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In the end, Ramirez's conceptualization extends the understanding of urban Native Americans, not as a vanishing, beaten people without culture and homeland but as a vibrant, animating force in the urban milieu.

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Native Seattle: Histories from the Crossing-Over Place. By Coll Thrush with a foreword by William Cronon. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007. 326 pages. \$28.95 cloth.

Finally, a book that undertakes the important work of examining urban history with the perspective that Native people have been continuous, integral, multi-faceted participants in the development of cities has been published. Most city histories either ignore Native people or relegate them to a few pages, where they are usually described as the primitive, hapless victims of progress who were vanquished, vanished, and replaced by modernity. However, as Coll Thrush points out, "Every American city is built on Indian land, but few advertise it like Seattle" (3). Thrush presents Seattle as not just a city built on Indian land but also as one whose existence and identity have been dependent on and interwoven with the experiences (real and imagined) of Native peoples throughout time.

Histories of Native people in urban areas have largely focused on relocated or transitory contemporary communities, which generally emerged after World War II. That literature, begun in the 1960s, has evolved from a focus on Native peoples' success or failure to assimilate into urban life, to more recent sophisticated analyses of the dynamics of Native urban communities. *Native Seattle* adds to this revitalized, innovative body of scholarship by skillfully weaving together histories of the multiracial contemporary Native community, the city of Seattle, and broader Indian history. Thrush argues that "the strands of urban and Indian history have been entwined, and there is very little distance, in either space or time, between the dispossession of local indigenous people, the rise of an urban pan-Indian community, and the development of urban narratives populated with Indian metaphors" (13).

Thrush's simultaneous deconstruction and interlacing of a series of complex, competing, overlapping, and layered histories of the city is lucid and compelling. He subtly threads these histories together through the concept of *yiq*, which in the Whulshootseed language refers to a Duwamish, Lake, and Shilshole basketry design technique, or, as anthropologists term it, imbrication. Thrush explains that *yiq* is naturally a forceful process of working, or more precisely as one elder put it, "worrying" something into a tight place. The concept thus correlates with the ways in which "the urban and indigenous worlds interacted" as the landscape became increasingly urbanized (68–69). Thrush integrates indigenous peoples' complex sense of living with the landscape as an element that persists through time, in relation to, but also in tension with, pioneers' struggles to tame what they perceived as *terra nullius*

and their descendants' violent reconfiguration of the landscape in the name of progress, industrialization, and cosmopolitan living. "Seattle was an imbricated place," Thrush concludes (69).

Native Seattle is organized around a series of "place-stories," an approach that does away with the tired dichotomy that places Native and urban in opposition to each other. Interwoven place-stories disallow compartmentalization of people and events conventionally presented as disconnected or even diametrically opposed. Thrush describes the inequities in power relations between the protagonists of these place-stories, and goes further to demonstrate how and why the suppression and reinvention of Native peoples' histories has been, and continues to be, integral to Seattle's socioeconomic identity. Place-stories told from the non-Native perspective justify colonization, settler society, and the exploitation of the landscape and its resources; from the Native perspective, they relate the indispensability of Native people in the city's history, the injustice of their displacement and erasure, and their ongoing struggle for basic rights, community, and recognition. However, through the inevitable link between socioeconomic hierarchy and the power structure of place-story-telling, the formation of Seattle was, and still is, relative to the power of certain stories over others. For example, as Thrush lays out in chapter 1, whether in reference to Chief Seathl or to those who live on skid row, a popular representation of Native people has been to subjugate them to the ephemeral realm of "ghosts" (living and dead) who "haunt" the city. This serves the paradoxical purpose of dehumanizing Native people while also giving the city an "indigenous pedigree" (4).

In chapters 2 through 4, romanticized non-Native accounts of discovery, frontier survival, the Battle of Seattle, and the work of rendering a living from an uncooperative landscape are contextualized by the fact that Seattle was a place already storied with indigenous people whose existing cosmopolitanism and industriousness made settlement and the growth of the city possible. By the mid-to-late nineteenth century, as the economic interdependency between Native and non-Native people changed, so did the stories told about Seattle and Native people. Distancing Native people from the city, physically and ideologically, becomes central to non-Native stories, as Native people are increasingly equated with threats to urban civility and considered as dangerous as fires, smallpox, and moral degradation. Despite efforts to diminish ties, Native and non-Native people remained intricately connected through various economic aspects. Native laborers from throughout the Northwest Coast diversified Seattle's population as local indigenous people maintained their presence near their traditional territories, even though law and non-Indian society considered them as properly belonging to the reservation beyond the city: "Far from vanishing, these were indigenous people who had chosen to . . . make a go of it in an urbanizing landscape" (77).

However, by the turn of the twentieth century and during its first three decades (chapters 5 through 8), the continued presence of Native people in the city had become too incommensurate. Civil engineering altered the shorelines, rivers, and lakes that Native people continued to depend on. Native people were burned out of their homes and forced to relocate to the reservation.

Thrush's description of the devastation this violence and upheaval caused for Native people is poignant and infuriating. However, Thrush's tone here also implies a sense of mourning for what he refers to as a loss of indigeneity; this shift reads like a romanticized account of vanishing Indians that is at odds with the very discourse he critiques. He writes, for example, that by the turn of the twentieth century the "so-called vanishing race" persisted through the remaining Native city-dwellers, but "in terms of indigeneity—which we might define by subsistence patterns, use of traditional places, ceremonial practices, [and] firsthand experience with the pre-urban landscape," this time marked, "the end of *indigenous* Seattle" (98). Are the twentieth century and ongoing Indian place-stories of the city then somehow less authentic?

Paralleling the physical destruction of Seattle's Native people was another kind of urban Indian history constructed from the movement of Native people and objects up and down the Northwest Coast. From street-corner craft vendors to stolen totem poles, a "new iconography of urban empire" was generated for the city so much identified with things Native (113). "Playing Indian" was part of this new urban Indian history, in which the potlatch, the ceremonial giveaway, and feasting practiced by Native people throughout the Northwest Coast were corrupted into a publicity stunt of crude competitions, replete with racist symbology, performed by the civic groups of the city's new commercial elite. Competing with this "Indian history" was the lament of the pioneer, a story in which the main characters were also a "vanishing race," who, like Indians, were perceived to have lived simpler lives closer to nature and were on the verge of extinction as Seattle propelled into the future. Thrush's incorporation of these stories as further versions of Seattle's Indian history is eloquent and thought provoking.

The latter chapters present place-stories of Seattle's contemporary Indian community. Given the complexity and multiple dimensions of this community, these stories are disproportionately less detailed and lack the analytical attention of earlier chapters. The result is a sense of disjuncture or unraveling, which is perhaps reflective of the very times Thrush describes. The book concludes with a fascinating and comprehensively researched "Atlas of Indigenous Seattle," although it, too, seems oddly placed and disconnected from the rest of the text. Despite his claim that "the concerns of present-day tribal peoples dictate how this atlas should be used," and that it is not a pothunter's guide or a "primer for playing Indian," its purpose is unclear (212–13). Moreover, the permanence and immobile character of the maps and labels inevitable in an atlas create a schism within the innovative framework of place-stories that illuminate the diversity and ever-changing qualities of the landscape around which the book is mainly constructed. As such, however, the atlas may serve as a valuable point of debate about the engagement of people with and historical representations of the landscape—a purpose consistent with Thrush's general goals.

Overall, shortcomings are minor and balanced by Thrush's successful storytelling. In a relatively short book, he accomplishes several monumental tasks, from spanning the void between the precontact and contemporary Native histories of Seattle to incorporating refreshing political, economic, and

aesthetic analyses of those histories. Skillfully woven together in nearly seamless continuity, poetic, and theoretically insightful, *Native Seattle* is a pleasure to read and a valuable addition and challenge to the existing scholarship on the subject of Native urban history.

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New Indians, Old Wars. By Elizabeth Cook-Lynn. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007. 226 pages. \$32.95 cloth.

Elizabeth Cook-Lynn's newest book, *New Indians, Old Wars*, clearly reflects her position as a member of the "first wave" of Native scholars dedicated to the establishment of Native studies as a freestanding academic discipline. These creative and critical thinkers included Vine Deloria Jr., Scott Momaday, Robert K. Thomas, Bea Medicine, John Roulliard, and Rupert Costo. I was privileged to be colleagues with the first three and know well the latter's work. Although Cook-Lynn is much too kind to state it, most of us in the second and third waves unfortunately failed to build on the momentum she and her contemporaries initiated in the area of Native American studies, and her book deserves a much deeper analysis in this regard than a standard book review.

In any case, Native studies began as an effort to deconstruct harmful stereotypes of Native Americans in order to undermine the paradigms, social constructs, and assumptions of colonialism. In so doing, Native studies programs at universities were intended to play a significant role in redirecting the course of colonizer-colonized relations. As Cook-Lynn correctly points out, along the way the interdisciplinary structure of what became the institution of Native studies essentially fixed it as a kind of tributary of several traditional university departments. Rarely were/are faculty members tenured in Native studies. Rather, most had to go through the tenure process in "home" departments. As a result, a given faculty member was forced to concentrate his or her research agenda in a "traditional" discipline such as anthropology, history, political science, or psychology and, of course, publish in those journals particular to the disciplines. Even though Native studies has its own journals, quite often Native studies faculty have to think in terms of publishing in "mainstream" periodicals simply to gain tenure status in a home department. The upshot of being an interdisciplinary field of study is that Native studies failed to mature in terms of formulating its own theories, conceptual frameworks, paradigms, and core assumptions based entirely on internally generated information. In academia, journals, theories, paradigms, jargon, and core assumptions literally define a discipline. Without them, a discipline simply cannot be a discipline.

Not that these Native theories, frameworks, paradigms, and assumptions are not already in place. Cook-Lynn names two in *New Indians, Old Wars*. Her particular theoretical constructs are called *sovereignty* and *indigenism*. Another is the notion that underlies what Gerald Vizenor has called *survivance*. Still