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REVIEWS

American Indians and National Parks. By Robert H. Keller and Michael F. Turek. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998. 319 pages. $40.00 cloth; $19.95 paper.

This co-authored book, *American Indians and National Parks*, by Robert H. Keller and Michael F. Turek, fills an important academic void. It is the first book-length historical study on the interactions (both negative and positive) between various American Indian tribes and the National Park Service (NPS). Much of what we read in Native American history pertains to Indian-white relations with a focus on Indian tribes and the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). Although this above study includes some discussion of the BIA, its major focus is on Indian tribes and another federal agency—the NPS.

The authors examine the following tribal groups and specific national parks: the Ojibwe and the Apostle Islands National Lakeshore Park in Wisconsin; the Utes, Navajos, and Pueblos and the Mesa Verda National Park in Colorado; the Blackfeet and the Glacier National Park in Montana; the Kaibab Paiutes and the Pine Spring National Monument in Arizona; the Skokomish, Klallam, Makah, along with other tribes of Washington and the Olympic National Park; the Havasupai, Hualapai, Hopi, and Navajo and the Grand Canyon National Park; the Navajo and various national park land-bases on the Navajo Reservation, including Canyon de Chelly; and the Seminole and Micosukee of Florida and the Everglades National Park. Some of the parks are located on Indian reservations, while others surround Indian land-bases, border reservations, or are surrounded by one or more Indian tribe.

Keller and Turek show that the Indians have had both negative and positive experiences with the park service, with the former outweighing the latter. Indians have been hired by some parks over the years, and the Canyon de Chelly staff is now 90 percent Navajo. Some park personnel have been tolerant toward Indians who live inside park boundaries. On the other hand, some Indians harbor anger toward the park system because of the loss of tribal land after certain parks' creations. The Ute Mountain Utes, for example, lost part of their reservation after the creation of the Mesa Verde National Park, and the Navajo lost part of theirs with the establishment of Canyon de Chelly. On occasion, the park service has attempted to evict Indian people living inside park boundaries, despite the fact that the Indians are indigenous to the region.

Although much of the study deals with national parks and particular tribal groups, it does include other historical aspects. The authors provide a brief historical overview of some of the tribes included in their study. They write about some tribes having had an earlier history of migration before settling in the places where they currently live, including the Blackfeet, Kaibab Paiute, and Navajo. The authors also discuss what some tribes have done to support the setting aside of land for park purposes. Thus the Navajo Nation established its Monument Valley Tribal Park in 1958 in the well-known Monument Valley region. They also point out that some Euramericans popularized certain falsities about Indian tribes, including the notion that Indians are afraid of geysers; therefore they kept away from the Yellowstone region in Wyoming before the coming of the Americans.

Because of the large number of national parks and Indian tribes, the authors acknowledge that their study is not comprehensive. They provide little or no discussion of Indian interactions with Yosemite, Death Valley, Badland, Mount Rainer, and other national parks. Because of this the authors cannot show that the park service might have developed a uniform policy that was applied to Indians in general. For example, Keller and Turek write that the park service authorized the building of a new Indian village—Supai Village—in Grand Canyon in 1939 and that it called for the gradual elimination of that same village in 1955. However, because there is little or no discussion of Yosemite and Death Valley, the authors do not specify that the park service also authorized the creation of new Indian villages at these two places in the 1930s but wanted their gradual elimination beginning in the 1950s. By studying more national parks and tribal groups, one might conclude that the park service had developed a kind of uniform Indian policy in this century. In addition, the authors point out that when President Harry Truman authorized the creation of Everglades National Park in 1947, "he saw no Seminoles" (p. 229). Because there is no discussion of Death Valley, the authors could not point out that President Herbert Hoover also saw no Timbisha Shoshones when he authorized the creation of the Death Valley park in 1933. In short, the American government pretended that Indians did not exist when it wanted to establish national parks in particular areas.

Since this study is not comprehensive, the authors make some conclusions that are not universal. They write that the BIA was "a consistent and surprisingly effective advocate for native interests against the Park Service" (p. 233). Although this conclusion might apply to some Indian tribes and parks, it does not apply to others, for both the BIA and the NPS stood together in the 1950s and favored the phasing out of the Indian village in Death Valley.

Despite its weaknesses, this book still remains a valuable source, and it will most likely encourage other scholars to examine the relationships, or non-relationships, between other Indian tribes and national parks. Both Keller and Turek favor this move and write that "with so much left out of it, this book should inspire more study" (p. xiv). Perhaps a future study will address the NPS and the Native American Graves Protection and

Repatriation Act of 1990. Perhaps other scholars will examine how other federal agencies have interacted with Indian tribes over the years, including the Bureau of Land Management and the National Forest Service.

Steven Crum
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Ancient West Mexico: Art and Archeology of the Unknown Past. Edited by Richard F. Townsend. Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1998. 308 pages. $50.00 cloth; $34.95 paper.

This is a beautiful book and a major demonstration of the archaic cultures of Nayarit, Colima, and Jalisco. The many elegant photographs of ceramic figures of humans, animals, and plants accompany fifteen essays on the investigations to date of the societies that flourished between 200 BC and AD 800.

The figurines, almost all looted from tombs and sold into private or public collections, were once called anecdotal art because they portray activities such as food preparation, eating, drinking, playing musical instruments, and brandishing weapons. They might equally be called cartoon art in that they capture a subtle and intriguing essence of both ordinary and extraordinary events, with meticulous detail to dress and status, as well as behavior, posture, gesture, and expression.

The figurines have high aesthetic quality. They represent a "technically demanding and iconographically complex art tradition" (p. 192). The book's photographs manage to communicate eloquent and powerful messages. Some figurines look directly into the eyes of the viewer, as if in mutual awareness. Some men and women, thirty to ninety centimeters tall, attend alertly to an anticipated action off-stage. Other figures smile quietly, assertively, or with wide full-toothed pleasure. Others sit or sag dejectedly in long-endured privation or pain. Warriors pose in all degrees of animosity, truculence, or threat. One small soldier, for example, peeks in wide-eyed apprehension from under a too-large helmet, clutching his spear. A girl, bulging with sexuality, stares disdainfully at her feet. A drunken man leans heavily and unsteadily over his companion, lust in his expression and liquor slopping over his chin. Happier figures wave their arms enthusiastically or manipulate drums, trumpets, or *raspadas.* Above all this sit elders in resolute dignity. There are group scenes—plaza celebrations, offerings, and ghastly self-mutilation—that are far different than the cool beauty of European classic sculpture. In the extended presence of this crowd of delightful characters one begins to feel, uncannily, that they are not sculpted models of humans, but sentient little humans in the form of sculptures.

The essays by seventeen contributors are as carefully crafted and illuminating as the ancient clay figurines. These articles are concerned appropriately with the autochthonous development of West Mexican societies and their relationships with the peoples of Central Mexico and South America. Included in the book are deep evaluations of ecology and natural resources,

settlement, the rise of state-like Teuchitlan, sea trade with Equador-Peru, mortuary practice, feasting, sacrifice, shamanism, rulership, art history, and the interesting influences of ancient imagery on modern Mexican and North American art. Maps, chronological tables, and diagrams assist the reader.

The fine ceramic art of West Mexico undoubtedly owed its development and exquisitely attained perfection to the indulgence of the wealthy and powerful elites in an evolving hierarchical society. Curiously, most of the pieces and collections of this art, a millennium or two later, are still in the hands of those modern elites wealthy enough to support the illegal trade of objects from desecrated sites and powerful enough to ignore national efforts to preserve these sites.

Thomas H. Lewis
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A Cold Day to Die: Murder on the Highway. By Johnny Sughani. Chugiak, Alaska: Salmon Run Press, 1998. 153 pages. $12.95 paper.

This book's title should be *A Cold Place to Die* rather than *A Cold Day to Die* because place is indispensable to Johnny Sughani's novel. That is, locale is central to his creative plot.

Sughani's character, Philip Highmountain, reflects someone who lives and moves in a literally and metaphorically glaciated world. The author was able to make use of Alaska's natural climate—icy roads and below-zero days—to create a dangerously cold tempo and an emotionally charged tone mirrored in deathly winds. The emotional tone is embedded in Sughani's syntax.

The writer's sketch of the northern landscape is so true-to-life that its description often rises above the novel's character development. In the opening scenes, Highmountain's girlfriend Sue—drinking while she is pregnant—gives birth to a sick baby. Rather than focusing on the individual struggle of these three characters, Sughani forces the reader to examine the holistic picture of a tribe that becomes the protagonist.

The drunk Native character has a long intellectual history—look at William Shakespeare's play *The Tempest.* Shakespeare's character, Caliban, is the first drunken indigenous character in Western literature. In *A Cold Day to Die,* the author's focus on this character-type changes direction: his character development moves from an individual protagonist to a whole tribe or indigenous nation. This is crucial to the non-western novel or narrative.

The People in *A Cold Day to Die* become the protagonist. I give credit for this general idea in literature written by Native writers to Charles Larson. In his work, *The Novel in the Third World,* Larson suggests that a "situational novel" is ideally defined as a narrative in which the center character's importance is replaced by a collective group of people undergoing a common experience. That commonly shared experience for indigenous communities is colonialism.

Of course, the focus of *A Cold Day to Die* is on the destruction of the tribal family system as seen through the dialogue between Highmountain and Sue. When she tells Highmountain that his son does not want him, the news

cuts deep into his heart. The couple's family trouble acts as a microcosm for the rest of the tribe and its internal strife. This concept can also be seen in Sughani's use of the word *Indian.* Rather than reflect a nameless protagonist, the author's use of the word subverts the traditional Western literary form, using one word to describe an entire Native nation.

In addition, Sughani juxtaposes images of Highmounatain with the symbol of colonialism, trooper Andy Hudson. This helps the reader understand the complexities of colonialism; the reader experiences the downtrodden world of the Indian and the picturesque life of the white man. This difference helps the reader grasp the importance of the life-and-death struggle in which Highmountain kills Hudson on the coldest day of the year. Sughani creatively moves the plot forward with his deadly wintry imagery.

A Cold Day to Die may be compared to Leslie Silko's *Tony's Story,* in which a state trooper is also killed. Unlike Sughani, however, Silko takes a real event and fictionalizes it as a witchcraft narrative. Silko's readers must understand the killing in terms of a particular culture's view of sorcery and ceremony. Similarly, *A Cold Day to Die* pushes the reader to see the trooper's death as a sort of ceremony of survival, which is as old as human memory.

Dave Gonzales
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Daughters of the Buffalo Women: Maintaining the Tribal Faith. By Beverly Hungry Wolf. Skookumchuck, British Columbia: Canadian Caboose Press, 1996. 143 pages. $14.95 paper.

Daughters of the Buffalo Women is an example of something needed in Indian Country, both in Canada and the United States: the preservation of personal stories from the past. Once again Beverly Hungry Wolf has made a major contribution to Blackfoot cultural history and has provided insight into the lives of Indian women.

The most praiseworthy aspect of this book is Hungry Wolf's ability to describe the generational transition that has occurred between modern Blackfoot women and those of the buffalo culture. The era between 1900 and 1970, a time during which many Native people were convinced to neglect their heritage and history, is a rich field of research and can provide critical information for future generations. In addition to providing information on this period of Blackfoot history, the author supplies the reader with substantial Blackfoot genealogy. These stories are enhanced by photographs, personalizing these women's experiences for the reader.

What makes this book so fascinating and valuable is that many of the stories directly relate to those traumatic years of cultural transition from buffalo culture to reservation life. It was during this era in which the Blackfoot people were incorporating new elements into their culture. Because of this, many women of this generation lost interest in the past. Yet a few Indian women preserved the knowledge of the old ways and passed this knowledge to a new gen-

eration. In the pages of *Daughters of the Buffalo Women,* the author explores cultural traits that were retained and those that were lost or discarded as the people adapted to their new situation on reservations.

An additional and intriguing element in the book is the author's ability to mix her own memories with those she interviewed. While this provides a cross-generational view, the women who tell their stories also compare the cultural traits of long ago to those of the transitional period and the present. In this way, the reader is exposed to the contrast among these three periods in Blackfoot cultural history. This contrast is best exposed during an interview with Molly Kicking Bird in which she speaks of the cultural introduction of cars and telephones. Her conclusion is full of traditional wisdom: "It's my thinking that the young people who live with all these modern things have a very easy life. But they are also poor because of it (pp. 131–132)." She is speaking of cultural complexity, which may be the book's major theme: although life in the past was full of hardships and difficulties, it was in many ways a more simple and rewarding way of living than the modern day.

The chapter titled "Going to Sit" is particularly fascinating because it provides a female view of the boarding school experience. It is interesting to note that the author's commentary on boarding schools is more critical than that of her mother who lived through the experience.

There is only one part of the book that seems out of place. The chapter concerning the boarding school nurse, Jane Megarry, does not reflect the thoughts, feelings, or perspectives of Indian women. However, her comments are interesting and do contribute to an overall understanding of the Indian school experience.

Daughters of the Buffalo Women, alongside Hungry Wolf's *The Ways of My Grandmothers,* should be incorporated into classes on Indian history, serving to inform the younger generation of Native people about the changes that occurred in the lives of Indian women throughout the twentieth century. It is unfortunate that this book could not have been larger, with more stories of this fascinating era of Indian history.

Ronald Craig
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Essie's Story: The Life and Legacy of a Shoshone Teacher. By Esther Burnett Horne and Sally McBeth. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998. 225 pages. $35.00 cloth; $13.95 paper.

In *Essie's Story,* anthropologist Sally McBeth, author of *Ethnic Identity and the Boarding School Experience,* and Shoshone educator Esther Burnett Horne present an important example of collaborative autobiography as they tell the story of Horne's life. From the title page to the end, the book displays the importance its authors place on collaboration, mutual recognition, and academic openness and honesty. Sharing equal responsibility for the book's authorship is only the first of many strategies that Horne and McBeth use to

redefine the relationship between the Indian subject and white amanuensis that makes up the bicultural composition established by Arnold Krupat as the marker of the collaborative Indian autobiography. By combining an informed yet flexible use of the methods of collaborative autobiography with an engaging and important narrative, Horne and McBeth create an important addition to the library of American Indian autobiography, the boarding school narratives, and Indian women's life stories.

McBeth's critical introduction provides a detailed description of the methods that she and Horne used to create the memoir. From collecting and recording multiple versions of life events to a collaborative editing process that produced several drafts over a ten-year period, McBeth and Horne devoted themselves to dismantling the distinction between informant and ethnographer. McBeth notes, "The process had become much more important than the product, the dialogue more significant than the text" (p. xvii). This emphasis on process over product allowed both Horne and McBeth to shape the text according to their goals for an audience they mutually defined—both academic and non-academic readers interested in "oral traditions, in women's issues, in twentieth-century American Indian life, and in collaborative methodologies" (p. xxii).

By disclosing explicit information about their recording, transcribing, and editing methods, including an appendix that compares the transcript of Horne's taped telling of an event to the final version included in the book, McBeth highlights the plusses and minuses of the collaborative process. This reflection on and presentation of the process provides a model for future collaborations. McBeth's contextual information enables readers to understand the division of labor involved in the creation of the book and allows them to place Horne's story within the tradition of American Indian autobiographical studies. Clearly, the adjustment in the power discrepancy usually present in the production of an Indian autobiography allows Horne to play a much more active and equal role in telling and shaping her story. She is able to emphasize what she finds important or interesting about her experiences. In fact, her "Retrospective," which brings her narrative to a close, gives her an important opportunity to theorize the significance of her own story.

Unfortunately—as McBeth recognizes—"much of [Essie's] warmth and humor and her thoughtful reflections have been lost in the writing process" (p. xvi). The transcript in the appendix, as well as several humorous out-takes McBeth includes in her introduction, possess a far more playful and artistic use of language than the final product reflects. In their rigorous concern for accuracy and clarity, Horne and McBeth produced a narrative with more historical and anthropological value than literary merit. The prosaic tone of McBeth's introduction is present throughout the text. The loss of the playfulness of Horne's storytelling is, perhaps, the downside of the collaborative method. McBeth's and Horne's dialogic composing process resists the type of seamless cover-up often revealed in these type of texts. While this process has considerable benefits, the beauty of the language suffers.

Despite its occasional narrative flatness, the book provides important information about a remarkable woman's life. Esther Burnett Horne was born

in Idaho on 9 November 1909, the daughter of a Shoshone mother, Mildred Large, and a Scottish-Irish father, Finn Burnett, Jr. Horne begins her life story long before that date, however, with the history of her great-great-grandmother, Sacagawea. Horne is one of the firmest advocates of Shoshone oral tradition, which claims that long after she made her place in history by accompanying Meriwether Lewis and William Clark on their expedition to the Pacific, Sacagawea returned to the Wind River Reservation where she lived among her Shoshone people until her death in 1884. Citing the stories and reminiscences passed down to her from her family, members of the tribe, and the larger community at Wind River, Horne defends her heritage against historians who claim that Sacagawea died in 1812. Appropriately, chapters about Sacagawea frame Horne's life story since, as she states, "the oral traditions of this woman have inspired me to hold on to my traditions" (p. 1).

Though she had a happy childhood, Horne's family life became troubled and impoverished after her father's death in 1922. Her home life had fallen apart by the time she and her siblings left for the Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas, then an off-reservation boarding school. Because of the problems she left behind, the BIA-run school was a source of stability for Horne. Her memories of her time at Haskell reflect a boarding school experience that was far less traumatic and negative than the experiences portrayed in most boarding school narratives. Horne thrived in the school environment, becoming a commissioned officer in the school's military-style student leadership. She reveled in the opportunity to meet Indian people from other tribes and she valued the sense of community the students shared, finding within it the "traditional values, such as sharing and cooperation [that] helped us to survive culturally at Haskell, even though the schools were designed to erase our Indian culture, values, and identities" (p. 33). She met her husband, Robert Horne, at school, and was especially affected by her two Native teachers—Ruth Muskrat Bronson and Ella Deloria. These women, who found ways to encourage the retention of tribal and Pan-Indian identities even within the school's rigid and oppressive system, became role models for Horne. She decided to make nurturing and supporting Indian students her life's work.

Horne had the uncommon experience of being part of the boarding school system as both a student and a teacher from 1924 until her retirement in 1965. *Essie's Story* makes its most important contribution by chronicling this dual experience during the turn of the century, a time period not often discussed in school histories. From her first teaching job at the Eufaula Creek Girls' Boarding School, where she used a cooperative, bilingual teaching technique, to her thirty-five-year sojourn at the Wahpeton Indian School in North Dakota, Horne was an innovative teacher who tirelessly strove to integrate Indian cultural materials and values into the boarding school curriculum. She was also a working mother and continued to teach even as she nursed her two infant daughters and cared for her family while her husband served in World War II. Her story gives insight into her teaching philosophy and her efforts to make boarding schools respectful of and responsive to Indian students. Often the only Indian faculty member in the school or at the many training sessions she led, Horne asserted her strength as a leader, working for change from within the system.

While turn-of-the-century boarding school students such as the Dakota author Zitkala-Sa asserted that the schools were "civilizing machine[s]" that caused their students "long-lasting death" by attempting to strip them of their cultures and tribal identities (*American Indian Stories,* 1985, pp. 66, 99), Horne argues that by 1982 boarding schools provided "cultural advantages" for their students, giving some of them "the first real contact that they had with their ethnic heritage" (p. 126). To Horne, the boarding school had become the protector, rather than the destroyer, of Indian identity. Acknowledging that her experience was different from the dominant evaluation of the schools, Horne emphasizes, "It has often been said that the boarding school created a generation of confused and lonely children. While this may be true for some, it does not ring true for many of us boarding school students. That is why I record this story" (p. 140).

Her life-long involvement in the system provides an unusual opportunity to examine the continuity and importance of the boarding school experience to Indian identity. Even a brief list of Horne's prominent acquaintances who were associated with the schools—teacher, ethnographer, and author Ella Deloria; her colleagues at Wahpeton, Ralph and Rita Erdrich, parents of novelist and poet Louise Erdrich; and her students, American Indian Movement leaders Dennis Banks and Leonard Peltier—shows the centrality of the boarding schools to the Indian experience in the twentieth century. *Essie's Story* is a consequential new resource that adds to our understanding of the legacy of the Indian boarding schools, the intricacies of one woman's life, and the methods by which Indian autobiographies should be written.

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First Person, First Peoples: Native American College Graduates Tell Their Life Stories. Edited by Andrew Garrod and Colleen Larimore. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997. 250 pages. $39.95 cloth; $15.95 paper.

Recently the headmaster of a college preparatory school expressed to me his dismay that several Native Americans who had just gone on to college from his school had dropped out and returned to their communities. He was discouraged and was questioning whether recruiting Native students was worthwhile. In response, I bought *First Person, First Peoples* for him. With poignancy and forcefulness, this book communicates the struggles Native American youth experience in their transitions from home communities to predominantly Euramerican academic institutions. Although the book focuses on Native American students at Dartmouth College, the insights it offers are as relevant to secondary and postgraduate education. These first-person testimonies of indigenous peoples would be invaluable to a broad audience, including prospective Native students, administrators, and students and scholars in Native American studies who are interested in processes of cultural continuity and adaptation, resistance, and institutional oppression.

This book is largely comprised of autobiographical essays by thirteen Native Americans who graduated from Dartmouth between 1979 and 1995. Reflecting the diversity of Dartmouth's Native student population, the tribal affiliations of these essayists span the Plains, Southwest, Hawaii, Northwest Coast, Plateau, Alaska, and the Southeast. The testimonies are prefaced by three very significant voices: a foreword by writer and 1971 Dartmouth alumna Louise Erdrich (Turtle Mountain Chippewa) and an introduction by editors Andrew Garrod, associate professor of education at Dartmouth, and Colleen Larimore (Comanche), a 1985 Dartmouth alumna. As an alumna, Erdrich captures the essence of the Native American community at Dartmouth with lyrical metaphors characteristic of her writing: "a frybread network of sisters, brothers, cousins, friends, fellow tribal members." She also points to the hardships, writing that, "often these students are exhausted cultural emissaries" (p. x). Erdrich rightly casts the book as a collection of stories about the perseverance of Native life and knowledge.

The relationship between Native lifeways and processes of knowledge-making appropriately is one focus of Garrod and Larimore's introduction. Their essay prepares the reader for a common problematic issue presented in the essays that follow: the dialectic between Native American identity and non-Native education. The editors have assembled this collection to call attention to voices not often heard. These are the stories of homesickness, racism, struggles for self-esteem, triumphs of realizing new potential, and the challenges of applying aspirations and hard-won skills in home communities. The editors offer these life histories in order to humanize the statistical treatment of the Native American experience with education.

The statistics of Native students' achievements in the educational system are indeed grim: 60 percent of Native American students who enter ninth grade will graduate and only one-third of these will enter post-secondary school; only 15 percent of those who matriculate in college will graduate. This is where Dartmouth College distinguishes itself in the world of Native American education. In contrast to the above figures, 75 percent of Native students who enter Dartmouth complete their degree. In their introduction, Garrod and Larimore describe some of the exemplary support services, both social and academic, that ease the students' transitions, fortify their self-esteem, and improve their overall collegiate experiences. As the former director of the Native American program at Dartmouth, Larimore speaks from experience when she shares her perspectives on how such services must continually combat "internalized oppression," the oppression that students reproduce by turning it onto themselves or displacing it onto their fellow Native students (p. 14).

This collection of autobiographical essays succeeds in humanizing generalized descriptions of Native Americans' experiences with the American educational system. The book is divided into three sections: "When Worlds Collide," "Planted in the Ground," and "Coming Full Circle." This organization roughly sorts the life histories into themes of culture shock, issues of Native identity, and contributions of Native education to home communities, respectively. In "Coming Full Circle," Siobhan Wescott shares with readers a

culminating moment in her four years of struggling to assert her humanity at Dartmouth. In "Machiavelli and Me" she reflects upon her decision to wear traditional regalia at college graduate and her fears that the garb would somehow draw hostility from this college community known for its enduring Indian mascot. Wescott explains that she modifies the tradition of shifting the mortarboard tassel by moving an eagle feather in her hair from one side to another. The response of the large graduation audience was lighthearted: "This is one of the rare moments that I could share a Native quality, like my sense of humor, with a large group of non-Native people. Most of the time, I must demystify the misconceptions that others have about Indians; I feel like a broken record in doing so. No matter how far-fetched the misconception (such as that Alaska Natives still travel exclusively by dogsled), losing long-held ideas about Indians somehow disappoints many people. At Dartmouth, I often chose to educate myself rather than others" (p. 191). The nature of this testimony is echoed by the others and is what prompted Erdrich to call these students "exhausted cultural emissaries" (p. xii).

The book, then, is not only about the struggles of Native students to survive and succeed in non-Native educational systems. It is also about the effects of "othering."

Patricia Pierce Erikson
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Fur Traders from New England: The Boston Men in the North Pacific, 1787–1800. Edited by Briton C. Busch and Barry M. Gough. Spokane: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1996. 103 pages. $29.50 cloth.

Between 1799 and 1815, American merchants centered in Boston dominated the Northwestern fur trade. In securing their furs, ship captains entered into economic relations with indigenous peoples from Hawaii to Alaska to California. Though these Native hunters were essential to the success of the enterprise, the works reproduced in this handsome volume rarely mention the Indians and their involvement in the trade. Indeed, a quick reading of this book suggests there is little information relating to the Native peoples of the region. The reader never sees the impact of this new fur trade on the indigenous communities, learns about the Indians involved in the trade, or even discovers where a majority of individuals involved in the trade resided. Still, a second reading of the book suggests a scholar can glean some important insights about the Indians involved in the Northwestern fur trade.

The editors of this volume bring together four important works relating to the Northwestern fur trade. For this they are to be commended. Of the four works, "Solid Men of Boston in the Northwest" comprises a bulk of the book. Some readers may be familiar with the work since earlier scholars such as Herbert Bancroft and Samuel Eliot Morison used it in their own studies. The current editors' contribution to this work consists of uncovering the authorship of this previously anonymous manuscript. Playing the role of the detec-

tive, the editors conclude that William Dane Phelps wrote the manuscript. They base their analysis on Phelps' close friendship with William A. Gale, a primary informant for the narrative, and the use of Gale's logbook, something Phelps did in his autobiography.

Besides Phelps' account of the Northwestern fur trade, the editors have included three other works on the topic. For some reason, these other works appear as appendices of Phelp's narrative. None of them relate specifically to the main text. Two of these works, those by William Sturgis and James Gilchrist Swan, contain information relating to Native peoples. In these works, price lists and Indian trading practices—including a fleeting description of the role Haida women played in economic transactions—take center stage. The last appendix involves a ship list of those involved in the trade between 1787 and 1807. It is useful for those researching the maritime trade, but not for scholars of ethnohistory or indigenous peoples.

While the book does not provide the reader with any new ethnographic information about Northwestern Indians, it does provide first-hand accounts of how the trade was organized and conducted. It unknowingly provides information about the dynamics of the fur trade once the Americans arrived. For the Chinook, access to the traders meant opportunities. For example, on at least one occasion, they opposed American attempts to build a fort along the Columbia River. Fearing the fort would "injure their own trade" with the interior Indians, the Chinook forced the traders to abandon the outpost (p. 63). Phelps' discussion shows indigenous peoples responding actively to American arrival. Phelps' awareness of the Indians as active participants places the work within the context of current scholarship on indigenous reactions to American economic activity in the nineteenth century.

Another strength of this book is its ability to place the American fur trade in a Pacific-wide context. The Boston men who traveled to the Northwest often stopped first in Hawaii, where they restocked their ships. Captains also hired Hawaiians as extra hands for the journey to Alaska or Canton, though on at least one occasion the Hawaiian sailor joined the crew in Boston. By the early nineteenth century captains also purchased sandalwood from the Kamehameha dynasty for resale elsewhere. What is missing in this work is a discussion—even within the footnotes—of how these primary accounts fit within our current understanding of the events, people, and activities being discussed. For example, Were the Hawaiian participants in the Northwestern fur trade mixed-blood progeny of early British and American arrivals, or were they pure-blooded Hawaiians? Given the role of mixed-blood Hawaiians in the early history of Hawaii-American relations such questions are important and would have strengthened the book even if they are not the central issue of the text.

From Hawaii, the ships traveled to New Archangel, Alaska. Once there, ship captains sought to employ Native hunters. Relying on Russian officials, captains hired hundreds of Kodiak or Aleut Indians. Captains then took their charges southward, dropping them off on the various islands of the Northwest coast, including the Channel Islands of California. California historians might enjoy a few reference to Native populations, though their accuracy is suspect.

While the ship sailed on, Russian overseers oversaw the Native hunting parties and their search for sea-bearing mammals. Through Phelps the reader learns that two hunting boats were always assigned the task of supplying the hunting camp with fresh meat. Implicit in the account is the notion that meat of the otters, seals, and beavers taken were discarded once the skins were removed. Throughout their travels, captains traded with local hunters, augmenting their fur supply. After a season or two along the Northwest Coast, captains took their cargoes to Canton. Here, sea otter skins sold for between $20 to $25 each, though toward the end of the period the skins' value reached $50. This portion of the trade is what produced the ship's profit for the Boston interest financing the voyage. From Canton, the ships returned to Hawaii, where captains decided if they should return for another season of fur trading or return to Boston.

The book reminds the reader of the trade's immense proportions. In one four-year period, from 1799 to 1802, American vessels took 48,500 sea-otter skins to Canton. This figure does not include the mink, muskrat, raccoon, and beaver skins also taken to China. The figures given suggest there was a good reason why the trade virtually collapsed on the eve of the War of 1812. Nevertheless, the fur trade's possibilities help explain why the American and British governments supported joint occupation after 1818. The British controlled the trade from the forty-ninth parallel while the Americans dominated it south to the forty-second. At the same time, "Solid Men of Boston" reminds the readers of the important rivalries involved in the Northwest fur trade. Boston sailors often off-loaded their skins before entering San Francisco Bay for fear "the Spainards might consider" them "a contraband business" (p. 69). While the Americans had troubles with Spanish authorities, Russian officials helped the Americans enter the trade.

Sturgis' account of the trade gives important information about the type of goods Americans used in dealing with Northwest Coast Indians. It also provides prices for the items involved. As a result, one sees the continuity of trade items over time. As was the case in the colonial period, Indians displayed a preference for strouds and duffles rather than the American equivalent. Moreover, sea captains were just as likely as land traders to undermine the status quo in pricing when it fit their need. The Indians played off these rivalries. In 1799 Indian traders drove the price of cloth up 150 percent. They did this by finding a ship captain willing to give them five fathoms of cloth for three skins instead of the customary two fathoms. The Indians immediately withheld their furs until all trading ships matched the new price. News of the price raise spread quickly, and Sturgis tells the audience, "at every port we visited afterwards we were compell'd to give the same [five fathoms] price" (p. 104). Despite the increase in cloth prices, guns remained constant, as did axes and wire beads. At the same time, Indian consumers dictated certain goods be added to the transaction: rice and molasses. After having tasted the two items mixed together in 1799, Indians demanded these things be sold to them, and they were.

Despite the Indians' success in establishing trade prices, Sturgis reminds the reader of another constant in the fur trade: violence. In 1801, "Wacosk"

warriors attacked the *Bell Savage* (for what reason Sturgis is silent). Shortly thereafter, Captain Ingersoll, commanding the *Charlotte*, sought to avenge the attack. Unfortunately, he attacked the wrong Indians. This produced another attack against a different American vessel. The result was a series of skirmishes that produced a climate of distrust between the indigenous hunters and American traders. This too is a theme found in other studies of the fur trade.

The editors provide the reader with important commentary about the impact of the Bostonians' arrival among the Indian groups. They remind the reader that indigenous peoples saw the Americans as intruders who often created violent situations through their trading practices or violations of indigenous custom. While Phelps' account omits references to these encounters, Sturgis' account does not. He details the consequences Bostonians paid when they failed to live up to Native concepts of behavior.

Scholars looking for new information about the Indians involved in the Pacific fur trade should look elsewhere. Still, this book is useful reading if one is interested in seeing how the American participants of the Northwestern fur trade viewed the enterprise. The editors are to be complimented for the documents they have included in the volume. One wishes, however, that the editors had paid attention to how the information found in these documents fits into our current understanding of the fur trade and the Native peoples mentioned in the texts.

Michael J. Mullin
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Justice in Aboriginal Communities: Sentencing Alternatives. By Ross Gordon Green. Saskatoon, Saskatchewan: Purich Publishing, 1998. 192 pages. $20.50 paper.

This book has value within a limited scope. The cover, which has *Justice in Aboriginal Communities* in substantially larger type than *Sentencing Alternatives*, is somewhat misleading. It would be better were it something like *Sentencing Alternatives for Aboriginal Offenders*, since the book gives only very limited attention to broader issues of justice for aboriginal peoples. Instead, the focus is on alternative approaches to sentencing and, to a lesser extent, the attempted rehabilitation of Native people charged with criminal offenses by the mainstream Canadian police and court systems.

Its focus on options for sentencing Native people found guilty of or pleading guilty to violations of Canadian law offers a good overview of the variety of approaches that have been used to incorporate community input into the standard Canadian criminal justice system. Four categories of approach are examined: "The Sentencing Circle"; "The Elders' or Community Sentencing Panel"; "The Sentence Advisory Committee"; and the "Community Mediation Committee." Background discussions of Canadian sentencing law and traditional aboriginal approaches to justice, for which information is limited, according to this author, set the stage for case studies of these four alternative

approaches that are in operation in communities in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Academic theories of criminal justice are outlined. Comparisons between Canadian criminal law and procedures and mainstream US legal approaches round out the contents. Given that aspects of the US legal system are presented in contrast to those of the Canadian system, it is interesting that nothing is mentioned about the tribal courts that are operated by a number of US tribal governments.

The author does a nice job of outlining the characteristics of the four alternative approaches examined and of giving examples of each in operation. In addition to the relatively detailed case studies from Saskatchewan and Manitoba that form the heart of the book, brief references are made to similar approaches in Alberta, British Columbia, Ontario, and the Yukon. Although written in a bland style, the case studies are informative and interesting, particularly to readers seeking information about sentencing options for Aboriginal criminal offenders. Many of the strengths, weaknesses, and operational difficulties of the various approaches are weighed. Some variations in how a particular approach has been put into effect in different communities are also described. These are the strengths of this book.

Its weaknesses begin with its narrow focus. While some attention is given to broader sociopolitical issues, a more in-depth analysis of criminal justice issues in the context of history, culture, current economic, political, and structural conditions, and internal community dynamics and systems would more thoroughly educate the non-Native reader and would more likely satisfy the Native reader. Just as the sentencing approaches reviewed are, as the author acknowledges, relatively thin and narrow efforts to patch problems of applying mainstream Canadian law and legal systems to aboriginal communities, the analysis of the roots and process of aboriginal justice issues is also somewhat narrow in focus. This problem is illustrated clearly in a brief mention of the alternative sentencing approaches developed by the Blood Tribe in Alberta. Nothing is written of the fact that the approach taken there involved efforts to examine traditional cultural practices and current community conditions in depth. In addition, it goes unmentioned that the resulting information was used to develop approaches that seek to integrate tradition and current realities and link justice reforms to other community issues and desires. The type of broad-based analysis undertaken on the Peigan Reserve would be a useful model for considering justice and sentencing issues in general. The interventions attempted at Peigan deserve much more consideration than they receive in this text.

Even the limited effort made to consider traditional justice approaches and their potential applicability in modern aboriginal communities seemed to me somewhat suspect. For instance, the author makes a passing reference to the potential value of teasing as a means of reprimanding those who have violated a community's laws or social order. This reminded me of a candidate for a Native community social service job who I once helped interview. When asked how she would deal with an existing conflict between two highly polarized community groups, she said that she would get members of the two factions to sit down together and, among other things, tease each other. Given

the diversity of Native cultures and communities in North America, I would not go so far as to say that teasing is or was ever used for dealing with relatively serious problems existing between individuals or groups. My experience, however, tells me that teasing is mainly used to teach lessons and maintain social systems that are relatively healthy and harmonious. The author's invocation of ribbing as potentially useful for dealing with substantial offenses gave me pause.

The same is true of Green's mention of the potential benefit of jury participation in sentencing in the United States. This method is argued to provide greater opportunity for community involvement than is seen in the standard Canadian approach to sentencing. I would not completely disagree. However, many historical instances have been documented that show US juries refusing to convict whites accused of crimes against minorities. Similarly, recent studies show that juries punish minority members more severely than whites accused of the same crimes. It seems as though Green assumes that Native defendants would face majority-Native juries so that bias would be less likely. Given the increasing percentage of Native Canadians residing off reserve, however, such an assumption is unwarranted. In fact, the author indicates that even the four alternative sentencing approaches he reviews would probably not apply to urban Natives. So the scope of applicability of the book's approaches to justice is narrowed still further. Even on reserve, jury bias because of familial and factional politics is possible. The author touches upon the possibility of this type of bias intruding into the four sentencing alternatives only briefly, and does not consider it in arguing for the advantage of the US system of jury involvement in sentencing. Consideration of the tribal court system in the US would have led to greater focus on this issue, since it is a problem that has influenced the actions of both judges and juries within it. So too would consideration of recent controversies in the United States over jury nullification—a jury's refusal to enforce a law because of the defendant's popularity or the law's unpopularity—add depth to the book. The O. J. Simpson murder trial and the Jack Kevorkian assisted-suicide trials have brought much negative publicity to the possibility of jury nullification in the United States in recent years.

Another concern I have about this work is hardly the author's error. Virtually no systematic efforts have been made by academics, judicial officials, or communities to examine the effectiveness of alternative sentencing approaches. The author reaches for evidence that shows whether reviewed alternative approaches are more likely to stop offense frequency and satisfy victims and their communities. He finds almost none other than anecdotes. This seems to me a serious lack that should be redressed. While *Justice in Aboriginal Communities* can be seen as a reasonable beginning effort in this direction, it is one that does not take us very far.

Finally, this book was written largely for academics and lawyers. The writing style is as dry as a dust storm on the Plains after a five-year drought. Legal precedents and legal system concerns, though leavened by some consideration of community issues and reactions, clearly dominate. *Justice in Aboriginal Communities* offers some valuable information and ideas, but will leave those

interested in achieving true justice for Native communities and individuals desiring much more.

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Kiowa: A Woman Missionary in Indian Territory. By Isabel Crawford. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998. 241 pages. $12.00 paper.

Isabel Crawford was a Canadian citizen and Baptist missionary who arrived at the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache Reservation near Mountain View, Oklahoma in 1893. She was single, white, and twenty-eight years old. *Kiowa: A Woman Missionary in Indian Territory* tells the story of her ten-and-a-half years among the Kiowa. Told in her own words and self-edited, this is a remarkable story of courage, faith, and determination. The book is as interesting and vital today as it was when originally written. She is both a product of her time in that she is totally immersed in her faith and desire to bring religious reform to those in need. At the same time, however, she is an opponent of the typical demure, respectful, fragile devout image of the turn-of-the-century lady. Her story brings a unique perspective to life on a Native American reservation at the turn of the century. This is, in part, because she was an unmarried female. The individuals living on the reservation were not afraid of a woman, because they did not vest her with the same authority they did white male missionaries. Rather than hold her apart from the people she served, the tribe accepted Crawford as a member of the community. It is this acceptance in the Native American community that provides a useful framework for understanding her narrative. Crawford writes that a goal of her book is "to contradict the statement that 'the only good Indian is a dead one'"(p. xxix). For their part, the Kiowa with whom she lived seemed more than willing to listen and learn from her without fearing that she was trying to destroy their way of life. The result is an interesting and complex picture of Native-missionary relations.

Unlike the way missionaries are presented in some academic histories, Crawford does not seem either ill-informed or malicious. She was headstrong, determined, strongly religious, and has the nineteenth-century reformer's belief that her religious ideals would and should guide the Kiowa away from their "savage habits." On the one hand she saw the Christian virtues of hard work, thrift, and love as antithetical to Kiowan values. On the other hand, she did not believe the Kiowa were evil or malicious. She viewed them simply as uninformed and thus she worked hard to overcome their ignorance. She believed in the value of hard work and example rather than preaching and prayer.

Crawford's diary is filled with accounts of everyday life that provide information about her experiences, her intelligence, and her faith and determination. Once after the visit of the "first Baptist Jesus-man to preach a sermon in the district," she writes that "it seems a long time since I prayed prayerfully but I'm sure I've worked prayerfully and I don't honestly believe the prayer

from the company this morning would have come so straight from the heart if there hadn't been fried chicken in the stomach" (p. 44). Crawford was intelligent and clever. She writes about the time a trader came by with turkeys for sale for $1. The trader was also a Baptist and told her he would sell her a turkey for fifty cents. She asked if he had change and he said yes. After she gave him the dollar, however, he handed her twenty-five cents saying that he was mistaken; he thought he had a fifty-cent piece. He camped on the other side of the river and shortly thereafter Crawford waded across the creek, handed him his quarter and told him that she had decided to take two turkeys instead of one.

The foreword by Clyde Ellis contributes positively to the value of the book by providing historical information about Crawford that is missing from her diary. We learn about her upbringing, illnesses, and determination to become a missionary. We also learn the circumstances under which she left the Saddle Mountain Reservation—she was the brunt of a doctrinal dispute with her mission board because she actively encouraged her congregation to allow its own Native American deacons to serve communion. Ellis' brief glimpse into Crawford's life adds depth and historical context to the events she writes about in her diary.

Kiowa is a lively and interesting historical account told in the words of the woman who experienced the events. Crawford offers a rare first-hand account of reservation life as told by a white woman. This is Crawford's story of life among the Kiowa in her own words—it was not meant to be an academic assessment or a theoretical critique of the clash between white and Native American cultures. Therefore, some individuals may find the story bland, perhaps even self-righteous. However, after reading carefully one discovers the genuine love and respect she felt for the Kiowa and understands the inscription on her tombstone located in the Saddle Mountain Indian Baptist Church Cemetery: "I Dwell Among Mine Own People." This book will make an interesting and informative addition to the bookshelves of those interested in Native American studies, turn-of-the-century western history, religious history, or women reformers.

Juanita M. Firestone
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The Morning the Sun Went Down. By Darryl Babe Wilson. Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1998. 178 pages. $22.50 cloth; $13.95 paper.

Autobiographies are not usually my choice of literature to read or assign the American Indian literature classes I teach at California State University, Long Beach. Most autobiographies I have read seem myopic, self-serving, and, even with the help of a ghost writer, unable to articulate insights about the very life they purport to illuminate. The genre is difficult to define and, when attempted, rarely takes into consideration the question of influence and control by non-Native writers in such "autobiographies" as *Black Elk Speaks,* translated

and written by John G. Neihardt, or *Lame Deer Seeker of Visions* and *Lakota Woman*, both transcribed, edited, and largely written by Richard Erdoes. Darryl Babe Wilson is a gifted writer and his autobiography, *The Morning the Sun Went Down*, is more in the company of N. Scott Momaday's *The Way to Rainy Mountain.*

Darryl Babe Wilson writes with an integrity that I respect and appreciate very much. He is a profound storyteller with layers of meaning imbued in the telling. *The Morning the Sun Went Down* is told primarily from a child's point of view. At the same time, the book maintains a cultural consciousness and a history and wisdom of his people, the Achumawe and Atsugewi of northeastern California. This is consistent with the oral traditions of Native American cultures, which are always multi-vocal. One can hear the voices of the Old Ones whispering around and through the boy, Babe, as he tells about his life. *The Morning the Sun Went Down* is a cultural landscape of people, place, and time, told with poetic and hard-hitting honesty.

Wilson establishes the authority of his elders in the book's prologue. We are taken into an old shack at the far northeastern corner of California and placed in the presence of generations of Achumawe and Atsugewi people. They are an ancient people taken to the brink of extinction and we sense their timeless dignity and concern for the present generation. They question Wilson about his knowledge of "Americans" and the white man's world and the reader discovers that Wilson, the man, has been placed with an unspoken mantle of responsibility that makes him tremble. Though this encounter is specific to Darryl Babe Wilson and his people, in a very real sense he represents all Native Americans and, more widely, all human beings. It seems fitting that our place in the world and our responsibilities toward life should be addressed by a child of survivors.

The story of Wilson's childhood begins in 1945 when he is six years old. The observations of the child, Babe, are written in a clean, vivid style, allowing the reader to experience the innocence, wisdom, and magic of childhood. We enjoy long summer days playing in the abandoned mill, daydreaming in the old barn, chasing silver bubbles with soapy hands, and going on family outings. The reader also learns of the hardships the family suffers when his father loses his job at the slaughterhouse. His childhood perspective is lyrical, humorous, and often heartbreaking.

Especially painful to read is the devastation that nearly destroys his family when his mother, Laura, and baby brother, Jerry, are killed by a runaway logging truck. This experience is central to Wilson's story and the title, *The Morning the Sun Went Down*, is a reference to this. Wilson's gift as a writer and storyteller sears into consciousness the vivid images of what his father must have seen as the logging truck hurtled by him at alarming speed toward the stalled car where his wife sat, singing to their infant son. The reader watches as Wilson's mother jumps from the car with the baby in her arms, seconds before impact, only to see her and the baby crushed by tons of lumber from the snapped load of the truck. The reader hurries with the people who have stopped to help his father as they lift the timbers to get to the crushed bodies of the mother and child. Wilson was not present at the accident, but he is courageous and unspar-

ing in his descriptions of the deaths, the details of crushed bodies and blood, and the aloneness that comes to shadow the surviving members of his family when the sunshine his mother and baby brother brought to the world is taken from their lives.

This aloneness is exemplified by Wilson's father who becomes a lost, bewildered man whose life has no meaning or purpose. Like so many of our walking wounded, Wilson's father becomes dependent on alcohol to ease his pain, neglecting his surviving eight children. Wilson writes about his father with tenderness, love, and compassion, even though the book's child is hurt and confused by his father's actions. Juxtaposed with memories of neglect, a series of foster homes, and being many times relocated throughout California are memories of times when his mother and baby brother were alive and the family was poor but healthy and together. This interwoven darkness and light is particularly effective and reminds me of driving up a winding mountain road, the car dipping in and out of shadow and sunlight, both more pronounced because of the pointed contrast.

Woven throughout these contrasts of dark and light, sorrow and joy, are the ancient stories of the Achumawi and Atsugewi people that give a deeper meaning and ageless perspective to what is happening to Babe and his family in the 1940s and 1950s. One senses the Elamji, or the unknowable spirit, throughout the book. The descriptions of the Elamji and the spirit-tribe from the perspective of the child are deliciously spooky and wondrous. We are told about Kwaw, Silver Fox Man, Annikadel, a powerful and wise spirit, and Napona'ha, Cocoon Man. The story of the Qwillas, large lizard-like dinosaurs who killed and ate the Iss/Awte-speaking people is especially intriguing since I am always looking into old stories for leads to factual events. Could the Pit River country of northern California have been the home to a species of dinosaur during human time? Very possible.

Along with characters from the ancient stories are real-life characters like Grandfather Adam Carmody, Aunt Gladys, Aunt Lorena, or Uncle Ramsey Bone Blake, who appears in some of Wilson's other writings. I was first introduced to Uncle Ramsey in the story "Et-Wi," which appears in *The Sound of Rattles and Clappers,* edited by Greg Sarris; reading about him in *The Morning the Sun Went Down* was like meeting family again. Wilson also introduces the reader to Uncle Rufus, whose powers lay in a particular huge rock in the Great Canyon of the Pit River. Like Uncle Rufus, much of the power of Wilson's story comes from the character of his homeland. His descriptions of the land are integral to his story.

Long before this book was published, Darryl Wilson, Kat High, and I were in northern California for a meeting about a documentary High was producing. Wilson suggested we leave at midnight to reach Soldier Mountain before dawn. We traveled all night so he could share with us the experience of seeing the sun rise over the distant Warner Range until Ako-Yet, Mount Shasta, was blushing pink. We stood on Soldier Mountain, facing the Warner Range to the east, Mount Shasta to the left, and Mount Lassen to the right, and Pit River shining silver in the darkness below. As we waited in the darkness, Wilson told us of Silver Gray Fox, Cocoon Man, and the creation of the world.

As the sun rose and Ako-Yet blushed pink we grew silent in the shining splendor of creation, each of us with our own thoughts, our prayers. That bright morning on Soldier Mountain reminds me of McGee Peak, Che'wa'ko, the place in the book where the spirits watch the world. "Che'wa'ko" is the title of the final chapter of *The Morning the Sun Went Down.* Someone is singing a survival song there. The song is both and old and fresh. The telling of *The Morning the Sun Went Down* is also like this song and the sunrise on Soldier Mountain, ancient and new, the continuum and beginning of many more stories of life and love and healing.

The Morning the Sun Went Down has renewed my appreciation of autobiography as an important literary genre and will be one of the texts my American Indian literature class will read. It is an excellent book and an affirmation of life that transcends survival. I can give my students no greater gift, except, perhaps, the sequel to this story.

Georgiana Valoyce Sanchez
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Native Libraries: Cross-Cultural Conditions in the Circumpolar Countries. By Gordon H. Hills. Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 1997. 464 pages. $59.50 cloth.

A book-length treatment of any aspect of Native library services is a welcome though rather unusual event in the literature of library and information studies. Gordon H. Hills' book, *Native Libraries: Cross Cultural Conditions in the Circumpolar Countries,* discusses library services for Native peoples in northern rural and urban communities in the United States and Canada during his career as a professional librarian. The book is a very personal one, drawing heavily on Hills' own experiences as well as his research in library and information studies. Though flawed, Hills' work is a welcome addition to the literature on Native library services.

Gordon Hills states that his primary goal in writing *Native Libraries* is to "stimulate...increased attention to cross-cultural librarianship, including services by and for Native peoples," which will help to give library professionals a stronger role in the future of American Indian studies (p. xv). Hills spent a significant portion of his career as a professional librarian providing library services to Native peoples in a variety of locations in the northern regions of North America and *Native Libraries* is at its best when the author writes about his own experiences. Hills clearly feels that graduate professional training does not adequately prepare librarians to meet the demands of multicultural library services, particularly in Native communities, and his own interest in rectifying this state of affairs emerges clearly through much of his book. The library and information studies education community is clearly one of Gordon Hills' intended audiences, and he addresses this group directly in the book's final chapter. Here he argues that what he terms *multicultural librarianship* is a normal part of library services and should be an integral part of all aspects of graduate library education along with the requirement that pro-

grams and faculty be grounded in the practical problems found in the field. The results of a short survey Hills conducted of graduate library education programs are discussed in the book and demonstrate that some slow progress is being made on these issues.

One of the book's strengths is its descriptions of the contexts Hills experienced in the course of his professional career working on developing library services in northern Native communities. He repeatedly emphasizes that if libraries are to succeed in Native communities they must become what the communities themselves want and need them to be; attempts to replicate dominant society library models in Native communities (what Hills calls being library-centered) will not work. Since there are not enough trained Native library professionals to meet existing service needs, many non-Natives will be working to provide library services to Native peoples. Hills' emphasis on the need for library professionals to be respectful of the culture(s) in which they serve by listening to and observing what the informational needs of Native communities is appropriate. Non-Native librarians would do well to take Hills' suggestions to heart in going about their work in Native library services. *Native Libraries* is not a manual of procedures on how to set up and run a library in Native communities, though lessons may be drawn from it for these purposes insofar as the book describes library development in a number of real-life circumstances.

One must be cautious in using *Native Libraries* as an example in library science education. Hills' descriptions of his experiences in Native library development form the bulk of the first two chapters, the first appendix, and are scattered throughout most of the other chapters. While they will be very informative for many library and information studies graduate students, these are the experiences of one professional librarian and should be understood as such. Hills' passion for Native library services will probably have more impact on most students than articles reporting the results of social science research projects found in much library and information studies literature, though the book's previously mentioned final chapter makes a small contribution in this area as well. More sound research in Native library services remains to be done. One wonders from time to time if Hills is overstating or over-generalizing and the reader might wish to begin *Native Libraries* by reading chapter seven, "A Potpourri: Culture Shock, the Author's Background, and Multicultural Librarianship," which provides the reader with a clearer understanding of Hills himself. His discussions of the differences between oral and written traditions and what this means for library services draws heavily from the work of Walter J. Ong and is documented less well than one might wish. This detracts somewhat from the force of his argument that Native traditions of largely non-textual transmission of culture argues for library collections with a greater emphasis on visual and aural resources than is found in many libraries. The discussion in chapter five of Native library services in Canada and Greenland serves as a useful introduction to the topics, though Hills' emphasis on contextual information and an apparent need to at least touch on each of the important geographic regions may have prevented him from discussing interesting issues in further depth.

Hills is to be commended for giving attention to the urban environment of Native library services. The literature on Native library services tends to be focused on tribal reservation contexts with little attention given to services to the large percentage of Native populations residing in urban areas. Urban environments exist in different sizes and we are mistaken if we think only of very large metropolitan areas. Hills correctly points out that modernization affects Native cultures wherever they are found and he pays particular attention to the ways in which modern electronic media, suffused with the viewpoint of the dominant urban culture, impacts them. However, Hills also notes that these same tools may also be used to promote cultural integrity and development. His discussion of several programs of library services designed for Native people residing in urban areas provides some examples that urban-area libraries may find useful. Most focus to some degree on providing access to cultural information, though Hills suggests that urban Natives' information needs should be accepted for whatever they actually are and that libraries should work to meet them in appropriate ways. He seems to imply that librarians should not mistakenly reduce Native library services only to providing access to Native cultural information. Hills mistakenly refers to the American Indian Resource Center as part of the Los Angeles Public Library after correctly indicating that it is part of Los Angeles County Libraries. Earlier in the book he might have done a better job discussing the New Mexico Native American Community Libraries Project had he explored it beyond the materials sent to him by the New Mexico State Library.

Native library services in what we now call the former Soviet Union are discussed in a long chapter composed in large measure of summaries of Russian materials discussing library services in general and Natives in the northern regions of the former USSR in particular. This chapter also contains a brief historical introduction and chapter-ending commentary as well as a separate list of Russian language sources. While acknowledging the propagandistic ulterior motives of the regime in providing these services, Hills is fairly kind to the regime in his commentary, apparently because there was great effort to provide equity in services to all groups. His point about the ingenuity used in library service provision to Native areas seems well taken, though the real information needs and best interests of Native peoples as they might have defined them seems not to have been a consideration. Future research in Russian historical resources could yield a more complete and easy-to-understand account of what Hills is attempting to present, though he may be correct that it will be many years before this will be practical. It is to be hoped that the materials for such a project will remain in tact during the present economic difficulties.

In addition to the value of Hills' descriptions of his own experiences, he makes an important contribution to information access about Native library services with the two bibliographical lists at the end of *Native Libraries*. Partially annotated, the lists together are probably the most extensive, though not exhaustive, compilation of citations to the literature currently available in a monographic source on the subject of Native library services. There is far more material drawn from the library and information studies literature than what is found in Elizabeth Rockefeller-MacArthur's *American Indian Library*

Services in Perspective or the fundamental list of items (a number of which do not appear on any of Hills' lists) in the bibliography located at the end of *Pathways to Excellence: A Report on Improving Library and Information Services for Native American Peoples* from the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science. In *Native Libraries* Hills touches on most of the "ten challenges" found in the *Pathways to Excellence* report and Hills' book would have been strengthened had he engaged *Pathways* directly in his last revision, which might also have eliminated many of the annoying editorial errors such as misspellings that remain scattered throughout his book. Many research opportunities remain to be addressed in the area of Native library services, particularly in areas such as information-seeking behaviors, creation of effective innovative service strategies, and the role of information services, including libraries, in Native contexts and for Native peoples in their continuing efforts for greater self-determination. While certainly not without flaws, Gordon Hills' *Native Libraries* contributes to the ongoing conversation.

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The Noontide Sun: The Field Journals of the Reverend Stephen Bowers. By Arlene Benson. Menlo Park: Ballena Press, 1997. 288 pages. $36.00 cloth; $27.50 paper

Arlene Benson's book *The Noontide Sun: The Field Journals of the Reverend Stephen Bowers, Pioneer California Archaeologist* is a significant addition to the scholarship regarding the autochthonous central Californians now collectively known as the Chumash for two important reasons. First, Bowers' manuscripts provide important insights into classical Chumash village organization. Second, the book provides a unique perspective on the pedigree shared by the researchers who continue to work in the area of Chumash prehistory, found in the combination of Bowers' works and the commentary on them by Benson. While Bowers' manuscripts on the one hand certainly provide insight into many of the questions confronting anthropologists concerned with "pre-contact" Chumash lifeways, they also lend an intimate view into the early presence of archaeologists in California, the motivations behind their excavations, and the disconnection of those motives from the lives of actual human beings.

After a brief overview of the life of the Reverend Stephen Bowers, as well as an annotated roster of his most notable contemporaries, Benson organizes Bowers' field notes, journal, and correspondences in chronological order, giving a depth to material that would have been lost if the work had been organized according to topics or issues. The reader is invited to envision the landscape and individual sites as described by Bowers' own words against the backdrop of the race for antiquities in which he found himself ensconced. Both a keen observer and an adroit chronicler, Bowers was able to overcome, to some extent, his lack of formal training by giving exceptionally clear descriptions of the sites he excavated and the items taken from those sites.

According to Benson, the key motif arising from these manuscripts is the insight into the debate surrounding Chumash village organization as well as connected issues such as mortuary practices and dwelling and sweathouse construction. Benson views Bowers' notes as having particularly illuminating potential due to the early nature of his study. Not only was he working in areas that have long been lost to development and agriculture, she points out, but Bowers excavated "from the Piru to Point Sal, from the Channel Islands to the Cuyama river," encompassing virtually all the Chumash region and providing a panoramic perspective unknown even to the venerable J. Peabody Harrington, who devoted most of his career to the study of the Chumash and whose nephew provided Benson with the Bowers' manuscripts (p. 1).

Under contract with the Smithsonian Institution during the late 1870s and clearly in an increasingly competitive race for museum quality artifacts, Bowers and his crew essentially determined the locations of cemeteries associated with the villages they encountered, and went about the task of liberating them of their "rich...archeological treasures"(p. 9). It was in the location and identification of these cemeteries that Bowers inadvertently provided what Benson considers to be his most useful information. By establishing the parameters of obscure village sites as well as documenting observed differences in village organization, mortuary practices, and grave content, Bowers produces a description of ritual practice distribution that subsequent anthropological inquiries will surely draw upon. However, as Benson notes, having relied upon his ability to make assessments of cemetery location through surface survey, Bowers excavated almost exclusively in historic or proto-historic village sites, which may add little to the available data on early Chumash lifeways, but certainly contributes to the emerging picture of village organization and regional variation of form at the time of contact.

Incidentally, there were Chumash in the area at the time of Bowers' fieldwork who may have been able to provide this information but were considered unreliable due to the fact that they were "half-breeds." In this vein, Benson takes somewhat wry note of the musings by Bowers on the disappearance of the Chumash even while describing encounters with Chumash in the region, including a small community that very nearly prevented him from digging in their cemetery. Bowers, however, was able to sneak back and remove the beloved burial goods before the community found out.

In the final chapter, Benson offers her own hypothetical model for late Chumash village organization. Derived from the maps and descriptions found in the Bowers field notes, a map of a Chumash village drawn by early California archaeologist Paul Schumacher in 1874, and the original accounts of Portuguese and Spanish explorers, this model is then tested using contemporary archaeological data in an attempt to render a picture of the internal arrangement of Chumash villages, and possible regional variation (pp. 164, 181).

But perhaps the most telling information found in the monograph comes in *The Noontide Sun*'s appendices where we find Bowers' pertinent correspondences as well as preliminary work on articles to be published in various venues. The letters, also arranged chronologically, are for the most part communications between Bowers and Spencer F. Baird, who was serving as assistant secretary of the Smithsonian Institution and to whom Bowers appeared

to be directly responsible. Above all, the correspondences elucidate the patriotic Bowers' sense of urgency that the competition (mostly coming from the Frenchman Alphonse Pinart) would beat him to the best specimens and carry them off to "foreign" museums. In addition, the letters to Baird serve as an overview both of Bowers' progress and of the packing lists that accompany the loads of items shipped to Washington. It becomes all too clear from these missives that the disruption of Chumash graves, many of which were less than one century old, did not disturb Bowers or his contemporaries in the least. In addition, the inclusion of Chumash skeletal remains under the umbrella term *artifact* is especially troubling. In regard to human skulls Bowers writes, "I sent half a dozen from the Sisquoc River, and I have a dozen or so belonging to my private collection.... I think I can get you a hundred more. Presume I could have shipped you 500 had I known you desired them"(p. 215). While holding a nineteenth-century archaeologist to contemporary ethical standards is admittedly problematic, certainly much of the foundational belief system associated with such attitudes is unfortunately far from extinct.

Benson's presentation of the Bowers manuscripts, while well done and informative, could have served as a contribution to the larger discourse on Chumash issues—an opportunity for us to pause and consider the underlying assumptions made in the journals of the Reverend Stephen Bowers that remain in place today and the implications of those assumptions for the contemporary Chumash. However, what is missing in this book, save for a few platitudes, is a treatment both of the ethical considerations concerning the activities described in the work of Stephen Bowers and the unselfconsciousness of the contemporary anthropologist who looks upon this information as an end for which the methods of its apprehension were a justifiable means.

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Peyote Religious Art: Symbols of Faith and Belief. By Daniel C. Swan. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1999. 116 pages. $35.00 cloth.

Swan's work, *Peyote Religious Art,* is an adequate introduction to the novice scholar of peyote studies and a passable reference work to the Peyotist and scholar of Peyotism. Put another way, the breadth of the work is sufficient to justify its use as a summary of the topic. However, the work's depth—or lack of depth—will preclude it from being anything but a general outline of the topic.

The work is primarily an overview of the history, aesthetics, and theology of what is referred to broadly as *peyote art.* Swan is unquestionably a better historian than a aesthetician. Anyone who reads *Peyote Religious Art* will come away with both an appreciation for and an understanding of the fundamental moments, movements, and leaders in the history of the Peyote Religion. The reader will learn how the "Comanche and Kiowa were primary in proselytizing the religion" and how the dedication of two early leaders—Quanah

Parker (Comanche) and John Wilson (Caddo)—"distinguished [them as] missionaries of the religion" (pp. 4, 6). Swan's survey of the history of the Peyote Religion—from its origin in pre-Hispanic Mexico to the 1994 amendment to the American Indian Religious Freedom Act, "that protects the members of the Native American Church in the religious use of peyote"—is satisfactory (p. 22). Akin to viewing an educational documentary or a journalistic television program, a reading of Swan's work is an educational, albeit an elementary, experience. One learns, for example, the difference between Big Moon and Little Moon Peyotism, the natural range of the peyote plant (*Lophophora williamsii*), and of the *peyoteros*, or the Mexican American traders who harvest, process, and distribute peyote to members of the Native American Church (one of the more interesting sections of Swan's book). For a more thorough study of the history of the Native American Church, see Omer Call Stewart's *Peyote Religion: A History* (1987); for works that address Peyotism in specific cultural contexts, see David Aberle's *The Peyote Religion among the Navaho* (1982), Edgar E. Siskin's *Washo Shamans and Peyotists: Religious Conflict in an American Indian Tribe* (1983), and Paul B. Steinmetz's *Pipe, Bible, and Peyote among the Oglala Lakota: A Study in Religious Identity* (1980).

Finding a way to address Swan's principal deficiency as an analytical writer, at least when he writes about art, especially "folk" or *lived* art, is a delicate procedure. Does Swan succeed in describing, evaluating, and—most importantly—contextualizing peyote religious art? Does he (1) explore the influence of the peyote artists' experiences and aesthetic values upon the art they create; (2) explore the process of creating peyote religious art; or (3) explore the cultural traditions that serve as inspiration or personal resource to the peyote artists? In other words, does Swan provide context for all the beautiful texts displayed in the book? For the most part, Swan touches on the latter question but fails to entertain in any depth the former two. From ritual staffs, fans, drumsticks, and rattles to bandoleers, boxes, pouches, and jewelry to lighter sticks, water buckets, and spoons, one sees what is made, but not by whom, or when, or where, or how, or—save for the most superficial level of understanding—why they are made. Akin to narratives without narrators, the art—now solely texts, solely artifacts—lies dismembered like so many museum curiosities or archaeological treasures. The difference between text and context is analogous to the difference between a stuffed coyote on display at a natural art museum and a living coyote that is hunting, mating, and indeed living a life in its natural habitat. One might feel that this critique of Swan's deficiency as an analytical writer is too harsh, but it is a long overdue critique that authors who write about art—especially folk art—refrain from approaching the subject atomistically as disembodied art and begin approaching the subject holistically as lived art. Those who operate the art detention centers, otherwise known as museums, must come to see art for what it is: *process* rather than *product*. Indeed, art is a subject of study, not an object of study. Art is creators creating their creations or what Michael Owens Jones has termed *material behavior*. For good sources on how lived art is best studied, see Keith Cunningham's *Two Zuni Artists: A Tale of Art and Mystery*

(1998); Sojin Kim's *Chicano Graffiti and Murals: The Neighborhood Art of Peter Quezada* (1995); and Linda Pershing's *The Ribbon Around the Pentagon: Peace By Piecemakers* (1996).

If Swan's work were titled *Peyote Religious Art: A History*, the work could stand on its own data. But this is not the case. The title is *Peyote Religious Art: Symbols of Faith and Belief.* This subtitle demands more of the work and more of the author. It demands, for lack of a better word, theology. What is the faith that peyote religious art conveys? What is the belief (or beliefs) that come to be symbolized in the art? For those who know the answers to these questions, they no doubt seem obvious. But the answers to these questions are not obvious to the novice of peyote religious studies. Like most historically biased studies, Swan's work allows names, dates, maps, and beautiful full-color photographs to act as a substitute for ethnographic data. Indeed, fieldwork takes a backseat to the armchair, process takes a backseat to product, and context takes a backseat to text.

Concerning theology, the more one knows about Peyotism, the less ambiguous one will find Swan's work. Conversely, the less one knows about the religion, the more ambiguous Swan's work will seem. True, Peyotism is complex. As Swan himself states: "Interpreting the symbolism associated with the expressive culture of the Native American Church is a complex matter. The meanings attributed to any particular design element or motif are best described as multivocal. They elicit a diversity of interpretations that are often dependent on time, place, and personal experience" (p. 94). This is no doubt true; however, it is not a license to talk around meaning. Because meaning is dependent on time, place, and personal experience, Swan should give specific examples of this. Indeed, Swan should show the reader, not tell the reader, how complex the religion and religious symbols are. This would be more interesting and informative than a photograph. For works that address peyote theology, see James Sydney Slotkin's *The Peyote Religion: A Study in Indian-White Relations* (1956) and Ruth Underhill's *Peyote* (1948).

If one is looking for an overview of Peyotism, then Swan's work would suffice. If one is looking for what the title suggests, *Peyote Religious Art*, then one will be disappointed. Not only does it lack any substantial stylistic analysis save for pointing out a few motifs, but it also lacks the kind of contextual analysis that any contemporary study of lived art must include—the few quotes by and photographs of three peyote artists does not constitute contextual analysis. Last, concerning the claim of the subtitle, *Symbols of Faith and Belief*, unless one has some background in the peyote religion, academic or otherwise, Swan's work may be frustrating. There are myriad ways in which meanings are manifested, experienced, and lived. These should be studied. Peyote religious art cannot be fully understood without these dimensions and contexts. These manifestations and experiences are more relevant to an appreciation and understanding of the significance of peyote religious art than are the seventy-five-plus photographs that adorn Swan's book.

Benjamin Perez
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Powerful Images: Portrayals of Native America. Edited by Sarah E. Boehme, et al. Seattle: Museums West and the University of Washington Press, 1998. 144 pages. $29.95 paper.

Powerful Images: Portrayals of Native America is a collection of catalog essays that accompanies the traveling exhibit with the same title. Traveling to eight museums from 1998 to 2000, the exhibit and this book/museum catalog are organized around an analysis of perceptions of Native Americans and what governed the creation of these perceptions. Reflecting on views of Native Americans from both indigenous perspectives and external viewpoints, the curators and writers highlight various symbols related to images of United States and Canadian Indian cultures.

These images from the colonial era to contemporary times are presented to encourage viewers to understand how their own perceptions of Native Americans came into being and how these images usually generalize or stereotype Native peoples. Readers of the book and exhibit viewers are given an historical analysis of United States and Canadian culture as it relates to the colonization of Native peoples, the appropriation of some aspects of Native cultures, and the collection of artifacts, portraits, and the like to document supposedly dead or dying cultures.

Powerful Images illuminates the role museums have played in establishing and perpetuating public perceptions of Native American culture. Information on the first museums exhibiting collections of portraits of prominent Indians by George Catlin and Charles Bird King; the Peale Museum that interpreted Indian objects collected at the foot of the Rockies as early as 1819; still-life images of Native Americans created by Seth Eastman; and a consortium of ten North American museums dedicated to history, art, and cultures of the West are provided in a diversity of exhibit essays that offer commentaries on changes occurring in Native American societies.

Dave Warren (Santa Clara Tewa), who wrote the introduction, states that the Native American essayists are voicing their frustrations as they attempt to educate and explain art's meaning in a wider, more encompassing context of unprecedented changes in Native communities. Authors Gerald T. Conaty and Clifford Crane Bear (Siksika Nation) note the positive effects museums can have in cultural renewal by offering access to sacred objects that can help First Nations peoples in rebuilding relationships that have been disrupted and in restoration of cultural memories that may be forgotten. Both authors suggest that as First Nations share with museum personnel, museums will become more aware of sacred objects' significance and their multi-layered meanings in indigenous societies. This in turn will promote greater cultural awareness and understanding. It seems wrong that the museum should act as the site of First Nations cultural renewal and outreach to non-Natives. Why are these objects not returned to the tribes and reserves for ritual ceremonies? Why can't Euro-Canadians and museum personnel visit with First Nations peoples on their reserves to learn about traditional objects? Perhaps Canada does not have a law similar to the US repatriation act. Such issues, however, need to be addressed and clarified by Crane Bear and the other book contributors.

Writer Emma I. Hansen (Pawnee) poses questions relating to the gray area between art and ethnographic artifact. What purpose do objects serve within cultural systems? How are objects interpreted if a culture does not have a specific word for *art*? A critic of Indian art's categorization and analysis by non-Native scholars, Hansen explains the spiritual significance of Plains and Southwest "art" objects that are used in conjunction with songs and prayers and how the actual process of creating the object is as important as the final product.

Euramerican portrayals of Indians as timeless are discussed in Sarah E. Boehme's interpretations of painted and photographed portraits of Indians. Strategies that painters and photographers used to always present Indians as living in the past included leaving out any background indicators of recent times such as telephone poles and wires or modern buildings. Artists often would pose Indians in traditional clothing collected by the artists rather than a mixture of old and new clothing items worn by many Native peoples. The 1905 photo *Cheyenne Warriors* by Edward S. Curtis appears to be a convincing image of reality with proud men sitting on horses as they gaze across the prairie. However, recent investigations indicate that Curtis invented many of his images by choosing the regalia and posing the subjects. Numerous other staged scenes or stereotyped images are presented by artists such as George Catlin, John Mix Stanley, James Earle Fraser, and Frederic Remington. In contrast, the 1978 *A Contemporary Sioux* by James Bama portrays a man dressed in a contemporary powwow ribbon shirt, wearing a bone choker, braids, and a feather in his hair. The photo maintains a relationship with the past while existing in the modern world. The figure stands in front of an urban wall with crumbling plaster and a printed message that echoes the theme of the lack of place and space for some Indians in mainstream US society: NO PARKING VIOLATORS TOWED AWAY. The Indian figure is analogous to a car. Both are allotted limited space and may be towed or moved away at any time.

Portrayals of Native Americans in popular culture and kitsch are described by James H. Nottage and Native American artists' visual expressions of their own culture are highlighted by Mike Leslie. Examples are given of stereotypes invented by the creators of literature, theater, film, television, advertising, marketing, and sports teams—images that reach a much wider audience than the typical museum visitor. Of particular interest to history buffs is an 1890s Wild West rubber stamp coloring set, Buffalo Bill's Wild West film posters, food packaging adorned with Indian "princesses" such as Prairie Belle and Indian Bell, and Indian play-clothes for children. Also included in the exhibit and catalog are Native American-designed kitsch objects such as a 1990 Hopi gourd rattle with a Mickey Mouse face.

The final chapter, "Native American Artists—Expressing Their Own Identity," discusses the need for dialogue between Native American artists, art experts, patrons, and tribal leaders to overcome the obstacles that arise when Native American art is defined and interpreted by persons outside the culture. The author refers to Indian artist Oscar Howe's 1958 statement that it is not a matter of defining Native American art, but of who is defining and why. A strength of this chapter is the inclusion of Indian artists' statements in con-

junction with the color reproductions. Long quotes from contemporary Native American artists like David Bradley, Bently Sprang, Kay Walkingstick, Dan Lomahaftewa, Lloyd Oxendine, Oscar Howe, Jaune Quick-to-See-Smith, Truman Lowe, and Rick Hall are refreshing after viewing pages and pages of stereotyped statements and visual images. Allan Houser's 1980 bronze sculpture, *Sounds of the Night,* Grey Cohoe's etching, *Yei Bi Chei Dancers,* Dan Lomahaftewa's 1994 collagraph, *Spring Arrival,* Wayne Eagleboy's 1971 mixed media, *American Flag,* Oscar Howe's 1973 painting, *Sundance,* and Jean La Marr's 1990 serigraph, *Some Kind of Buckaroo,* really evoke the books' title.

A major strength of the book as a whole is the abundance of color reproductions covering a wide time span, including images created by Natives and non-Natives. Its weaknesses include geographic ethnocentrism and sexist language. For example, statements about gaining a better understanding of American and Canadian societies fail to consider that Canada is also in America and thus American. A more accurate statement would refer to United States and Canadian societies. On page 80 and other pages, Indian is referred to in the masculine pronoun as *him* or *he.*

After seeing the exhibit at the Eiteljorg Museum of American Indian Art, I highly recommend that readers try to attend the show as it travels to museums in their region. Five-hundred years after the arrival of Columbus to the Americas, the cultural influences acting on Native American art and culture remain varied and complex. Many aesthetic and cultural changes have taken place in the twentieth century as Native peoples have participated more fully in the dominant culture and have incorporated artistic traditions from many cultures into their own traditions. Native American artists are developing new definitions of Indian art. Although contemporary Native American culture has lost some of its early symbolism and rituals because of cultural change and assimilation, its essence remains. Native American thinking has not ever separated art from life, what is beautiful from what is functional. Art, beauty, and spirituality are intertwined in the routine of living. The Native American aesthetic has survived colonialism, servitude, genocide, racial discrimination, and rapid technological change. As author Emma I. Hansen so eloquently states in *Powerful Images,* "For native people today, the object speaks to the spirit and endurance of tribal cultures and provides a key to understanding the past, the present, the people who went before them, and their own generation" (p. 24).

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Rethinking Hopi Ethnography. By Peter M. Whiteley. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1998. 285 pages. $39.95 cloth; $18.95 paper.

In the wake of intense ethnographic studies done on the Hopi, Peter Whiteley's book, *Rethinking Hopi Ethnography,* explores ways in which Hopi politics, history, and perspectives could be joined with existing and future anthropological knowledge.

The introduction is superbly laid out as Whiteley explores the complications of studying and exploring Hopi culture. According to Whiteley, the academic commodification of Hopi knowledge has forced the Hopi to guard their intellectual property as rigorously against misrepresentation as they guard their material property.

One way in which the Hopi have worked to eliminate misrepresentation of Hopi beliefs and values is seen in the 1980s creation of the Hopi Tribes Cultural Preservation Office (HCPO), an offshoot of the tribal government. It is the responsibility of the HCPO to screen, approve, or deny all research projects conducted on the Hopi Reservation today. Plenty of well-intending novice and seasoned ethnographers have taken privileged information out of Hopi and distorted it into something other for the sake of academic imagination and writing. Whiteley considers this to be the "model of the explorer-academic parachuting in to a local community, only to return to the ivory tower after serving the requisite term of exotic interaction"(p. 25). With this model in mind Whiteley states that the Hopi Tribes Cultural Office of Preservation is seen as a considerably frustrating obstacle for the "free-for-all individualism of Western openness—in ideological terms, anyway—regarding knowledge circulation"(p. 4).

Whitely proclaims that his work in this book and in the field is "more revisionary than originary...[in that] it attempts to engage Hopi analytical perspectives with an aim that is both restorative and corrective"(p. 13). His approach is restorative in the sense that he argues throughout the book that Native communities should have a say in the type of resources that will be taken out of their communities and for what good they will be used. He proposes that ethnographic work on Hopi or any other Native community should not come to an end, but should incorporate new and more community-inclusive methods of training the ethnographer to conduct field work. In *Rethinking Hopi Ethnography*, Whiteley suggests that future work on Hopi be corrected to include the Native voice as primary and the authored voice of the anthropologist, or ethnographers, as secondary.

In this text Whiteley proclaims that anthropological theories and methods have not always been the bridge they proclaim to be but have been a one-way street back to academia, leaving the Native voice muted by the overwhelming voice and theories of the researcher. Too many narrative ethnographers, according to Whiteley, have romanticized and crafted their subjects into mere puppets that dance for the investigator.

This book is the accumulation of Whiteley's fieldwork that started in 1978 and continues today. He details for the reader his own authored voice within this book and within his own research as observer-participant. Whiteley's voice is not distantly removed from himself as a researcher, but reflects and contexualizes his personal locality and his point of entry into the field of anthropology. He documents his own interests of study in American Indian culture, thanking the late Alfonso Ortiz for his patience and insight.

Whiteley documents his fieldwork on Hopi in this book and he freely critiques academia—"the academic castle, with its own elaborate rules of access and mystification"—while still remaining an excited and a vital member of its

faculty (p. 4). It is with this expertise and sensitivity to culture that Whiteley gives his recommendation for further research done by anthropologists in "other" communities and argues that academia promotes its own interests if anthropology continues in the same vein.

In 1988 Whiteley wrote two other notable books or volumes on Hopi history and culture: *Deliberate Acts: Changing Hopi Culture Through the Oraibi Split* and *Bacavi: Journey to Reed Springs.* Both of these books have received impressive reviews from those who are experts in the fields of anthropology and history.

Rethinking Hopi Ethnography is highly recommended for community college, undergraduate, and graduate courses in American Indian studies, anthropology, sociology, and history. Whiteley challenges academia to look for further research projects that are not only inclusive of the Native voice, but are also inclusive of the local community as a viable decision-making population. It is a stellar addition to the current literature by a scholar with a lifelong commitment to the Hopi and the integrated study of culture.

Carla Olson
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Ritual and Myth in Odawa Revitalization: Reclaiming a Sovereign Place. By Melissa Pflüg. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998. $28.95 cloth.

In keeping with the central theme of ethical reciprocity that this book identifies within Odawa myth and ritual, Melissa Pflüg's work itself promises offerings both for the academic communities it seeks to enlighten and for the small community of traditionalists whose integrity and efficacy she seeks to represent. Pflüg proposes to articulate how these Odawa, an Alongkian people of the Great Lakes region, respond to contemporary threats to their culture and identity with practices that are informed by the narratives and performances of Odawa myth and ritual. She argues for the academic conceptualization of tradition not as some archaic body of abstract values and beliefs slowly slipping from the fingers of this contemporary group, but as a powerful interpretive frame that is both worked through and elaborated upon by these social actors in their revitalization efforts. By foregrounding such a model of myth and ritual as action, the full agency of Odawa traditionalists can be brought into view.

The book is divided into three sections, each generating a narrative that moves from a consideration of the context in which Odawa traditionalists engage in revitalization efforts, to the models of myth and ritual that Pflüg argues continue to inform Odawa revitalization, to a discussion of Odawa ritual and politics that constitute the contemporary practices informed by those models. The book's first section addresses the need for contemporary as well as historical and mythical considerations as they contribute to modern-day tribal activism. Thus she provides an account of the contemporary organization of Odawa bands, including groups with and without federal recognition,

and their respective relations not only to local, state, and federal governance structures, but also to other non-Indian communities that today occupy and make competing place claims within the same Great Lakes region. Additionally, she mines the historic literature on the area to describe the long line of prophetic and revitalization movements undertaken by important Indian leaders in the area—Neolin of the Delaware, Pontiac and Trout of the Odawa, and Tenskawata and Tecumseh of the Shawnee, among others—as responses to perceived moments of dire cultural crisis.

Through these accounts she argues for invocation of Odawa myth and ritual as a central strategy for traditionalist revitalization efforts in the face of continued threats from non-Indians to their economic, political, and cultural integrity, particularly in light of their status as a federally non-recognized community. By detailing the history of revitalization movements in various Indian communities in the region, she argues that traditionalist strategy may be understood as both the basis and the latest incarnation of a recurring Indian response to situations of cultural crisis resulting from contact with Euramericans.

At the end of this section and in part two of *Ritual and Myth in Odawa Revitalization,* the author elaborates on the particulars of this model, explaining that central to the Odawa ethos is the concept of *pimadaziwin,* or " a life of longevity and well-being" (p. 67). She argues that such well-being is achieved only through the enactment of moral behavior toward others or, as she puts it, through acts of "personing, gifting and empowering" (p. 69). This method helps mend social disruption that is caused by unethical selfishness by emphasizing acts of compassion, even towards those who caused the original disruption. It is this very model, the author claims, that undergirds Odawa origin myths and culture-hero narratives, such as those of Nanabozho, by which social transformation is achieved after some period of disruption through a return to "right relations" that reinstates a moral community and projects its persistence into the future. It is an invocation for ethical reciprocity that can be seen in the earlier revitalization movements of the Indian prophets and their calls for a return to the "old ways." Hence, it is also such a call for mythic reciprocity and constructive transformation that Pflüg claims lies at the bottom of contemporary Odawa traditionalist efforts at cultural revitalization.

In the final section, Pflüg turns more fully to the activities of contemporary traditionalists, taking up a description of the ritual and political practices that she claims lie at the heart of their Odawa renewal and revitalization efforts. Turning first to ritual, Pflüg recounts how personal prayer and collective ceremony fundamentally turn on bringing into action the Odawa ethos of ethical reciprocity to afford a "dramatic transformation" that diminishes disruption and distance between individuals and groups. The author focuses on the *gi-be wiikonge,* a contemporary interpretation of the Odawa Feast of the Dead ritual, in which the Odawa community comes together to decorate the gravestones of their ancestors and feast with them. Relying primarily on George Lakoff and Mark Johnson's *Metaphors We Live By* (1980), the author uses a theoretical model of metaphor as speech that "structure[s] everyday life" (p. 179). Pflüg argues that despite changes in the form of its performance, what remains is the central ritual practice of sharing among and

between the living and the dead, metaphorically affirming the fundamental Odawa ethos of ethical reciprocity. The author argues that such practices reveal important ways in which the Odawa operate with agency in maintaining the meaning of their traditions by reconstituting their form to fit changing social circumstances. Thus, she claims it is in just this way that Odawa traditionalists are constantly at work invigorating Odawa culture and identity in the present, and projecting its presence into the future by generating a viable continuity with the Odawa past.

The author then considers legal actions taken by traditionalists as another critical site where these Odawa are working toward a public articulation and revitalization of Odawa culture and identity. Despite a perception of federal law as primarily serving non-Indian interests and conflicting with their fundamental ethos of ethical reciprocity, many Odawa traditionalists have begun to publicly press their legal claims, particularly those to land and natural resources, as they recognize that sovereignty and the maintenance of culture and tradition is impossible without it. The author gives some attention to one Odawa band's effort to secure a parcel of land, currently claimed by the Catholic Diocese of Michigan, that contains Odawa burials. Recent claims by a local township to have contracted to purchase the land from the church conflicts directly with earlier promises made by church officials to notify Odawa prior to any intent to sell the property. Pflüg explains that this band of traditionalists took action by preparing a report on the traditional use of the land and submitting it to state agencies, asking that they protect the cemetery as an historical site. Pflüg reports that the state ultimately rejected the traditionalists' claim. The author then paints a bleak picture for this community that seems unlikely to receive a decision in its favor should it pursue its claim under current federal legislation and case law.

It is in the very face of these contemporary challenges from non-Odawa forces that these Odawa traditionalists have taken it upon themselves to engage in sociopolitical and cultural action for the purpose of revitalizing and preserving Odawa culture and identity. And as Pflüg attempts to reveal in her analysis, these efforts are fundamentally informed by mythic and ritual form and content, as well as the deeply held conceptions of ethical reciprocity—gifting, personing, and empowering, or *pimadaziwin*—that have always undergirded the Odawa ethos. In so doing she promises to this traditionalist community the gift of a representation that portrays them as true agents, actively and forcefully engaging the world fully possessed with their rich and viable traditions.

This is however a promise that in some critical ways remains unfulfilled. While Pflüg's analysis goes a long way toward providing an enlightening and empowering vision of this community and its practices, she comes up short in providing an adequate account of the practices and situations that constitute the sites of Odawa revitalization. Throughout her entire work, conclusions regarding the character and force of Odawa myth, ritual, and contemporary traditionalist action are based primarily on information gathered through interviews and earlier ethnographies as read through various theoretical models drawn from social anthropology and philosophy of religion. While it often proves helpful to consider these types of data and academic interpretive

frames, to rely solely on them as Pflüg does here is to, at best, fundamentally ignore the force that these revitalization practices have for the Odawa actors themselves. The reader gets no clear sense of the ways in which Odawa traditionalists actively engage their world by and through myth and ritual or of the reconstitutionalizing effect that such engagement has upon Odawa myth and ritual itself.

Pflüg does represent the voices of traditionalists both in her interviews with them and in their telling of mythic narratives, which can be important sources of information regarding how these practitioners orient toward their own circumstances and their roles in it. In almost every chapter there are quotes from various traditionalists speaking, for example, to the violence perpetrated against Odawa identity and culture by federal policies or to the particulars of the *gi-be wiikonge* ritual or the seventh fire myth as they are performed by traditionalists today. But such data alone cannot afford a picture of how myth and ritual become the vehicles or frameworks through which traditionalists actively engage others, Odawa and non-Odawa alike, in combating challenges to their cultural and communal integrity. Insofar as they are comments elicited by the author herself, they are the products of self-conscious, artificial reflection on myth, ritual, and revitalization by these consultants. In essence, they reveal nothing of the sundry ways in which tradition informs the practices that contribute to and constitute contemporary traditionalist myth, ritual, and revitalization activity.

It is only through rich and detailed description of these everyday activities of revitalization and their contexts that the true agency of traditionalists can be revealed. The proper questions must be multiple: What are the details of place and social relation of those local town meetings in which the fate of the Odawa gravesite was determined? Did the Odawa traditionalists speak at such meetings? Did they invoke mythic models of ethical reciprocity and the life of Nanabozho to justify their claims to that land? Did they talk about "gifting, personing, and empowering" to suggest ways in which the gravesite could be reserved for their use? What were the responses of other townspeople? Did traditionalists perform *gi-be wiikonge* rituals in order to build solidarity and unity of mind within their own ranks prior to meeting with local non-Indian leadership? Without asking such questions, any insight into the manner in which ritual and myth become interpretive frames through which traditionalists engage in revitalization remains unavailable. By failing to incorporate such aspects of the traditionalist's "lived" revitalization efforts, Pflüg's analysis, no matter how it is dressed up, treats ritual and myth as abstractions that can be adequately conceptualized outside the contexts of their (re)constitution and with no sense of the traditionalist agents who live by and through them. Her own analysis thus falls to her own critique.

Despite these shortcomings, the importance of understanding tradition as Pflüg does here, as a dynamic interpretive frame, cannot be overstated. This is true not only if academia is to adequately portray the richly lived worlds of American Indian peoples in these often silenced communities, but is also significant for the Odawa themselves as they work to elaborate their place within a non-Indian nation-state that regularly conditions recognition on a showing of

cultural continuity with the communities and groups that preceded them. Insofar as Pflüg's effort has at least pointed us in the direction of working with such a conception of tradition, she has achieved something considerable in this book. Indeed, as the Odawa recognize, so much of the ethics of giving lie not in the actual receipt of the gift, but in the willingness of the giver to offer it. In this way Pflüg has graciously fulfilled her promise.

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To Show Heart: Native American Self-Determination and Federal Indian Policy, 1960–1975. By George Pierre Castile. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998. 216 pages. $35.00 cloth; $16.95 paper.

I began reading this book with my usual hesitance toward Indian policy commentary by a non-Indian anthropologist. Because I always hope to encounter a non-biased overview of this policy as described by a non-Native, however, I investigated *To Show Heart: Native American Self-Determination and Federal Indian Policy.* I wish I could say that my hopes were fulfilled. I hate to be critical of this book because it is well-researched and -written. Unfortunately, the book also is exceedingly biased and often insulting to Indian leaders who were pivotal in changing Indian policy.

The premise of the book is to give an "insider's" view of Indian policy from 1960 to 1975. George Castile worked for the Office of Economic Opportunity's (OEO) Community Action Program (CAP), which was important in that it allowed tribal communities to submit grant proposals for community development programs in the early 1960s. Castile's thesis is that the CAP program was the model for the Indian Self-Determination and Educational Assistance Act, which allows tribes today to contract for tribal control of the Bureau of Indian Affairs' (BIA) programs. Along the way, however, Castile takes aim at tribal leaders, the American Indian Movement (AIM), and the Democratic Party. The result is a somewhat narrow contribution to the body of work on Indian policy that focuses on the strength of Richard Nixon and his vision for Natives in America.

Castile is intensely harsh on tribal leaders such as Vine Deloria, Jr., who was president of the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) at the time. For example, he writes that Deloria's claims were "doubtful" or "impossible" whenever Deloria made a statement that conflicted with Castile's opinion (see pp. 49, 59, 87). In other instances, he cites Deloria to support his ideas (see pp. 41, 48). The most frustrating example of Castile's competition with Deloria pertains to his mention of Deloria's contention that NCAI coined *self-determination* at one of their meetings in 1966. Castile then refers back to this statement to "prove" that the term was first used not by the NCAI, but by Woodrow Wilson in 1919, by Robert Yellowtail of the Crow, by the OEO, and by Sargent Shriver. I don't think that it matters who spoke the term first, for the idea is that Indians desired to govern themselves since first contact. What

is important is who articulated the term with a policy behind it. While it is true that Nixon signed the paper, Indians and other subaltern peoples have been asking for self-determination for a long time.

Castile presents himself as a person who hates for Indians to get credit for anything. It was non-Indians who started the self-determination movement in his book. If the basis of this book is to respond to books such as *Native Testimony, Indian Self-Rule,* or *American Indians, American Justice,* then it should be couched as such at the onset. Perhaps in the introduction, Castile could have stated that he was unhappy with these books' portrayals of Indian Self-Determination and wanted to show a different perspective on the era and its policy changes.

The book is also very hard on AIM. This criticism is somewhat more on target, since many Indian leaders and community members agree that AIM's demonstrations did not represent Indian Country's tribal and reservation populations. Castile proves that AIM was not a part of the policy-making process either before or after their occupation of the BIA. Castile's portrayal, however, is snide and cynical rather than unbiased. In the second page of his castigation of AIM, he criticized other accounts written by both Indian and non-Indian scholars as highly biased. It is hard to see how his account is less partisan than these other depictions. I am sure there is a middle ground. An unbiased account of this important period of modern history would be relevant to understanding the changes that have occurred in Indian policy since Nixon's presidency. Moreover, an unbiased view lends more credibility to Indian policy-making.

The most ironic part of Castile's AIM-blasting is that he has chosen to exhibit a cover photo of those same Indian demonstrators camped in Washington, DC with the White House in the background. While saying that AIM's actions, such as the occupation of the BIA office in Washington, DC, actually undermined Nixon's advancement of Self-Determination, he places their image on the cover of his new book. It seems hard to reconcile these two approaches to AIM. On the one hand, he asserts that AIM actually hindered the advancement of Nixon's Indian agenda; on the other, he places the faces of Red Power on the cover of his book.

The book does hold much merit for the political scholar, however. Reading the book gives an understanding of the deep roots of partisanship in Congress. Castile sides with the Republicans, arguing that they were truly concerned about the Indians. He carefully details discussions between Nixon's advisors and states that they lobbied congressional leaders to support an Indian agenda. He paints the Democrats (especially the Kennedy family) as unwilling to let anything pass through Congress because they did not want the Republicans to get credit.

We can all agree that Nixon helped the Indians while in office—he acknowledged them in pubic actions, statements, and policy. But I wonder if there is more to the story than this. I have doubts only because of the author's extreme bias on other fronts. For example, when Nixon withdraws support for Indian affairs, it is because of AIM, according to Castile. If Democrats withhold support, however, the author claims that it is because of purely partisan motives. For

example, when Nixon gave the January 1972 State of the Union Address, he mentioned all of his initiatives—restoration of Blue Lake, Alaska Native Claims, and Indian preference—but excludes the Indian Education Act. Even though the bill was going through, he won't tell the nation because it is a Democratic (Kennedy) initiative. So partisanship cuts both ways—Castile does not explain this in a clear and concise way.

Castile's writing style is clear and well-presented and the endnotes are substantive. The text is organized and reads well for the most part. The book presents an exciting time in Indian political history and thus contributes something to us all. Unfortunately, the book is limited by the author's bias. He has added his opinion to Indian policymaking by arguing that Indians were not a part of the process. I would recommend this book, but only to those who have read other accounts of the period. These readers would be able to benefit from the contribution this book makes. However, they would also be able to look past Castile's slanted view of Indian policy under President Nixon.

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Watermelon Nights. By Greg Sarris. New York: Hyperion Press, 1998. 432 pages. $21.45 cloth; $13.95 paper.

JOHNNY SEVERE

> It was only after her and the boys was gone that I seen how her face was just then: plain, without the little smile she had before; not worried or upset, just plain, the way a field is solid yellow in July (p. 25).

Imagine Huck Finn on a raft with Injun Joe, floating down the Sacramento River, getting along. Imagine Lipsha from Louise Erdrich's *Love Medicine* crossed with Sethe in Toni Morrison's *Beloved.* Imagine a three-generational Native American epic fed by William Faulkner, Eudora Welty, Washington Carver, and Mae West. Just imagine something you've never read before.

The first section's narrative voice experiments with regional dialect and Red English among California Indians, the least understood Native Americans of all. Outside government treaties, off the reservation, mixed with Filipinos and Portuguese, confused with Mexicans and Blacks, these California Natives are preliterate, street-smart, mixed-blood, now-day Indians. Johnny Severe and Felix no-father sell used clothing and modern beadwork. They bisexually cruise the streets, scam tribal casinos, live on castoffs, scrounge for paternity and pride, and survive the back alleys of the American Dream and Great Depression. Regional genius rises up here with challenging cultural materials—off-rez, anti-romantic, gossipy, endearing, back-stabbing, desperate, enduring, ravaged Indians, neither noble nor savage. These characters are real people among the rest of us, for better or ill, corruptible and courageous all at once. So too wrote Faulkner of racial despair, regional pride, and ethnic freedom in *The Bear.*

"humility through suffering," he said of southern Blacks, "pride through the endurance which survived the suffering."

Watermelon Nights offers a new paradigm of Native fictional realism, from Ernest Hemingway and John Steinback, through Ralph Ellison and Ray Carver, to Leslie Silko and Alice Walker. The history and culture of many Others in the Americas becomes documentary fiction, the street-mixed ethnic poor of our suburban limits. Delayed-stress grandmothers—surviving as indentured pickers and field hands on rancherias, as whores and trash-cleaners through the Depression, and as housemaids and cannery bottlers in "better" neighborhoods today—raise hell-raising kids brought up on Pepsi, frybread, church charities, and television soap matinees. Mammoth-angry sisters, gang-raped by white high-school boys driving red convertibles, terrorize neighborhoods calling everybody's mother a whore and father a pimp. Dangerous cousins show up, take over, pillage the kitchen table crumbs, then leave without so much as a goodbye. What's America come to?

Northern California history and computer-chip nouveau riche—Clear Lake, Santa Rosa, Sebastopol, Stewart's Point—a 7,000-year Native history figures as Pomo Country along the Russian River, north of San Francisco's Muir Woods, southeast of white-collar retirement Sea Ranch, all with natural taste and professional grace among some 3 percent of the bare-root survivors of a Native holocaust. There are no living conjurers, no warriors or dusky maidens or wise elders; instead, cunning dudes, bossy sisters, conniving pimps, scared young girls, homeless con men, rat-fink friends, white bullies, a few gays, many fatherless kids, and some straight but dumb scouts among a mess of mixed-blood, off-rez humanity. It is a novel chock-full of character and surprise—all-American.

Who claims these people if they won't claim themselves? No generalizations hold, no stereotypes survive, no order pieces it all together: the expatriate novelist Henry James would be fascinated and perplexed by these updated and hybrid Indians fictionalized—Filipinos, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Blacks, Pomos, Miwoks, even an Apache married into the hybrid riot of humanity now seen as West Coast Native America. Take this brash big novel and go figure.

ELBA GONZALES

> Old-timers warned: Watch yourself outside your home. Which, I guess, in the old days, before people got scared and hungry, made you respect one another, made you remember each tribe had something powerful. And that make me think of something else the old ones said, which explained the predicament we was in: Love your home, know every person, every plant and animal, for without your home, you're like a person without a family, less than a dead fly on the road. At least with that—a dead fly—you could poison somebody (p. 173).

Elba's ghost-mother memories of childhood haunt the second-section narrative: Chum, the rancher son's forbidden Indian lover epitaphed in graffiti as the "Hanged Woman," and Clementine, the taken-in, dying mother being sung Pomo angel songs by Old Uncle in a new Packard, a cross between a gay

con man and magic realist healer. Elba's own mother freezes to death, drunk on the porch.

> "Hanged herself," I heard a man say.
> "Froze," I hollered (p. 169).

The novel opens in our time then works backward through three generations of dislocations, then closes with all this culture-tattered history on the porch of a new millennium, no small questions about where it's all going now. The old ones got it the way we hope to get it, if we are to endure. "Got to be better than ever if we is to survive this exile. Got to survive so that we can go back one day like the second Rosa. This is prophecy, this is history" (p. 180).

Rancheria Indians make do in a scrap-heap camp, sneaking over to the hobo fire for burned crackers, rough whiskey, and oral sex, while older girls grope for miscegenated intimacy in a barn and give birth to mixed-blood, father-abandoned kids. Kicked off the rancheria, Big Sarah relocates the round house center-pole and rebuilds the village outside Sebastopol, only to witness the losses once more to white suburbia and tourism. The desecration of racist poverty, ignored spirituality, and cultural sovereignty leak off the reservation to crowd around day-labor indignity and mindless television. And then there's Moki, the enraged medicine spirit from the past, wreaking havoc in the round house in 1932, the poison of white culture polluting red. Throwing fire at everyone and wrecking the round house, the monster-trickster-spirit's rage is not made up.

This is a Big Real Novel, expansive, many-charactered, complexly themed, irritating, winsome, rough, lyrical, letting out the rope of the storyteller's maturing talent. Early Leo Tolstoy or late Charles Dickens, the tale carries an historical texture and a large documentary ambition: to record the changes, to explode the clichés, to detail the lives of Indians in twentieth-century California. The book challenges American readers with the reality of old-time and now-day Indians. The narrative insists that history lives through us all—our relatives still haunt our lives in the present—Indians, Whites, Blacks, Hispanics, and all the Others thrown together. It's a smart novel, deeply imagined and researched, lovingly recalled and crafted—off-rez Natives desperate in poverty and dispossession, unforgettable in wild humor and invention, surviving with endurance and integrity despite self-defeats that keep beating each new generation down with the old racist dismissals and mortal weaknesses and human forgettings. Behind all this lurks the specter of genocide and personal tragedy, the sadness that wrecks the lives of Felix and Billyrene, for example, that an earlier mid-generation of Elba and Ida and Zelda without husbands or fathers struggle to survive with dignity, grace, and good humor. "Indians, Mexicans, it's all the same," the white boy says (p. 351).

Watermelon Nights is a beautifully terrible fiction of cultural mixing. The novel records a West Coast history of smelly hobos and campfire-burnt saltines for wretchedly innocent Indian girls, desperate enough to snatch them from the flames. It gives us Chum and Westin Benedict illicitly copulating away their lives in the barn. It shows Big Sarah, off the makeshift home-

land, menacing the ragtag tribe to keep together and honor tribal spirits. All this despite the holocaust, rancherias, reservations, makeshift brothels, and minimum-wage canneries.

The lessons keep coming in discrete insights. A church mothers' sign—"Please Help the Homeless Indians"—keeps a girl-child from accepting the charity of white do-gooders in Sebastopol. A tribal re-gathering to legitimize genealogy erupts in name-calling and dashed dreams of coming together. Cockfights in the Filipino migrant camps, Indian girls getting along as dollar prostitutes—all the small loves and big losses keep the stories going, but where?

Sex? It's something people do instinctually. Procreation is an unquestioned drive in all its obsessive disruption—the men getting off and running on, the women mothering bastard offspring as best they can, whether cherished or dismissed, gay men making do with what they can in homophobic suburbia. Among all the other honesties, this book opens the closet door of sexual candor—uncannily natural and gracefully puzzled, without prurience or exhibitionism. Just imagine unabashed sexuality in Puritan, white-picket-fence, West Coast America alongside the miscegenation, cultural meshing, and racial fears of mixing commonly shared blood.

The losses are terrible, the judgments disastrous, the consequences barely endurable. Zelda sacrifices the child, Charlie, to save her own by leaving a burning lantern on his blankets. And can Elba forgive her?—in an instant, no looking back, with the stillborn courage to keep walking on through *our* common suffering. And it is *ours*, not theirs—all of our histories dislocated together.

IRIS PETTYJOHN

> She caught me off guard. She turned and tossed a handful of potato salad into my face with all her might. "I should've let you starve," she growled (p. 403).

The book rounds out with the mid-generation middle-classing of off-reservation Indians from the 1950s through the 1990s. Their mothers have stumbled out of hell's ditches and made hard scrabble homes on the raggedy fringes of suburbia. These disappearing Indians reject the old stories and medicine songs and tribal superstitions as they trash the abandoned round house where Billyrene's gang-rape ruins her for life. The rez down by the river has become lover's lane for high-school neckers. Sex becomes something that wannabe nice girls get wrong from watching soapy daytime television and they regret their actions lifelong as they dream of Wonderbread princes, along with their white-washed, fatherless kids. The boys go crazy with the drive for real contact. The girls end up speaking with an artificial affect and pretension that proper English will save them from being no-good Indians. Their ragtag children talk street trash and air-wave dis-speak.

Some things don't change. Despite the losses, sticking power, and small gains, the Pocahontas syndrome is still with us. A pre-war dusky Native girl became John Smith's abandoned lover, then John Rolfe's New World mistress and Christianized wife, Lady Rebecca, in the court of James I. Only four cen-

turies later, Iris lives with the myth of a proper non-ethnic husband, a get-rich melting-pot amnesia, and soapbox melodrama. Johnny's parodic mother Iris is the Native American run off the reservation, miscegenated detritus from the Presley, gang-rape, end-of-the-war Eisenhower 1950s. Indians, Americans, what's the difference now?

> "We're Americans," I told him.
> And do you know what he told me? He told me how I am one of the lost generation, that all my problems have to do with my being lost between two cultures, white and red. "You're on the fence, nowhere," he told me (p. 422).

English betrays Iris and her people, including her only son. So this third generation recoils to grandma's rough-loving ways. Johnny skips over Iris for her Natively *real* mother, Elba.

With this suburbanizing of the Native princess, what will Johnny do? Stay home with grandma, reconcile with his permed mom, or go off to Stanford with Edward the homosexual airhead? Sidekick with the ghost of closeted Patrick, the sensitive "friend" who doesn't want sex with Iris, then blows out his brains from white-boy rejection in back-alley San Francisco? Scam a tribal casino with Felix, the streetsmart cat, and get dangerously rich quick?

Where's Dad with any of them? Where's Old Uncle now? What's become of the Noble Savage? Where will Sarris take these up-to-date, quirky, hard-edged, boundary-blurred stories of now-day Indian mixed-bloods? *Watermelon Nights* ends,

> "Look," Johnny says.
> But I see already.
> Heaven, the far stars?
> No, a wish (p. 425).

Wishful thinking, or real dreaming? Read the book and then we'll talk.

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With My Own Eyes: A Lakota Woman Tells Her People's History. By Susan Bordeaux Bettelyoun and Josephine Waggoner. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998. 187 pages. $35.00 cloth.

With the publication of *With My Own Eyes: A Lakota Woman Tells Her People's History*, a long overdue perspective on the history of the Lakota people has become available. Susan Bordeaux Bettelyoun and Josephine Waggoner met at the Old Soldiers' Home in 1933 and began their collaboration on a history of the "Ogalala and Brulé Lakota during the last half of the nineteenth-century" (p. xv). Bettelyoun was concerned about the errors and omissions in the records written by predominantly white historians. The two women worked to record

Bettelyoun's mostly eyewitness account of events like the Grattan Massacre and the constant relocation of tribal groups. The two women, both mixed-blood Lakota, offer a compelling narrative from both Lakota and white perspectives of the events and attitudes that prevailed as the indigenous Lakota were forced into the reservation system by the US government's policies and actions. As Bettelyoun declares, "'I was in a position to learn and see about all that went on, on both sides'" (p. xxxv). This book is an eyewitness account from both sides of the not-so-clear divide between Indian and white.

Several aspects of this book contribute to its rather unique and important position within historical and autobiographical narratives by and about the Lakota. First, Native women's as-told-to narratives have often been about those aspects of the everyday that were seen as part of women's particular roles—childbirth, homekeeping, healing, and interpersonal relationships, among other responsibilities—and their reactions to those events around them that counted as "historically important," such as wars and treaties. But Bettelyoun was concerned with correcting the record regarding the historical events she witnessed that have been traditionally associated with masculine concerns—wars, treaties, group movements, betrayals, and government policies. And her corrections are useful and transform some of our previous assumptions regarding these events. For instance, in her recounting of the Grattan Massacre, which was precipitated by the killing of a castoff cow owned by a Mormon traveler, Bettelyoun makes it clear that Scattering Bear had offered to pay for the cow with a mule of his own along with other horses from the band. But when Grattan refused, the ensuing battles cost the US government a great deal of money and both sides of the conflict paid with an enormous number of lives. Her descriptions of the negotiations and her eyewitness accounts of the demeanor and behavior of the parties involved as they moved through the area is compelling (pp. 43–65).

Second, the book is also one of the few as-told-to narratives that was not told to a white recorder/editor/collaborator. Instead, the book stands out as a true collaboration between two Native women. As such, the narrative moves outside the boundaries of conventional Native American autobiography and challenges the conventions of historical reporting. Most of the major books about Lakota history from a Lakota perspective, like *Black Elk Speaks*, offer a critical viewpoint inflected with and transformed by Euramerican assumptions and worldviews. Although there were several different interventions by white scholars and historians along the way, editor Emily Levine clears this away and preserves the language and intent of the original manuscript. She describes her approach in this way: "editing should be unintrusive and should preserve the integrity of the text." It is clear that she has worked hard to make "only those changes necessary to produce a readable, accurate text" (p. xxxix). The extensive notes and reference materials Levine includes at the end of the book only enhance the reader's understanding of the story.

Finally, the history of the effort to publish this manuscript is itself an important and instructive story. The manuscript was completed in the late 1930s with promises from the Nebraska State Historical Society to publish. At one point, even Mari Sandoz became involved in the efforts to move the document to print (p. xxiii). But the entrenched assumptions about "historical accuracy" and the editorial demands

of publication at that time kept the manuscript in the files rather than in the public domain. Bettelyoun and Waggoner were frustrated for a number of years by the slow and finally nonexistent work by well-meaning but bureaucratic editors and publishers. Neither woman saw the final work in print, although Waggoner's family self-published her own historical manuscript, *My Land, My People, My Story*, after her death. However, according to Levine, a number of white scholars and historians used and misused the unpublished manuscript in their own writings (p. xxviii). There was very little financial remuneration for their invaluable work.

The introduction and editorial policy sections of this book are useful not only for mapping out the story of the primary purposes of this book, but also for offering a succinct overview of recent theoretical developments in relation to Native American autobiographies, as-told-to narratives, and historical writing. Her review of current thinking regarding Native women's autobiographies covers most of the major scholars and their perspectives, including a brief list of contemporary Native women who are writing their own stories and histories. Also, she includes a brief discussion of recent trends in editorial practices for historical manuscripts, particularly those from Native sources. These sections provide a fine introduction for novice readers of Native American texts to several important concerns and an excellent brief review of the field for more experienced scholars.

There is much in this book to recommend it to a number of audiences, from academic historians to Native American studies scholars to readers interested in a more accurate understanding of United States and Lakota history. It is a fine and wonderfully written history and a critical intervention into the available written material on the Lakota's past.

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A Zuni Life: A Pueblo Indian in Two Worlds. By Virgil Wyaco. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998. 142 pages. $35.00 cloth; $16.95 paper.

In *A Zuni Life*, Virgil Wyaco describes his life as a balance between the best of the Zuni and Euramerican worlds. He finds comfort not only in the materialism that the white world provides through automobiles, television, central heating, and indoor plumbing, but also in the spiritual potency of his Zuni ancestry. This personal account also describes his government involvement as a tribal council member and representative of his people. Wyaco's story, then, is drenched in Zuni theology and in the secularism of having held a public office influenced by white political culture.

To understand Wyaco's story is to grasp Zuni spiritual history and the Native struggle to balance a life made of two different cultures. The grace of his rendering lies in his ability to weave Zuni theology into his descriptions of life in white society. Because Wyaco was born during the Shalako ceremony, which celebrates the arrival of the *koko* from the four corners of the earth, his life immediately becomes one with the spiritual world.

This can perhaps be best seen through Wyaco's description of his World War II experience. Before he left for Europe, his family gave him corn meal, which served him well in battle. After the war Wyaco returned to Zuni, where a medicine man blessed him with corn meal and brushed him down with an eagle wing to remove all the evil of his experiences. While he served the non-Native world in battle, he retained a strong spiritual connection to his Zuni people at home.

At the same time *A Zuni Life* describes Wyaco's attempts to bridge the two cultures in which he lives, it also describes his intense spiritual crisis. Thankfully, the Zuni clown society, dedicated to impersonating and mocking the gods, embraced him. The powerful clown society doctors were the only healers who could cure him after his horrid war experiences. Wyaco feared becoming a clown, for he was wary of mocking the gods. He was concerned that the gods would look unfavorably upon him if he were to become a member of this secret society. For Wyaco, the life of an Indian was becoming overwhelmingly complicated.

Wyaco became postmaster of his pueblo. It was during his tenure at this post that his people elected him to the Zuni Tribal Council. Wyaco finally found his calling—he was passionate about serving his people. Wyaco would eventually become the vice-president of the Southwest Indian Polytechnic Institute. When the federal government planned to shut down the school, Wyaco led a crusade, forcing the government to keep the school open. He became an indispensable member of his community.

The birth of this autobiography came shortly after World War II when Wyaco and two friends, J. A. Jones, who transcribed and edited *A Zuni Life*, and Carroll L. Riley, who provides an historical sketch at the book's end, enrolled as undergraduates at the University of New Mexico.

While Wyaco's depiction of his life and theology are immediately accessible, Riley's concluding sketch, representing white culture, is not. While credible, Riley's version of Zuni history and life is analytic and cold—a grid of Western logic imposed upon the heart of Zuni earth and spirit. Riley provides an anthropological analysis of Zuni culture. In itself, the piece is satisfactory. Next to Wyaco's holistic rendering of his life experiences, however, there seems to be no depth or warmth to Riley's description.

Wyaco wrote this autobiography to guarantee the future by maintaining a respect of and wonder for the past. He recorded his life so that young Zuni may read and understand their relationship to the modern world.

Charles Ynfante
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