural resource management on reservations and participating in decisions about off-reservation sites and resources.

Trusteeship in Change: Toward Tribal Autonomy in Resource Management, edited by historian Richmond L. Clow and geographer Imre Sutton, makes a solid contribution to explaining the complex web of political, ecological, and cultural processes that have shaped resource management and stewardship of Indian lands and natural resources, and that influence prospects for the future under Indian leadership. It is an excellent book for those interested in resource management on public and private lands, and would be a fine text in a graduate seminar. For those whose activities involve them in participating, researching, or negotiating with tribes in matters of environmental stewardship, it is essential.

Clow and Sutton have brought together a fascinating collection of authors of disparate expertise, including essays on the use of Indian lands for reservoirs, Indian-environmentalist relations, and environmental planning based on the "indigenous worldview." But the book has a definite flow, proceeding from, in the words of the editors, "indigenous utilization of the environment (hunting) against the obstacles of a colonial mind-set; through a series of studies that reveal the conflicts, failures, and successes in upholding

trust responsibilities to manage tribal resources; to indigenous planning increasingly encouraged by the same government more than 150 years ago" (p. 234). The illusiveness of "autonomy," so amply experienced of late by the Yurok tribe, and the legacy of past policy and management, is well illustrated by cases presented in this volume.

The viewpoints of the authors are diverse, and as such provide insight into the complex and contentious issues that surround natural resource management on tribal lands. The editors repeat more than once that there is no one voice that represents the authors in this volume. The declared goal is to provide a "balanced" view of the successes and failures of resource management in Indian Country. I am not sure how the scales would tip, or even if there is an identifiable axis at the center, but the book makes it clear that there is no one formula to resolve or even understand natural resource issues on Indian lands. The volume as a whole certainly does not beat us over the head with failures nor does it characterize the tribes as passive victims.

There is no room here to discuss every essay, but I enjoyed each one. The emphasis on the relationship between property rights, land tenure, and natural resource management is of great value in current discussions about Indians and the environment. I found the Katherine Weist essay on the impacts of hydroelectric dams a surprise, and appreciated the way it was framed within analysis of arguments about "the public good." Reservation lands have been flooded under the justification of needed water storage for the broader society, but in fact these efforts have mostly benefited white businesses, communities, and politicians to the detriment of Indian lifeways. Grouped with it, in the area of "Trusteeship: Balancing Realty and Resource Management," are essays about hunting, agriculture, and forestry. These make explicit the many ways in which land tenure and a lack of control over natural resource management has influenced tribes.

The essays grouped in the section called "Tribalism: Seeking Indian Participation" include essays on rangeland conservation in Tohono O'Odham territory, heirship land management for the Rosebud Sioux, conservation of and access to sacred resources, and the use of wilderness designation to protect a sacred view-shed by tribes in Montana. Tribes must interact with a large federal bureaucracy in the management of their own reservations and in obtaining access to and some degree of control over off-reservation sites and resources vital to tribal culture or subsistence. In the essay on rangeland conservation, Peter M. Booth shows how the Tohono O'Odham found government-sponsored range management programs a threat to their self-sufficiency. The tribe was able to unravel the original plan, take the elements of greatest use to them, and discard the rest, in a way that protected their idea of sovereignty. Taken together, these chapters offer interesting insights into the clashes and also to the more effective strategies that have evolved.

The final set of essays, "Self-Determination: Pursuing Indigenous and Multiagency Management," makes it clear that regaining control of tribal natural resources is only the beginning for the tribes. Control of natural resources is severely challenged by the legacy of management and land poli-

cy, and by fragmentation and loss of traditional knowledge and institutions for environmental stewardship. The essays are about the political geography of Indian environmental jurisdiction, negotiated water settlements and the role of environmentalists, traditional knowledge and tribal partnership on the Kaibab plateau, and indigenous planning and resource management. Standing out in this section is the delineation of the "indigenous world view," which derives from a history of shared experience and a tradition of collective action, associating central values with territory, land tenure, and stewardship. The author of the essay on indigenous planning, Theodore S. Jojola, argues that the belief in their collective responsibility as the principal stewards of the land is crucial to indigenous planning and resource management.

The relations between the tribes and environmental interests are in general well handled in the volume. The essay on negotiated water rights, by Laura Kirwin and Daniel McCool, focuses on how the interests of environmental organizations both do and do not overlap with those of the tribes in water issues. They refer to a "last refuge" perspective: the idea that Indian reservations are not so much tribal homelands but biological preserves, arguing that environmental organizations most often have this view. Kirwin and McCool state that environmentalists and tribes will find it easier to pursue common goals when the environmental community more consistently recognizes the legitimacy of tribal sovereignty.

The work brought to my mind questions about how "autonomy" also brings opportunity for direct negotiation for compensated protection of wildlife, trees, and other resources on tribal lands. How will tribes make use of these options? Would tribes accept compensation for acting as the "refuge" for wildlife or landscape, when the private lands around the reservation can no longer function in that way? This is an issue of importance not just for tribes, but for ranchers, farmers, and even the managers of some of our more urban military reservations. Conservation easements are one way, for example, that private landowners can be compensated for protecting environmental values for the benefit of outsiders, but they require to some degree the surrender of the landowner's authority. Tribes have been approached directly by wildlife and land conservation interests about putting conservation easements on their land, or timber trusts, and so forth. I am not familiar with the legal complexities with trust, allotment, and fee lands, but it will be quite interesting to see how some of these arrangements or proposed arrangements unfold.

In the text, reference is once or twice made to the "colonial" nature of the exploitation and management of tribal resources, but this idea is otherwise not much developed in the volume. The literature cited is firmly grounded in that of American environmental history, and, as such, does have a rich and interesting variety of work to draw from. Donald Worster, William Cronon, Richard White, and others have greatly enriched our way of looking at the history of the American environment, and White has, in fact, specialized in Indian life. However, I think Indian resource management issues may require us to cast a broader net, and bring in some of the international development literature that pertains to cultures, environment, and oppression. US tribes

have much in common with, for example, Filipino villagers who were handed their forest and offered the opportunity to do "community forestry" long after the trees and watershed had been severely degraded by commercial interests. Another example worth investigating are the Indonesian tribes whose traditional management and uses of forests have been "criminalized" by the central government. Works such as those of Anna Maria Alonso, James Eder, Susanna Hecht, Ramachandra Guha, Michael Murphree, and Nancy Peluso come to mind. The stories and the strategies evolved by third and fourth world communities for coping with cultural and environmental loss of control, as well as the analytic techniques used by the scholars of such, should also be mined by those researching and working in the area of natural resource management on Indian reservations. Interestingly enough, in recognition of the parallels, some tribes have begun participation in international networks for information sharing among fourth world communities.

In sum, this is a much-needed book, quite thought provoking and intelligent, on a topic that needs more attention. I find myself eager to share it with graduate students and colleagues.

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Turtle Lung Woman's Granddaughter. By Delphine Red Shirt. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2002. 242 pages. $26.95 hardback.

Delphine Red Shirt—in her autobiography *Bead on an Anthill: A Lakota Childhood* (1997)—posits herself in the changing world of traditions. Now in *Turtle Lung Woman's Granddaughter* she continues to explore the history of her family traditions by chronicling the lives of her grandmother, *Kheglézela Chaǧúwíŋ* (Turtle Lung Woman) and her mother, *Wíyą Išnála* (Lone Woman). Reading this oral history is like sorting through a neatly stacked woodpile: part is common wood and the other part is unusual wood. After sorting through the entire woodpile, the reader glosses over the common wood and lingers over the unusual wood because of its texture, richness, and quality.

The wood we expect to find covers material such as the buffalo hunt (pp. 19–21), Lakota tradition and virtues (pp. 64–67), Lakota kinship terms (pp. 74–75), *Íya* and *Anúg Ité* myths (pp. 80–81, 111), horses (pp. 129–130), reservation living (pp. 187–188), and the sweatlodge (pp. 203–205). For example, Red Shirt includes generic descriptions about the actual sweatlodge construction. "A hole is dug in the middle of the structure to put rocks that are heated in a fire. The hole measures about two feet wide and two feet deep" (p. 203). While this information does set up later stories about Old Woman Scout and the advice she gives Lone Woman after the Purification Ceremony, much of the ceremonial information is old wood and not necessary.

The bulk of the sweatlodge information and the generic descriptions could have been removed; many of the readers drawn to Red Shirt's book will have basic knowledge about Lakota customs, myths, and traditions, which

they have read in books like James R. Walker's *Lakota Society* (1982) or Carolyn Reyer's *Cante Ohitika Win* (1991). Many of these generic stories slowed the narrative down and offered little more than a grammar lesson to the reader.

The unusual wood we do not expect to find in the woodpile covers material from stories unique to Red Shirt's family, specifically her grandmother, Turtle Lung Woman. Turtle Lung Woman recounts the story of a man who stays behind to hunt after the main camp moves locations. As the man dreams of killing a buffalo, he spots a *Khaǧí wichá̌ši,* a Crow man lying in wait, and he ends up killing the Crow. In retaliation, the Crows return and "[t]he man and his wife watched their belongings burn. His wife lamented. How long it had taken to sew the buffalo skins for her tipi!" (pp. 19–21). This story has richness, layers of allegory, and it teaches virtues like the necessity of remaining close to your people in order to protect your family and the inherent risk in coveting too much.

Two other remarkable stories, unusual and textured in their telling, were Red Shirt's mother's personal connections following the Purification Ceremony (pp. 205–206) and the Making of Relatives Ceremony (pp. 217–219). In the Purification story, Lone Woman learns from Old Woman Scout that she is "now able to bear children and [she] must be aware of this great responsibility." In the Making of Relatives story, Lone Woman accepts Mata, "[a] Cheyenne woman, whose language and ways [she] did not fully know or understand," as her new grandmother. Drawing from the deep lives of these two women, Lone Woman begins to comprehend the complexity of women's lives and roles in traditional Lakota society. This is where Red Shirt captures the pure essence of her mother's life, and it comes through listening to the experience of elders and opening one's mind to the difference of other tribes.

Similarly Red Shirt portrays two men in positive ways, namely Standing Buffalo (Turtle Lung Woman's son and Lone Woman's father), and Bear Goes in the Wood (Turtle Lung Woman's second husband and Lone Woman's grandfather). Both men are held in high esteem. Lone Woman learns how to treat a firstborn son by watching her grandmother's interactions with Standing Buffalo, but she also learns an aesthetic admiration for dancing through him. "My father danced this special dance in the center, for all the people to see, 'Ikpázo,' we say, 'He showed himself,' and the people saw him. That was the way he danced. He felt obligated to do it right" (p. 167). Likewise Lone Woman discovered a simpler way of living by visiting her grandparents' cabin. "Their needs were not great and the things she and Kaká needed were not expensive, so with their combined income they lived comfortably . . . *Kaká Mathó Chą́ Wígni Iyá* had a rocking chair that I thought was the most wonderful thing they had" (pp. 86–87). By adding these stories about the men in the family, it gives a fuller characterization of Red Shirt's grandmother and mother.

Other positive qualities that *Turtle Lung Woman's Granddaughter* exhibits are the thematic links to medicines and healing; this seemingly ties the entire book together. Throughout the various chapters there are references to Turtle Lung Woman's work as a medicine woman. "She knew the old medicine . . . she was a healer, a conduit, a channel for conveying good" (p. 34). Surprisingly the most enticing chapter centers around the use of peyote

toward the end of the book (pp. 226–228). Lone Woman—at seventeen years old—has a difficult two-day peyote vision, which nearly kills her; sadly, the peyote does kill her diabetic mother. Afterwards, Lone Woman—deeply upset by the death—steps back from the Native American Church (pp. 226–228).

After sorting through this beautifully organized book, there remains a palpable vision of Delphine Red Shirt's mother and grandmother, of the way her family shaped her life, but more importantly we understand the shifting of the traditional ways. The book is well written, relying on oral narratives that are quite compelling. Had Red Shirt left out about thirty pages of background material, it would have tightened the entire book, quickening the pace and leaving us feeling less bogged down. All in all, *Turtle Lung Woman's Granddaughter* is a deeply satisfying read, thorough and engaging. It is worth working through Red Shirt's densely stacked woodpile of stories; some prized pieces are buried deep within.

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Voices of a Thousand People: The Makah Cultural and Research Center. By Patricia Pierce Erikson, with Helma Ward and Kirk Wachendorf. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2002. 264 pages. $45.00 cloth.

Traditional North American museum displays represented Native peoples "in a timeless past," as "curiosities" for the millions of people who traveled through museum doors. Up until recently Native peoples were rarely invited into these spaces as sources or resources of indigenous knowledge, as the museums of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries utilized Native Americans only "as informants or subjects of study" (p. 145). Thus, Native people were left on the periphery, outside the borders of mainstream museums. Since the early 1970s Native Americans have begun to take control of their representations through the establishment of tribal museums and cultural centers as a way to empower their communities and resist colonial projects that silenced and subordinated them.

In *Voices of a Thousand People. The Makah Cultural and Research Center*, Patricia Pierce Erikson examines how the establishment of the Makah Cultural and Research Center (MCRC) in 1979 was a key part of this Native American museum movement that created a shift in unequal power relations between museum administrators and Native American communities. Erikson notes that, "Whereas Native American peoples were once positioned by museums as objects of study, Native American peoples now position themselves as active agents, employing museums as tools, or even living forces, that counter alienating and homogenizing social forces" (p. 5). The establishment of the MCRC was situated within this process of decolonization and self-determination and gave the Makah people in Neah Bay, Washington, a place from which to speak, allowing them "to represent themselves and their way of seeing the world" (p. 7).

Erikson defines her project as a museum case study or museum ethnography (p. 6). Illuminating the history of museum development, she examines how collecting and preserving Native American artifacts and establishing museums in the late 1800s was directly tied to the colonization of Native American peoples. Focusing on key periods in Makah history (i.e., the boarding school era and the ban on the potlatch), Erikson leads us through the colonization process. However, she moves away from the "Indian as victim" model to demonstrate how even though colonization was based on unequal power relations, those being colonized were active participants in these colonial encounters. Utilizing Mary Louise Pratt's term "contact zone," which rejects the conquest domination model, Erikson gives the Makah agency. The author notes how Native people "select and create from elements of the dominant culture, using them as a way to engage with the dominant culture" in a process that Pratt describes as "autoethnography" (p. 28).

Erikson discusses the way "museum exhibits have played a significant role in shaping our concept of Native peoples" (p. 31). She uses James Clifford's description of the museum as a contact zone, "a place where different systems of meaning encounter one another and where its collections and exhibitions are the product of their negotiation with one another" (p. 29). In this respect, Erikson suggests that museums should also be considered autoethnographic, "a means to negotiate and counteract dominant trends in society"(p. 29). She focuses on the 1970 excavation at Ozette, a former Makah whaling village, as the catalyst for establishing the MCRC and for starting a dialogue between the academic and museum professionals and the Makah people in determining how to preserve the artifacts. The establishment of the MCRC to house the items collected in the archaeological dig demonstrated the process in which Native people, in this case the Makah, became "speaking subjects" and active participants in control of their representation (p. 147).

Taking her title, *Voices of a Thousand People*, from Makah member Maria Pasqua's phrase describing the precontact community of Ozette, Erikson reinscribes the phrase with another meaning, discussing how the subjectivity of both mainstream and tribal museums is shaped by a multitude of voices (p. 144). Although the MCRC is a product of the Makah nation, it is not completely independent from the traditional museum profession. Like the Makah community, it is constantly "engaged with the world around it" (p. 7). Using the MCRC as an ethnographic model, Erikson argues that Native American museums and cultural centers are hybrid embodiments of Native and non-Native perspectives. Therefore, "as a synthesis of cultural forms" these tribal institutions "reveal a process of collaboration between diverse peoples amid conditions of unequal empowerment. Native American museums/cultural centers are both translators and translations, agents of social change and products of accommodation" (pp. 26–27).

Erikson's book is a fine contribution to Native American studies, research on Native American museums, and anthropology. Her analysis of museums and colonization is well detailed and quite interesting, especially in demonstrating how traditional museum displays and the development of anthropol-

ogy as a discipline are connected to the colonization of Native peoples and to the subordination and silencing of the Native voice.

Erikson respects and recognizes the voices of the Makah people as an important and central component to her study. She allows the Makah's voice to emerge within her text by using long quotes from tribal members who discuss with Erikson what it means to "be Makah," and also share their thoughts on how history has been collected about them by anthropologists who have visited Neah Bay. She gives a special nod to the Makah members who worked with her, Helma Ward and Kirk Wachendorf, by including their names as co-authors on two of the chapters in the book.

Although she is an anthropologist, Erikson is critical of anthropologists who have gathered research yet have not acknowledged the members of Native communities whom they interviewed. She describes this process as "anthropological plagiarism" whereby "someone's knowledge" is taken by researchers and presented as their own findings (p. 64). She also notes how scholars go into Native communities and extract information without giving anything back. To counter this, the data Erikson gathered while conducting her fieldwork with the Makah was given to the MCRC, as a way of giving something back to the Makah for the valuable knowledge they gave to her. In this respect, her research and scholarship challenge other scholars to think about why they are conducting research on Native Americans and what value their work will have for the group they are studying.

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