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Articles which cross conventional borders between academic disciplines are particularly welcome, as are comparative studies of American and other cultures. The journal also publishes notes, comments, book and film reviews. Details about the submission of manuscripts are provided on the back (inside) cover of this issue.

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Valerian THREE IRONS

A Mandan, Hidatsa, Crow, and Cree, Three Irons attended Fort Berthold Community College, University of North Dakota, University of Technology in Jamaica, Roehampton University in London and Ashford University. He is instructor of Native American Studies including Traditional Plains Culture, Native American Philosophical Thought, Contemporary Issues, Mandan Language, Economic Development, Native American Marketing and Business Entrepreneurship and Professional Speaker/Lecturer on Native American Culture and Service-Learning. He has lectured and given presentations to professional organizations as well as various universities and colleges across the United States and abroad (Ecuador, Jamaica, Czech Republic, England, Thailand, and Turkey).

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Introduction: Now is the Time of the Postindian[1]

Meldan Tanrısal

"It is time to change the dialogue about Indians," says Elizabeth Cook Lynn in an interview. The writer, poet, scholar, educator and journal editor, Lynn, continues: "We are not just warriors, we are not just victims of massacre, we are not just drunks in the street, we are not just Americans, we are Indian Americans, Native Americans" (Lynn 2013). She states that there are many stereotypes about Indians, but that these should change because Indians have made great progress, and accomplished a great deal, over the centuries. There are Native American scholars, writers, lawyers and doctors. Specifically, Lynn mentions Charles Eastman who was a physician and the only doctor at Wounded Knee. She also notes Black Elk, a man of philosophy and religion; the painter Oscar Howe, whose works hang in embassies all over the world; and Vine Deloria, Jr., who has written over thirty books on Native American Studies, law, politics, and history.

Native American activist, scholar and writer Gerald Vizenor is another important contemporary figure. Vizenor does not like to be labeled "Indian" because the term is a "colonial invention of victimry," and he prefers to be called a "Postindian." He fervently rejects the white generalizing classification of indigenous peoples as "Indians." In fact, he defines the word "Indian" "as a misnomer, a mistake in navigation. 'The Indian' is a simulation, not an actual reference to real people and cultures. Several thousand Native cultures, and hundreds of contemporary Native languages, have been reduced to a single word, 'Indian'" (Vizenor, "American Indian Art," 51). Thus, according to Vizenor, Indians are fake. They are not real people but "simulations created by whites to complete intellectually the genocidal terrorism they have practiced so enthusiastically since 1492" (Kroeber 27). In *Manifest Manners: Narratives of Postindian Survivance*, Vizenor claims

that "Indians" never existed since "the word has no referent in tribal languages or cultures" (11). Consequently, today, postindians are still fighting colonial misrepresentation and colonization. Although Native Americans are not being destroyed as systematically as in the past, colonization continues in the present day in different forms. They are still oppressed, struggling to hold onto their culture, traditions, values, and languages. Their battle against assimilation also continues.

Misconception has marked the existence of Native Americans from the very beginning in terms of their naming; the erasure of their rich, complex tribal languages and traditions; and the dismissal of their future. Since the colonial era, historians, writers and politicians have cemented the idea that they were a dying nation. Thomas Jefferson, James Fenimore Cooper, Francis Parkman and George Bancroft have, like many others, used rhetoric that almost guaranteed the future extinction of Native Americans. As Larzer Ziff has expressed, they treated "living Indians as sources for a literary construction of a vanished way of life rather than as members of a vital continuing culture. Such writers used words to replace rather than to represent Indian reality" (qtd. in Vizenor, *Manifest Manners,* 8). Thus, the myth of the "vanishing Indian" has always been embedded in the American fabric.

Vizenor first used the term "survivance" in *Manifest Manners* and extended his discussion in *Survivance: Narratives of Native Presence*. Originally an English word that was synonymous with survival, survivance became obsolete in the nineteenth century (Kroeber 25). As Kroeber explains, Vizenor excavated the term "to subordinate survival's implications of escape from catastrophe and marginal preservation; *survivance* subtly reduces the power of the destroyer. He seizes on *survivance*'s older sense of *succession*, orienting its connotations not toward loss but renewal and continuity into the future rather than memorializing the past" (25).

Vizenor makes a distinction between survival and survivance, which is more complex. He defines survivance as "an active sense of presence, the continuance of native stories, not a mere reaction, or a survivable name….Native survivance stories are renunciations of dominance, tragedy and victimry" (Vizenor, *Manifest Manners,* vii). Survivance is the opposite of victimry, which embraces the conventional stereotypical images of Native peoples. It means survival plus resistance, or survival plus endurance. Moreover, an act of survivance is an

indigenous form of self-expression, in any medium, that tells a story about the Native American presence in today's world, while prompting social change by transforming attitudes and beliefs. Thus, survivance stories are creative acts of resistance to domination, oppression and termination. Victimhood, on the other hand, is never productive.

In his article "American Indian Art and Literature Today: Survivance and Tragic Wisdom," Vizenor also claims that "Native Americans have been consigned to the tragic mode of stoical, isolated and tragic victim in art and literature" (47). Through his works, Vizenor tries to heal his people by changing their biased view of themselves. He believes that if Native Americans can reject white definitions of themselves as victims, they can also prevent being destroyed psychologically. As Kroeber explains,

> Survivance rejects this imposed internalizing; it offers natives modes of personal and social renewal attained through welcoming unpredictable cultural reorientations. These reorientations promise radically to transform current native life without requiring abandonment of the enduring value of their precontact cultural successes. (25)

In the interview "Postindian Warriors: Creating a New Consciousness in Native America," Vizenor discusses postindian warriors. These people, who have survived the worst possible circumstances, do not write about victimry, but about survivance, Luther Standing Bear (Plenty Kill) (1868-1939), a traditional Sioux, is a "postindian warrior" who refused victimhood. Luther Standing Bear was one of the first students to attend the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania, which aimed at "whitemanizing" Indian children, but unlike so many others, he returned home. Away from the warmth of their families and the security of their villages, Indian children suffered in the unfamiliar environment, where they had to abide by the strict rules of the boarding school. Upon arrival, their hair was cut, and their clothes and blankets were replaced by uniforms. They were forced to assimilate and were required to convert to Christianity and abandon their Native languages. Harsh military discipline was administered, and those who did not obey the rules were punished severely. The motto of the institution became "Kill the Indian and Save the Man" (Nies 291).

While most Native American children had great difficulty adjusting to the completely alien environment, Standing Bear survived

and became determined to return to his people. At school, he picked the English name Luther, as he was told to do from the list on the blackboard, and became Luther Standing Bear in government records. Despite the circumstances, he endured bravely and was more fortunate than most. After completing his education, he taught at the government school on the Rosebud Reservation, and was praised for being "diligent and faithful, persevering and trustworthy" and very "competent." He later worked as a government clerk, opened a store on his reservation, became an assistant minister, and finally joined Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show and traveled to Europe. At a time when an Indian author was a rarity, Luther Standing Bear wrote works such as *My People: The Sioux* and *Land of the Spotted Eagle*, and told his story of survivance in public lectures. He not only informed white readers of his people's way of life, but also aroused white sympathy for Indians during difficult times. Luther Standing Bear clearly defied victimization and embodies Vizenor's definition of a "postindian warrior."

Born in 1958 and known as the first Diné (Navaho) surgeon, Lori Aviso Alvord is an example of a more contemporary postindian. Her autobiography, *The Scalpel and the Silver Bear,* is an account of how she combined western medicine and traditional healing to treat her patients. In the introduction, she states:

> This book is about my journey and my struggles. From my own mistakes, my own initial misadventures in patient care, I realized that although I was a good surgeon, I was not always a good healer. I went back to the healers of my tribe to learn what a surgical residency could not teach me. From them I have heard a resounding message: Everything in life is connected. Learn to understand the bonds between humans, spirit and nature. Realize that our illness and our healing alike come from maintaining strong and healthy relationships in every aspect of your life. (Alvord and Van Pelt 3)

Dr. Alvord's story is a story of success, as she was able to merge the latest innovations in the medical world with ancient tribal ways to cure her patients. Through her autobiography, she was able to recount her experiences and challenge invented notions of Indianness and stereotypes such as the noble savage, the fierce warrior, and "leathered-and-feathered vanishing race." As Alvord illustrates, Native

Americans have not only survived, but have also resisted colonial misrepresentation through an active sense of presence.

This issue of the *Journal of American Studies of Turkey*, which will explore postindians and survivance, is the second dedicated to Native Americans. It consists of six essays, a book review, and an interview. In the first essay, "Only the Earth Shall Endure," Valerian Three Irons discusses the history of his people, and how they have survived over 500 years of attempted assimilation, genocide, oppression, imperialism, invasion and capitalism. He emphasizes that in order to find solutions to the current problems of indigenous people, the stereotypical romanticized view of Native Americans should be abandoned and they should be seen in the present for who they are. Lawrence B. Goodheart's article, "A Reflection on the 1637 Mystic Fort Massacre in Connecticut," recounts the horrific massacre of the Pequot in detail, and draws attention to the difference between Indian and European warfare. Extensive killing was characteristic of European wars, while Indian wars could last several years, but only a few would die. The third article, "Reinventing the Writing of American Indian History in the Twenty-first Century," by Daniele Fiorentino, investigates the difficulty of studying Native American history, which requires an interdisciplinary approach that relies on approximation.

Özge Özbek Akıman's article, "Edward Dorn's Idea of the Native American and His 'Curious Paleface' Consciousness in *The Shoshoneans*" examines Dorn's photo-essay, or documentary prose, *The Shoshoneans: The People of the Basin Plateau,* as an early critique of race, culture and subjectivity from a geo-historical perspective. The fifth article, Nichole S. Prescott's "Building Native Women's Leadership through Community and Culture," explores the evolving nature and perception of Native American women's leadership through the lenses of colonialism and gender. It explains how today, Native American women are gradually regaining the sociopolitical power they once exercised in the past. The last article, Cem Kılıçarslan's article, "The Reel Indian or The Real Indian?: The Three Modes of Representation of Native Americans in Western Movies" deals with three different modes of representation, or marketing strategies, that depend on Hollywood demand. It argues that the cinematic image of the Native American cannot depict historical reality, for it is shaped by motives that differ from those of Native Americans. Finally, Ece Soydam's interview on the prize-winning documentary *On the Trail of Sitting Bull*

presents the Native American perspective on the Bering Strait theory, assimilation, racism, genocide and expresses their hopes for the future. When asked what they would want Turkish people to know about the Lakota, most answered: "That we are alive!"

When I went to Albuquerque, New Mexico in 1993 as a Fulbright scholar pursuing my interest in Native Americans, I was introduced to the historian Joe S. Sando from Jemez Pueblo. He was the author of *Pueblo Nations: Eight Centuries of Pueblo Indian History,* and he signed his book saying, "Let your people know that we still exist," which I have taken as my mission. Since then, I have presented papers, published articles and organized conferences on Native Americans. This issue of *JAST* is the result of two conferences organized by the Department of American Culture and Literature at Hacettepe University. If it had not been for the Turkish Coalition of America, we would not have been able to host these events. Therefore, I owe a special thanks to Lincoln McCurdy, who was President of the TCA at the time, for sponsoring our Native American speakers and enabling us to organize the very first conference on Native Americans in Turkey. I am likewise indebted to Visiting Fulbright Professors David Espey and Lawrence Goodheart who inspired me to study Native Americans and guided and supported me throughout my career. I would also like to express my gratitude to the peer reviewers, the issue contributors, and my colleagues for their encouragement as I finalized this long-delayed project. I thank Tanfer Emin Tunç, whose help has been invaluable; the former editor of *JAST*, Özlem Uzundemir; our present editors, Defne Ersin Tutan and Selen Aktari Sevgi; the ASAT Executive Board; my former student, Ata Can, for designing the poster for the first conference, which now serves as the basis for the cover of this issue; and last but not least, Merve Özman, without whose assistance I could not have fulfilled my mission.

Notes

[1] Parts of this introduction are from a previously published essay: Meldan Tanrısal, "From Tradition to Survivance: PostIndians Narrating Survivance and Resistance." *Traditions and Transitions*, Vol. II, pp. 250-263. Eds. E. Slavova, et al. Sofia UP, 2019. Used with permission.

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Only the Earth Shall Endure: Thoughts on Native American Survival

Valerian Three Irons

Abstract

Our native nations of the Americas are survivors. We have survived over 500 years of attempted assimilation and genocide. Manifest Destiny is only an excuse to take our resources and conduct ethnic cleansing. Nations have survived in spite of oppression, imperialism, invasion, and capitalism. Our history and cultural memory differ greatly from that of the general American society. Information about Native Americans in American history books is minimal and for the most part inaccurate. The indigenous nations need to be brought into the twenty-first century, into the new millennium to overcome major problems they face such as poverty, insufficient health care and education, crime and treaty violations that plague their homelands. We need to be seen as here and now, not in the skewed view of the past. We are resistant to joining mainstream America because to do so would mean to lose the things that mean the most to us, and that is our culture. Cultural survival means protecting what we deem of value as a society. Value is what has allowed us to live in harmony with our Mother Earth and all living things. Mother Earth will be just fine. Humankind is the one you need to worry about and pray for. Throughout time Mother Earth has seen species come and go. When one is out of balance, they are not long for this world. As the NuEta people say "Only the Earth Shall Endure."

Keywords Genocide, survival, Bering Strait, George Catlin.

Yalnızca Toprak Varlığını Sürdürmeye Devam Edecektir: Kızılderililerin Hayatta Kalışları Hakkında Düşünceler

Öz

Amerika'nın yerli ulusları beş yüz yıldan uzun süredir asimilasyon ve soykırım çabalarına rağmen hayatta kalmayı başarmışlardır. Önlenemez Kader Doktrini, kaynaklarımızın elimizden alınması ve izlenen etnik temizlik politikası için sadece bir mazeretti. Yerli uluslar, baskılar, emperyalizm, işgal ve kapitalizme rağmen hayatta kaldı. Tarihimiz ve kültürel belleğimiz bugünkü Amerikan toplumunun tarih ve kültürel belleğinden oldukça farklıdır. Amerikan tarih kitaplarında Kızılderililer hakkında yer alan bilgiler yetersiz ve büyük oranda yanlıştır. Bu tarih ve kültürel bellek, yerli ulusların fakirlik, yetersiz sağlık ve eğitim olanakları, yüksek suç oranları ve çiğnenen anlaşmalar gibi sorunlarına çözüm üretebilmek adına, yirmi birinci yüzyıla taşınmalıdır. Geçmişin çarpıtılmış yaklaşımları bir kenara bırakılarak, Kızılderililer artık görülmeye başlanmalıdır. Ana akım Amerika'ya katılmaya direnmemizin sebebi, bunun bizim için her şey anlamına gelen kültürümüzü kaybetmek anlamına gelmesidir. Kültürümüzü hayatta tutmanın yolu bir toplum olarak değerlerimizi korumaktan geçer. Toprak Anayla ve tüm diğer canlılarla uyum içinde yaşamamızı mümkün kılan işte bu değerlerimizdir. Toprak ana iyidir ve iyi kalacaktır. Asıl endişe etmememiz ve dua etmemiz gereken insanoğludur. Yüzyıllardır, Toprak Ana türlerin doğuşuna ve kayboluşuna tanıklık etmiştir. Toprak anayla uyum bozulduğunda türlerin uzun süre varolması mümkün değildir. NuEtaların da dediği gibi, "Yalnızca toprak varlığını sürdürmeye devam edecektir."

Anahtar Kelimeler: Soykırım, hayatta kalma, Bering Strait, George Catlin

Ma Ah Nuh, Ta Skach, Me ma O'doch, Shehek Shote weda seh. (In NuEta: My people, I greet you, I am here, I am called The White Coyote.) Greetings in my NuEta Language. The white man calls us Mandan, but the name for ourselves is NuEta, meaning the people.

My people's homelands lie in the very heart of our great Turtle Island along the Missouri River in North Dakota. I am NuEta (Mandan), Hidatsa, Aps'aaloke (Crow), and Cree.

Our native nations of the Americas are survivors. We have survived over 500 years of attempted assimilation and genocide. What they referred to as explorers we called invaders. What they called pioneers we called squatters. The freedom of their religion meant the suppression of ours.

The America that they claim is still and always will be our homelands. Manifest Destiny is only an excuse to take our resources and conduct ethnic cleansing. Our history through times of triumph and tragedy is not so different from that of other nations all over the world. Nations have survived in spite of oppression, imperialism, invasion, and capitalism. Our culture defines us as human beings. It tells the world who and what we are, what our values are, how we live, and how we see and interact with our world.

In November 2009, while presenting at the Hacettepe University Conference, *Native American Voices: Languages of Survival,* I was asked by Turkish students what advice Native Americans might give to Turkish students about America. After a few moments of thought I responded "The best advice we Native Americans could offer Turkish students on America is… don't trust the Americans."

Our history and cultural memory differ greatly from that of general American society. Information about Native Americans in American history books is minimal and for the most part inaccurate. When asked what an Indian looks like, most Americans describe a Northern Plains Indian that lived 150 years ago, complete with feathers and tee-pee. In their minds we still exist in that place, in that time. It is their stereotypical romanticized view of Native Americans. For the most part, we are invisible in America. As Ralph Ellison once wrote:

> I am an invisible man. No, I am not a spook like those who haunted Edgar Allen Poe; nor am I one of your Hollywood-movie ectoplasms …. I am invisible, understand, simply because people refuse to see me …. When they approach me they see only my surroundings, themselves, or figments of their imagination—indeed, everything and anything except me. (3)

So why would we be invisible in our own lands? Do the Americans know that we are still here? Or, is it perhaps they do not want to look in the mirror and see what they have done to the indigenous of this land? In the words of Winona LaDuke (Anishinabeg), an environmentalist from the White Earth Reservation: "We are erased from the public consciousness because if you have no victim, you have no crime" ("Voices from the White Earth").

The indigenous nations need to be brought into the twenty-first century, into the new millennium. To leave us in the past is not to address our needs and concerns in the present. The indigenous nations need to be brought into the twenty-first century, into the new millennium to overcome major problems they face such as poverty, insufficient health care and education, crime and treaty violations that plague their homelands. We need to be seen as here and now, not in the skewed view of the past.

In America, we lead the nation in all the wrong areas. We are number one in diabetes, teen suicide, school dropouts, inadequate access to quality healthcare, and poverty. At one time, our people knew no diabetes, alcoholism, drug abuse, ulcers, heart disease, cancer, or tooth decay. Due to changes in diet and environment, many of our tribal nations suffer ill health and inadequate healthcare. As a free people we lived a much healthier lifestyle.

As the indigenous of our lands, we are in survival mode in terms of culture and environment. The greatest threats to our people/nations are cultural genocide and genocide in our homelands and Mother Earth. Many Americans inquire, "Why don't we just leave the reservations and join mainstream America?" We are resistant to join because to do so would mean to lose the things that mean the most to us, and that is our culture. We would cease to be distinct indigenous nations. Perhaps, we are not so eager to join the American Melting Pot simply because we never left our homelands to take up residence here, we were already here. We didn't flee our home countries to avoid religious persecution, tyranny, disease or starvation. We were and are home. We were quite pleased with our situation in our beautiful homelands.

Five hundred years ago immigrants began to land on our shores. They left their homelands for many reasons, but primarily for economic gain. Christopher Columbus was not an explorer, he was an opportunist and exploiter and a seeker of riches. When riches were found,

they were taken at great human cost. The world's largest holocaust that is never acknowledged or talked about happened here in the Americas.

The New World was not empty or devoid of people, nor was it a wilderness. In fact, the West was not "wild" until the white man arrived. It was homeland to several hundred indigenous nations. Since then, America has always had the "Indian Problem."

> We first knew you a feeble plant which wanted a little earth whereon to grow. We gave it to you; and afterward, when we could have trod you under our feet, we watered and protected you; and now you have grown to be a mighty tree, whose top reaches the clouds, and whose branches overspread the whole land, whilst we, who were the tall pine of the forest, have become a feeble plant and need your protection.
>
> When you first came here, you clung around our knee and called us father; we took you by the hand and called you brothers. You have grown greater than we, so that we can no longer reach up to your hand; but we wish to cling around your knee and be called your children. (McLuhan 117)

Many believe that we came across the Bering Strait some ten to twelve thousand years ago, and that is how we arrived in the Americas. While I was doing some graduate work at London's Roehampton University, a guest speaker came to class one day. This guest speaker was an American. Our class was about organizational and international service. He began his talk by saying "America is a land of immigrants." I immediately shot my hand up. When he finally called on me I said, "When you say America is a land of immigrants, aren't you leaving out an entire race of people?" He responded, "You mean the Native Americans." I replied yes. His next sentence was "You know they came across the Bering Strait." I said, "really, when did this happen, what evidence of this happening do you have, what facts do you have to back up your claim?"

He looked like he was stunned. He stood there silent. He finally said, "you are right, you are right," and continued with his presentation. I believe this gentleman like many others, believes things when he hears it often enough, be it truth or not.

As Vine Deloria, Jr., a Hunkpapa Lakota said in *Spirit & Reason*, "The Bering Strait is simply shorthand scientific language for I don't know, but it sounds good, and no one will check" (78). Deloria's argument is that the Bering Strait Theory is not based on any proven scientific evidence, or any logic. He goes on to say that the Bering Strait Theory is not a scientific theory at all, rather it is a political statement and rationale to covet our land and resources, saying, "you are not really from here either, you are immigrants like the rest of us, you are not entitled to America any more than we are" (78).

The erroneous and unfounded assumptions contained in the Bering Strait Theory are fundamental because they cut to our very identity, the very heart of who we are as peoples and indigenous nations. What right does one nation have to tell another nation where they come from, and who they are? This is done to us because we are politically weak in America and have been silent for too long. Archeological digs throughout the Americas give evidence of human activity and advanced civilizations as long as 50,000 years ago (Goodman 16). Of course the scientific community does not accept such findings. After all, we cannot have Indians living in sophisticated civilizations while European peoples were still living in caves 40,000 years ago.

One may ask, what we are trying to preserve, and to what are we trying to hold on? What is so important that you will not let go? Cultural survival means protecting what we deem of value as a society. Value is what has allowed us to live in harmony with our Mother Earth and all living things. A man who visited and spent a little time with our NuEta people in 1837 may best sum it up. His name was George Catlin (Bowers 13). After his return home he penned this creed.

Catlin's Creed

> I love a people who have always made me welcome to the best they had.
>
> I love a people who are honest without laws, who have no jails and no poorhouses.
>
> I love a people who keep the commandments without ever having read them or heard them preached from the pulpit.
>
> I love a people, who never swear, who never take the name of God in vain.

> I love a people who love their neighbors as they love themselves.
>
> I love a people, who worship God without a Bible, for I believe that God loves them also.
>
> I love a people whose religion is all the same, and who are free from religious animosities.
>
> I love a people who have never raised a hand against me, or stolen my property, where there was no law to punish for either.
>
> I love a people who never fought a battle with white men, except on their own ground.
>
> I love and don't fear mankind where God has made and left them, for there they are…children.
>
> I love a people who live and keep what is their own without locks and keys.
>
> I love all people who do the best they can.
>
> And oh, how I love a people who don't live for the love of money! (*Last Rambles* 354-55)

My family history is much like that of most tribal nations of the Americas in that it shares a love-hate relationship with America. We maintain a love for the land that has always been ours. Our struggles have been with the government that has imposed its will on Turtle Island. As native peoples of America we have been involved in every armed conflict this country has ever been in, either with or against the United States. We are also the only nations in the world that can claim that we have repeatedly defeated the US Army on its own ground. The Lakota Nation under the leadership of Chief Red Cloud and Crazy Horse handed the United States its first military defeat in what is called the Red Cloud Wars ending with the defeat of Custer at Little Big Horn in 1876. We are also the first to sign up for duty when this country goes to war, such as World War I, World War II, Korea, Vietnam, as well as the current situation in the Middle East. In World War I, Natives volunteered and went to war on behalf of the United States and were not even recognized as citizens of the country at that time. There is no other ethnic group in our country that on a per-capita basis has more representation in the US Military than the Native American. As the *Saturday Evening Post* said "We would not need the selective service

if all volunteered like the Indian" (Rawls 6).

In America, there has always been the Indian Problem. The truth is the Indian Problem has never been an Indian problem. It has always been the white man's problem. The problem perceived is what to do with us when the American government wants more land, resources, and when it comes to treaty rights issues. In our minds, and perhaps a few others, we are still the legal, moral, and ethical landlords of this land. Various methods have been used to solve the Indian Problem. Each attempt was thought to solve the Indian Problem in one generation. Attempts included military campaigns, bounties on Indians, religious conversion, boarding schools, money, forced removal-relocation, assimilation, reservations, allotment, genocide, biocide, and termination. The government imposed blood quantum to define tribal identity. In America only horses, dogs, and Indians have an official document stating their blood degree. No other Americans require such documentation.

We have survived all of these attempts. Perhaps the most devastating to our nations were the diseases that spread amongst our people. We were a healthy people and had little to no immunity to diseases that the Europeans brought to the Americas. For centuries, the Europeans had build up immunities in their bodies against diseases that animals carried, mostly by living in close proximity to them for several generations. When unleashed upon the indigenous of this land, they had a devastating effect. In one incident beginning in 1539, Hernando De Soto passed through a portion of America starting at what is now Tampa Bay, Florida, spreading disease to several thousand natives. The diseases were carried by his two hundred horses and three hundred pigs (Mann 97). For four years, this group tramped through the southeastern United States covering several states. The De Soto party documented large cities and urban areas on their journey. Only a few years later, when other Europeans entered the same areas, gone were the urban areas and large populations. Tribal nations that remained told of sickness brought to their people.

My tribe alone suffered two major small pox epidemics, one in 1782 and again in 1837, reducing us from over 15,000 in central North Dakota to a mere 175 survivors. Today, there may be only two or three NuEta (Mandan) speakers left. The gift of the smallpox-infested blanket was the world's first act of bioterrorism and reduced our

once powerful nations to ones in poverty dependent on government programs and regulation.

When the Europeans first appeared in our lands they were not perceived as threats, for we did not know what was to happen to our tribal nations. My great-great-great-great grandfather Shehek Shote, a NuEta Chief, befriended Lewis and Clark in 1804, even helping them to survive a harsh North Dakota winter. Shehek Shote told Lewis and Clark "if we eat, you shall eat, if we starve, you must also starve." In 1806, Shehek Shote returned with Lewis and Clark to meet President Thomas Jefferson and view the east coast of America. This encounter created an alliance between the Mandan and Americans. Had Shehek Shote not saved Lewis and Clark's Corps of Discovery expedition, history may well have turned out differently. Had Shehek Shote known how history was to turn out, he may well not have welcomed the Americans. I carry Shehek Shote's name as given to me by way of ceremony.

Down through history, not all of my family was on such friendly terms with the government. In 1870, Chief Crow Flies High of the Hidatsa led his band of Hidatsa away from reservation lands and continued to live free for nearly twenty-five years until his band was forced marched back to Fort Berthold in North Dakota (Trail Tribes). That was my mother's great-grandfather.

Another family member Chief Big Bear, a Cree from Canada, refused to sign a treaty with the Canadian government because it restricted their freedom and they would cease to live the lifestyle of their free nation. He was considered a rebel and hostile by the government and after an outbreak of violence was blamed for the incident although he had nothing to do with any of the uprising. Big Bear was found guilty, placed in chains and imprisoned for three years. That was my father's great-grandfather.

For 500 years we have been fighting to survive and remain who we are. We are resistant and resilient. It is not that we can't get along with other peoples; we just want to be who we are. We are satisfied with how The Great Spirit created us, and where he placed us. We are pleased in our relationships with our fellow kinsmen and our Mother Earth.

Generations ago it was foretold by prophets of the NuEta people that there would be end times for the NuEta. One story was when Coyote Chief, who was usually a humorous and yet holy character, said

one day, in a serious voice, "come, I have something to show you." When the people gathered he said "look at this buffalo skull, tell me what you see." As the people looked at the skull, they noticed that red ants were eating the flesh off a fresh buffalo skull. Coyote Chief said, "Look again." This time the peoples noticed the appearance of one white ant among all the other red ants. As the people watched, more and more white ants appeared, and soon almost the entire skull was covered with the white ants. There were but only a few red ants left. Coyote Chief said, "this is what is to come, it will be the end times for our people as we know it."

Stories such as this were told to me as a child. The importance of stories such as this one is to stress our frailty and the importance of cultural survival. Elders would say keep your children around the drum for it is the heartbeat of our people. As long as we are around the drum, our people will live. Most of our cultural activities involve a drum.

Our way of social organization keeps our culture strong and continues on to future generations, in spite of attempted cultural genocide and assimilation. As Crow Elder Joseph Medicine Crow pointed out in 1939,

> There is no question but that both kin and clan affinities are extensive and inclusive, and the result is mutual and wide affection throughout the whole tribe. Tribal unity and harmony is thus maintained…the influence of the whites has not yet affected this kinship system. School children who had been away would return and try to dissociate themselves from tribal custom and traditions, but invariably would be reclaimed through the kinship route. It is so affectionate, so real and embracing that before they know, it has melted their individualistic tendencies into the Indian nature which is sympathetic, understanding and philanthropic." (Hoxie 169)

I grew up hearing the languages and knowing many of the customs of our culture. Generations prior to mine suffered the harshest conditions as they witnessed and experienced the loss of their homelands and freedom. The world they knew and loved came to an end, for it was a time of great change, and not all for the better. It was a time of forced boarding schools.

Native children were forcibly removed from their homes, communities, and family often for a decade and not allowed to return home. In 1897, this was official government policy for assimilation (Childs 56). My grandfather Victor Three Irons, Sr., was one of the children shipped off to a boarding school in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. The rationale was to assimilate young native people into American society. Native children were separated from their social structure and support, not allowed to speak their own language, nor practice their culture. Brainwashing techniques were used on the children such as separation from homelands and isolation from loved ones. Everyone looked alike with uniforms and haircuts to extinguish their identity. The children were made to march, much like in a military school. This attempt at assimilation met with some success. Many native people today do not speak their languages because parents that attended boarding schools had learned to fear speaking their language, because to do so often meant physical abuse. They thought it better not to subject their children to the trauma, violence, and humiliation that they endured.

My mother spoke of her forced removal from her grandparents' home. Filled with emotion, she told how she was torn from her grandmother Eagle Woman's arms. She said that was the last time she saw her grandmother. She said, "I think grandma died of a broken heart." My mother also told of her first beating by the boarding school matrons for speaking the only language she knew. For many of our native children, corporal punishment was a new and terrifying experience. Henry Pratt of the Carlisle Indian School said it was better to kill the Indian and save the man, meaning erasing native culture and replacing it with the traits and thinking of the white man. Up to that time, some social behaviors were unheard of amongst our people, such as spanking or beating children, spousal abuse, substance abuse, and loss of identity. These were all learned behaviors that were brought back to our people by way of boarding schools.

Growing up on the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation, there were but a few sweat lodges in our community. They were utilized by only a few people, and were a private matter not open to the public. Also kept private were other ceremonies such as naming or healing ceremonies. All of this was done at home and away from public view and knowledge. In the early reservation days, agency superintendents outlawed native religion. Oftentimes, our reservations were divided up like a pie, and certain denominations received a certain portion of the

reservation to convert to Christianity. The church organizations held much power on the reservations. If native peoples were not behaving in the manner that was expected, they could very well be cut off from food supplies or even imprisoned. Punishments were as harsh as being incarcerated for up to sixty years for practicing one's own religion.

It is only in the last forty years that strides have been made to preserve and protect our culture by our own people. During America's Civil Rights Era of the 1960s, the indigenous began to voice their concerns and become outspoken in the American consciousness and media. The 1960s marked the beginning of Red Power and the American Indian Movement. At the height of the movement was the standoff between the United States and the indigenous nations at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, that brought worldwide attention. Activism was prevalent in Indian Country. We began to voice our concerns in a new way.

News of Sundances being held in native communities in South Dakota spread like grass fires across native communities in the early 1970s. In my own community on the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation, we as children grew up knowing that we never talked about ceremony in front of white people, especially government officials or clergy, as there could be negative consequences. Our spiritual practices were still underground.

Imagine the average person in America going to church on Sunday and knowing that you have to keep it secret and tell no one about it. The thinking of the oppressor was so ingrained in our native people that we even condemned our own people for participating in our forms of spirituality. We had become good Christians.

The revival of our cultural and spiritual ways first had to run the gamut of criticism and condemnation by our own people, then the outside world. My brothers and I, with the guidance of one of our uncles, conducted Sundances on the Fort Berthold Indian reservation beginning in the mid-80s. Since that time, our own spiritual ways slowly gained acceptance in many of our native communities. Today, ceremonies such as Sundance and Sweat lodge are common on many of our reservations. Today, we are not ashamed to say that we follow the spiritual ways of our forefathers, without fear of retribution from the government or our own people.

Up until 1978, we were committing illegal acts when we prac-

ticed our spiritual ways. In 1978, the Freedom of Religion Act allowed us to practice openly without persecution from the law. In the last forty years, many ceremonies and practices have been revived. On my reservation alone we have seen the revival or reemergence of the Black Mouth Society, The White Buffalo Cow Society, and Kit Fox Societies. It is okay to be Indian again.

In our history, we have three BCs that affect our culture. The three BCs are Before Christ, Before Columbus, and Before Costner. The movie *Dances with Wolves* (1990) brought awareness of the Native American to the consciousness of America. There has been a renaissance and revival of our culture. Native languages are often a part of the curriculum in our reservation schools. More and more of our colleges and universities offer native languages as well as American Indian Studies majors and minors.

True preservation of our culture and survival will not happen until we undergo the process of decolonization. We need to think like free indigenous people again. We need to liberate ourselves from the mindset of the oppressor. It is inspiring to see tribal nations who empower themselves for the betterment of their nation. One example is a reservation in east central North Dakota. The lake was known to the Dakota people as a place of sacred water. They said the water had a healing spirit in it. It was called Mini Wakan or sacred water. The European immigrants that came to North Dakota called this place Devil's Lake. After a reservation was established, the reservation and people were called the Devil's Lake Sioux Tribe.

The name was not correct for the lake or the people. The tribe officially changed their name to Spirit Lake Nation (Spirit Lake). More and more, we hear our proper names used. More Lakotas are using the name Lakota as opposed to Sioux, which was used for a long period of time. More and more tribes are calling themselves by their proper names. Navajo are more properly identified as Dineh; Chippewa and Ojibwa are Anishinabe; Crow are Aps'aaloke; Mandan are NuEta; and Papago are Tohono O'Odham. A part of cultural survival is to know who you are, and what your name is, not what the oppressors call you. This goes to the very core of our very identity, of who we are.

The indigenous are still fighting battles with the invaders. No longer do we fight on the plains; rather, we fight in the courtrooms and

classrooms of America. Our weapons are no longer bows and arrows; rather, they are law and education. We educate our own people with our truths and culture, and we educate America with our truth and culture. We are in a constant battle for America to honor its own words and guarantees made to our people. We are not asking for handouts or aid of any kind; we are simply insisting that the government honor both the spirit and letter of what is stated in treaties. We ask for nothing that is not already ours. The treaties made by the US government are said to be the Supreme Law of the Land, superseding all other laws (Pevar 37). We have found that not to be the case. The United States has broken over 400 treaties that it has made with our indigenous nations. In other words, every treaty it has ever made.

If we can survive culturally, can we survive physically? There is a saying among the NuEta people: "Only the Earth Shall Endure." There may be those that are concerned for our planet. Our traditions say she is not the one to worry about. Mother Earth will be just fine. Humankind is the one you need to worry about and pray for. Throughout time Mother Earth has seen species come and go. When one is out of balance, they are not long for this world. That is just the way things are.

We live in a world of balance, and when we are no longer in balance we destroy ourselves. We are all accountable to the same set of laws, no matter what our culture and society may tell us, and they are the laws of nature. They are the highest laws, and to them we are all accountable. Modern humans do not understand that we are all connected. What one does has an effect on other living things. We say we do not live on the land; rather, we are part of the land. What we do to the land, we do to ourselves.

In a letter to the US President Franklin Pierce in 1854, Chief Seattle (Seathl) of the Suwamish Nation wrote: "love the land as we have loved it. Care for it as we have cared for it. Hold in your mind the memory of the land, as it was when you take it. . . . Continue to contaminate your bed, and you will one night suffocate in your own waste" (Kaiser 527-28).

Can the cultures of the indigenous in America survive? Perhaps, another question is can *we* as citizens of Mother Earth survive? Will we be here tomorrow? What we do know is that the indigenous tribal nations have survived and have had sustainable societies for

thousands of years. The industrialized society of the last 150 years has seen the disappearance of more species of life than from the ice age to the industrialized revolution. We know indigenous nations can survive. Can industrialized civilization survive? It depends on our worldview and how we treat each other and the world we live in.

I believe Baba Dioum of Dahra Senegal sums it up nicely: "In the end we will conserve only what we love. We love only what we understand. We will understand only what we are taught."

Numak Ga gee, Awa mi (We are humankind, all of us)

Shehek Shote (Valerian Three Irons)

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A Reflection on the 1637 Mystic Fort Massacre in Connecticut

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Abstract

The bloody surprise attack by Puritans on Mystic Fort in 1637 resulted in the wanton slaughter of hundreds of Pequot. The Puritans hailed the decimation as an act of God that saved the English colony from the depredations of savage heathens. In 1889 a heroic statue to John Mason, the Puritan commander, was erected in the Connecticut town of Mystic. A century later, Indian activists and their allies succeeded in removing the offensive monument. This essay makes two points. First, the Puritan slaughter in the brutal tradition of European religious wars was an archetype of racial hegemony and ethnic cleansing that began in the colony of Connecticut and unfolded across the continent. Second, the removal of the Mason statue in 1995 marked a remarkable shift in historical commemoration, one that had celebrated extensive killing, particularly of Pequot women and children.

Keywords: Pequot, Mystic Fort, Sassacus, Puritan, John Mason, Connecticut

Connecticut'ta Yaşanan 1637 Mystic Kalesi Katliamı'na Bir Bakış

Öz

Püritenlerin 1637 yılında Mystic Kalesi'ne düzenledikleri sürpriz kanlı saldırı yüzlerce Pequot yerlisinin vahşi şekilde katledilmesiyle sonuçlandı. Puritenler katliamı Tanrının İngiliz kolonisini barbarların yağmasından kurtarışı olarak gördüler. 1899'da Connecticut'un Mystic kasabasında Puriten kumandan John Mason'un kahramanlık heykeli dikildi. Bir asır sonra Kızılderili aktivistler ve destekçileri bu aşağılayıcı heykeli kaldırtmayı başardı. Bu makalenin iki bulgusundan ilki, Püritenlerin Avrupa dini savaşlarında görülen geleneğe uygun vahşi katliamın Connecticut kolonisinde başlayan ve kıtanın geri kalanına yayılacak olan ırksal hakimiyet ve etnik arındırmanın ilk örneği olmasıdır. İkincisi ise, 1995'te Mason heykelinin kaldırılışının anılmasında görülen dikkat çekici değişime işaret etmesidir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Pequot, Mystic Kalesi, Sassacus, Puriten, John Mason, Connecticut

In an era of patriotic monument building after the Civil War, a large bronze statue of John Mason with sword at the ready was erected in 1889 in Mystic, Connecticut, the site of a bloody surprise attack by English colonists in 1637. Mason was the Puritan commander who, as the attached plaque stated, "overthrew the Pequot Indians and preserved the settlements from destruction" (Libby 13). The installation was a clear example of history written from the victor's point of view. The commemoration was a reminder that the then current subjugation of Native American people in the West had been rehearsed centuries earlier in the East. One hundred years later, Indian activists and scholars have stood the celebration of Mason's victory on its head. The Puritan victory is now widely regarded as a massacre. Moreover, the wanton slaughter is an archetype for the racial hegemony and ethnic cleansing that played out from the Atlantic to the Pacific.[1] The dramatic reversal in historical memory demonstrates the persistence voice of Native Americans that has reshaped public opinion.

In recent decades, a new appreciation of the Native American experience has emerged in full force. The African American civil rights and Black Power movement during the 1950s and 1960s provided a model for the assertion of other downtrodden groups, including Native Americans in a multitude of ways. To cite only two early examples in popular culture, both in 1970, Dee Brown's best-selling book *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* and the widely seen movie *Little Big Man* directed by Arthur Penn had a significant impact on mainstream audiences. Brown's relentless documentation of atrocities and the graphic depiction in *Little Big Man* of the United States Army's massacre at Sand Creek in 1864 mirrored contemporary criticism in the streets and in the academy of United States imperial adventures, particularly in Southeast Asia and Latin America. The continuing Native American renaissance went well beyond a saga of victimization. In addition to burgeoning cultural, educational, literary, and spiritual endeavors, the American Indian Movement and the Long March provided compelling prototypes of direct political action.

There was no more dramatic example in New England than the resurfacing of the long submerged Mashantucket Pequot and Mohegan, once foes. Gaining federal recognition of their tribal status, the two groups negotiated an arrangement with the state of Connecticut in which they shared a percentage of their revenue from lucrative gambling casinos, the first in the region.[2] With largesse from Foxwood, the most profitable casino in the United States, the Pequot constructed a state of the art museum dedicated to recovering their history on their own terms. In this facility and through other educational outlets, the tribe, now the largest private employer in the state, brought to the attention of the general public, including busloads of school children, a new narrative of the past.

The Puritan Perspective

Among the important reinterpretations at the Pequot Museum are what happened at Mystic Fort on May 26, 1637. In order to understand the horrific event, some background on the Puritan mindset is needed.

New England was a Puritan redoubt in the contentious religious wars that continued a century after the origins of the Reforma-

tion. What the dissident monk Martin Luther had wrought with his 95 theses posted on the church door in Wittenberg in 1517 laid out with fresh urgency with the ascension of Charles I in 1625 to the throne in England. A divine right autocrat, the Stuart monarch in 1629 arrogantly suspended Parliament and instituted personal rule. Among his critics were Puritans who also hoped to purge the Anglican church of its popish ways encouraged by Archbishop William Laud. The royal power hounded the Puritans and harried thousands from the land in what became the Great Migration of the 1630s. The errand into the wilderness was less a retreat than a flanking movement in the Atlantic world by which these latter day Calvinists hoped eventually to redeem England, if not the world. As the Cambridge educated John Winthrop famously instructed his fellow emigrants on board the ship *Arabella* in 1630, "Wee must consider that wee shall be as a citty upon a hill, the eies of all people are upon us." Like the Hebrews, the relentless God of Israel demanded that his chosen people were "to walke in his wayes and to keepe his Commandments and his ordinance, and his lawes"[3] (Winthrop 64-65). Winthrop, who would be a twelve term governor of Massachusetts Bay, and 700 settlers, founded the colony with a charter from the king, who was pleased that these zealots were far away.

Among those seeking refuge from Anglican persecution of non-conformist ministers were the influential John Cotton, Thomas Hooker, and Samuel Stone – all graduates of Cambridge University, who arrived at Boston abroad the ship *Griffin* in 1634. Hooker and his assistant Stone joined their followers in Newton (Cambridge), where they were ordained. The Newton residents were eager for farm land and hopefully looked westward toward the fertile valley of the Connecticut River. Already in 1633 the Dutch from New Netherlands, who explored the area in 1614, had established a trading post with the Indians. Pilgrims from Plymouth Colony in the same year established a base to the north at Windsor, which received additional arrivals in 1635 from a congregation in Dorchester, Massachusetts. Another Connecticut River town in 1634 was formed to the south at Wethersfield, principally by emigrants from Watertown, Massachusetts and people from other locations, including those that arrived directly from England. With permission from the Massachusetts General Court, Hooker and Stone in 1636 moved their congregation 100 miles overland to the Dutch settlement at Hartford.

Antagonism between Puritans in Connecticut and the indigenous people quickly escalated. Contention pivoted on several points. Imbued with European concepts of religion, race, and land, the Puritans had little tolerance for diversity in any form. The bloody sectarian wars in Reformation Europe were marked by intolerance, absolutism, and carnage. Scholars estimate that one of three people – men, women, and children – died in Central Europe during the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) between Roman Catholics and Protestants. At the time of initial settlement in Connecticut, there was little effort to proselytize, as the minister John Eliot did, later in the century. These early pioneers saw Native Americans less as potential "praying Indians" than "bloody savages," diabolical heathen.

Although slavery of whites had ended during the Early Middle Ages, Europeans enslaved African peoples in the Old World even before the Portuguese and Spanish began the horrific Atlantic trade after 1500. Christians, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant, had little hesitation in enslaving Africans or Native Americans. With the notable exception of dissident Roger Williams, who was exiled in 1635 to the wilds of Rhode Island, Puritans conceded little to the Indians, except as a matter of *Realpolitik* when the odds were too high to provoke confrontation. The racial caste system that was an integral part of European conquest in the Americas was taken for granted in early New England.

In addition, colonists' coveted Indian land. What scholar C. B. MacPherson calls "possessive individualism" – the capitalist conceit of private ownership secured by contract law and enforced by the state - contrasted with broader collective assumptions among tribal people whose varied land use allowed for gathering, hunting, and farming over a wide area.[4] An environment that appeared idle and abandoned, neither cultivated nor grazed, if not howling wilderness, was counter to the biblical injunction to subdue the earth and render it fruitful. As John Winthrop, the first governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony, declared, if land "lies common, and hath never been replenished or subdued, [it] is free to any that possess or improve it."[5]

Outbreak of the Pequot War

During the initial period of contact, both sides found it mutually advantageous to accommodate to the others concept of justice.

The interchange between colonists and Indians soon became one-sided with the willingness of the English to use their growing numbers and technological superiority to establish supremacy. Antagonism, including violence and atrocities, came quickly. [6]

European contact – epidemiological and commercial - upset the balance of power among rival tribes. During the 1630s southern New England was in turmoil. Small pox over the three previous decades had decimated the indigenous population and created a power vacuum. The Pequot aggressively sought to extend their area of control at the expense of the Wampanoag to the north, the Narragansett to the east, their traditional enemies the Mohegan to the West, and other Algonquians along the Connecticut River Valley and Long Island Sound. All vied for dominance of the European trade. The Dutch in New York and the English to the east contended to expand their lucrative commerce further into the interior. The Dutch established a trading base at what now is Hartford, and Puritans from Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth established frontier settlements along the Connecticut River at Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield.[7]

A series of incidents escalated over efforts to control the fur trade. The Pequot aligned with the Dutch; the Mohegan with the Puritans. Massachusetts Bay Colony added to the tension when it began to manufacture wampum, which the Pequot had monopolized until 1633. In 1634, the Western Niantic, a tributary of the Pequot, slayed John Stone, a notorious smuggler and slaver, and seven of his crew on the Connecticut River in retaliation for his outrages and, those of the Dutch who murdered a prominent Pequot (Cave 509-521). The Pequot Sachem Sassacus refused the demand of Massachusetts Bay Colony that the Niantic perpetrators be turned over to them for a capital trial.

Matters became more complicated on July 20, 1636 when Narragansett-allied Indians killed a respected merchant John Oldham and several of his crew on a trading voyage to Block Island in order to discourage the Puritans from trading with the Pequot (Liman 268-294). In return militia from Massachusetts Bay Colony attacked an Indian village on Block Island, burning it to the group and killing more than a dozen inhabitants. The contingent also burned a Pequot village along the coast in retaliation for the killing of Oldham before returning to Boston. Open warfare was full borne (Underhill 3-4).

The Pequot launched a series of raids in Connecticut: they besieged Fort Saybrook for months; and raided Wethersfield on April 23, 1637, killing nine residents and capturing two girls. In a series of attacks, the Pequot slew cattle, burned homes and killed some thirty settlers. With the river towns in panic, the General Court at Hartford on May 1 authorized an offensive on the Pequot under the command of Captain John Mason, a veteran of war in the Netherlands (Underhill 17, 22-23). Governor John Winthrop of Massachusetts Bay set the general tone when he declared that if Mason prevailed, "he will surely pursue his advantage to the routing out of the whole nation."[8]

The Pequot effort to enlist the Narragansett in a common front against the English failed. They hoped, as William Bradford described it, to use hit and run tactics to force the intruders out (Bradford 294-295). The Narragansett resented the dominance of the Pequot and were further influenced by Roger Williams to join the Puritans. Mason's force of 90 militia and 70 Mohegan warriors under Uncas were augmented at Fort Saybrook by John Underhill with 19 men. Unable to take a Pequot fort at Groton, Mason sailed east where Narragansett warriors swelled the contingent to over 400 (Bradford 295; Mason 1-2 and Underhill 23).

The Massacre at Fort Mystic, May 26, 1637

Thinking that the Puritans had gone to Boston, Sassasus took a substantial detachment of warriors westward to attack Hartford and left Mystic Fort largely unprotected. On May 26, 1637, with a force of some 400 fighting men, Mason and Underhill, guided by the Narragansett, camped within two miles from the Pequot fort. At daybreak after prayers for victory by the Reverend Samuel Stone, they attacked the compound on the west bank of the Mystic River in complete surprise. Mason estimated that "six or seven Hundred" Pequot were there when his forces assaulted the palisade. Some 150 warriors had accompanied Sassacus, so that Mystic's inhabitants were largely Pequot women and children (Mason 10; Drinnon 35-45 and Kiernan 225-236).

The militia directly entered the fort. There was fierce resistance and hand to hand fighting. In response, Mason ordered, "WE MUST BURN THEM" (Mason 8). He took a firebrand from a wigwam and set the closely packed wooden houses ablaze. Wind fanned the flames,

and the fort burned to the ground within an hour (Underhill 39 and Mason 10). Mason declared that the holocaust against the Pequot was also the act of a God who "laughed his Enemies and the Enemies of his People to scorn making [the Pequot] as a fiery Oven . . . Thus did the Lord judge among the Heathen, filling [Mystic] with dead Bodies" (Mason 10). Of the 600 to 700 Pequot at Mystic that day, Underhill estimated that no more than a handful escaped.[9] More people burned to death than were slain (Bradford 295). English losses were exponentially lower - two dead and twenty wounded.

A crude but revealing Puritan woodcut [illustration, p. 11] illustrates Underhill's account of the relentless assault (Underhill 2). The caption at top reads, "The figure of the Indian fort or Palizado in NEW ENGLAND. And the manner of the Destroying It by Captain Underhill and Captain Mason." Within a circular palisade are identified straight rows of "The Indian Houses," closely packed, and "Their Streets." Systematic slaughter ensued. The fort was encircled by an outer ring of allied Indians with bow and arrow, and an inner ring of militia with muskets. Underhill at the top (the west side) and Mason at the bottom (the south side) block the only two exits. Amid the dwellings, colonists with their smoking muskets shoot down fleeing residents who attempt to escape the conflagration. In other depictions, militia fire upon several groups of armed Pequot who have engaged them just outside the fort. Underhill added that the militia killed men, women, and children with their swords. The English are shown as the active combatants, while the Indian allies wait at the periphery as a separate force.

In his history of the Pequot War, Bradford captured the horror as well as the rationale for the brutality. He wrote:

It was a fearful sight to see them thus frying in the fire and the streams of blood quenching the same, and horrible was the stink and scent thereof; but the victory seemed a sweet sacrifice, and they gave the praise thereof to God, who had wrought so wonderfully for them, thus to enclose their enemies in their hands and give them so speedy a victory over so proud and insulting an enemy. (*Chronicles* 129)

Like the Hebrews of the Old Testament, the Puritans assumed it was divine will that the chosen people eradicate their enemies.

The Narragansett and Mohegan warriors who allied with the colonial militia were horrified, as Underhill described it, by the actions and "manner of the Englishmen's fight . . . because it is too furious, and slays too many men" (Underhill 41-42). Repulsed by the genocidal tactics of the Puritan English, the Narragansett returned home.

Extensive killing, particularly of non-combatants, was characteristic of European religious wars, such as the concurrent Thirty Years War (1618-1648) in Germany, in which one of three inhabitants was slain.[10] Underhill made clear the difference between Indian and European warfare. "They might fight seven years," he observed, "and not kill seven men" (Underhill 40). The opponents exchange arrows at a leisurely pace and at a distance that limited casualties. In contrast, the militia fired their muskets "point blank" with mortal intent. Puritan bullets hit the Pequot before their arrows were in range. Underhill noted, "Their fighting is more for past time, then to conquer and subdue enemies" (41). After the massacre at Mystic Fort, Mason marched overland "burning and spoyled the country" in burned earth tactics alien to the indigenous people (43).

What the Puritans heralded as the Lord's judgment on the heathen reverberated in the bloodthirsty words of Ezekiel 9:5-6: "Go yet after him through the city and smite: let not your eye spare, neither have ye pity: slaughter old and young, both maids and little children." The English slaughtered the Pequot and took their land.

In mid-June, John Mason set out from Saybrook with 160 men and 40 Mohegan scouts under Uncas. They caught up with the refugees at Sasqua, a Mattabesic village near present-day Fairfield, Connecticut. Surrounded in a nearby swamp, the Pequot refused to surrender. Several hundred, mostly women and children, were allowed to leave with the Mattabesic. In the ensuing battle, Sassacus was able to break free with perhaps 80 warriors, but 180 of the Pequot were killed or captured. The colonists memorialized this event as the "Great Swamp Fight".

Sassacus and his followers had hoped to gain refuge among the Mohawk in present-day New York. However, the Mohawk had seen the display of English power and chose instead to kill Sassacus and his warriors, sending Sassacus' scalp to Hartford, as a symbolic offering of Mohawk friendship with Connecticut Colony. Puritan colonial officials continued to call for the merciless hunting down of what remained

of the Pequot months after war's end (Bradford 297). In late June, Captain Israel Stoughton of Massachusetts Bay with a force of 120 militia captured a group of a hundred Pequot refugees along the Mystic River. Subsequently twenty of the captives were bound and thrown overboard, as one account put it, to feed "the fishes with 'em" (qtd. in Drinnon 44). Like Homeric warriors, Stoughton and his men chose young women they found attractive for servants. Overall, Underhill estimated that the English killed 1,500 members of that "insolent and barbarous Nation" in two months. He exalted over the slaughter in Old Testament terms - "to the end that God's name might see his power, and his people" (Underhill 3).

Legacy

In September, the victorious Mohegan and Narragansett met at the General Court of Connecticut and agreed on the disposition of the Pequot and their lands. The agreement, known as the first Treaty of Hartford, was signed on September 21, 1638. About 200 Pequot "old men, women, and children" survived the war and massacre at Mystic. Unable to find refuge with a neighboring tribe, they finally gave up and offered themselves as slaves in exchange for life.

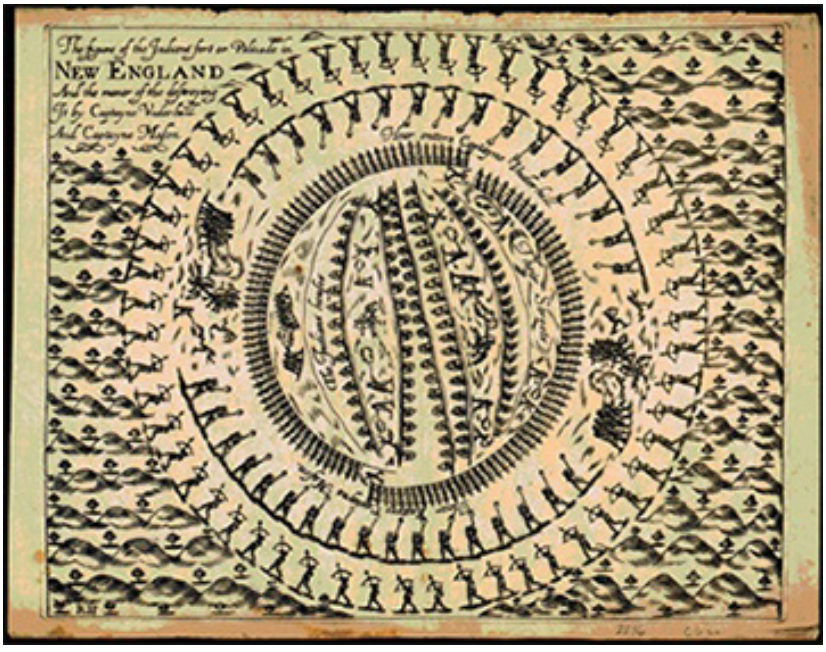
Some were enslaved and shipped to Bermuda or the West Indies. Others were forced to become household servants in Puritan households in Connecticut and Massachusetts Bay. Moreover, colonists appropriated Pequot lands under claims of a "just war" and attempted to legally extirpate the Pequot by effectively declaring them extinct and making it a crime to speak the name Pequot. Those few Pequot who managed to evade death or slavery were later recovered from captivity from the Mohegan and assigned reservations in Connecticut Colony (Mason 15-18).

The colonists attributed the success of the massacre and would be extermination of the Pequot tribe to an act of God. As Mason put it, "Let the whole Earth be filled with his Glory! Thus the LORD was pleased to smite our Enemies in the hinder Parts, and to give us their Land for an Inheritance" (Mason 20).

When Herman Melville in 1851 published *Moby Dick*, he named the ill-fated whaler the *Pequod* after the tribe "now extinct as

the ancient Medes." (Melville 867, chapter 16). Melville would be amazed by the Phoenix-like rise of the Pequot in Connecticut. Furthermore, because of protest by Native Americans and their allies, officials on May 10, 1995 removed the provocative statue of Mason from Pequot Avenue in Mystic. The statue was relocated a year later (June 26, 1996) to a historic Puritan stronghold, the Palisado Green in Windsor, Connecticut, the site of the early English town that Mason helped to found in 1635.[11] Today the Pequot Tribal Nation and the National Park Service in its American Battlefield Protection Program present a fundamentally different interpretation of what happened almost four centuries ago than what the Puritans celebrated as a divine act.

Illustration



The Figure of the Indians' Fort or Palizado in New England
Retrieved from the Library of Congress (Public Domain):
www.loc.gov/item/2001695745

Notes

[1] See Slotkin.

[2] Backed by lawsuits brought by the Native American Rights fund and Indian Rights Association, the Mashantucket Pequot were granted federal recognition in 1983 by the U.S. Congress and $900,000 to buy back lands illegally sold by the state of Connecticut in 1855. https://www.cga.ct.gov/2000/rpt/2000-R-1066.htm. Accessed 2 December 2018.

[3] Winthrop, 64-65. See Weir.

[4] See MacPherson.

[5] Winthrop quoted in Roark, 77.

[6] See Calloway; Kupperman; Hermes; and Richter.

[7] Salisbury; Cronon; and Pulsipher.

[8] Mason, ix-x; and Letter of John Winthrop to William Bradford, May 20, 1637 in Bradford, 394.

[9] Underhill, 39. Mason wrote that seven Pequot were captured and seven escaped. Mason, 10.

[10] Francis Jennings writes, "That all war is cruel, homicidal, and socially insane is easy to demonstrate, but the nationalist dwells upon destiny; glory, crusades, and other such claptrap to pretend that his own kind of war is different from and better than the horrors perpetrated by savages. This is plainly false. The qualities of ferocity and atrocity are massively visible in the practices of European and American powers all over the world." Jennings, 170.

[11] *Steven Goode,* "Windsor Plans to Move Statue of John Mason, Leader of Pequot Massacre."

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Reinventing the Writing of American Indian History in the Twenty-First Century

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Abstract

Studying the history of American Indians today requires an interdisciplinary approach capable of considering both the native peoples' interaction with the Euroamericans and the internal processes occurring in each distinct population. Researching about American Indians implies an exercise in approximation. The practice of ethnohistory helps the scholar find the necessary perspective for a broad, yet punctual, diachronic and synchronic analysis. However, this approach, initiated in the twentieth century, further evolved as scholars started re-examining the ideological roots of some ethnohistorical studies. Recent scholarship has benefited also from the emergence of native historians and ethnohistorians who have contributed to provide their own reading of American Indian culture and history. Moreover, today scholars from different disciplines subscribe to it as the only possible approach to reach a proper understanding of American Indian history and culture.

Keywords: American Indians; ethnohistory; transnationalism; cultural identity

Yirmi Birinci Yüzyılda Kızılderili Tarihini Yeniden Keşfetmek

Öz

Günümüzde Kızılderili tarihi üzerine çalışmak Kızılderililerin Avrupalı Amerikalılarla etkileşimine ve her bir kabilenin kendi içsel süreçlerine disiplinlerarası bir yaklaşım gerektirir. Kızılderililer üzerine araştırma yapmak tahmin yürütme uygulamasını beraberinde getirir. Etnotarih yaklaşımı araştırmacıların ihtiyaç duydukları geniş odaklı ama net; artzamanlı ve eşzamanlı analizleri yapabilmelerini mümkün kılar. Yirminci yüzyılda ortaya çıkan bu yaklaşım, araştırmacılar etnotarih çalışmalarının ideolojik kökenlerini yeniden gözden geçirmeye başladıklarında, bir değişim sürecine girmiştir. Yakın tarihli çalışmalar yerli tarihçilerin ve Kızılderili Amerikalı kültür ve tarihine kendilerine has bir okuma getiren etnotarihçilerin ortaya çıkmasına katkı sağlamıştır. Bunun yanında, günümüzde, farklı disiplinlerden araştırmacılar Kızılderili Amerikalı tarih ve kültürünü doğru anlamayı mümkün kılan tek yaklaşım olarak bu yaklaşıma yönelmektedirler.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kızılderili Amerikalıar, etnotarih, ulusaşırılık, kültürel kimlik

Thanks to the late twentieth century trends in cultural studies which also affected American Indian history, Native Americans were returned some of their "Indianness" and the possibility of narrating their culture and history on their own terms. Despite the process of acculturation, or maybe just because of it, that took place throughout the century and earlier, several native cultures have elaborated survival strategies which enabled them to retain certain traits of their identity while adjusting to the requirements of Anglo-American society to a certain extent. Historians, ethnohistorians, and anthropologists, in turn, devised new means of looking at cultures which enabled them to read American Indian history not only as a process of encounter, confrontation and survival. While adapting to the Euroamerican world they were forced to live in, American Indians renewed their sense of tribalism and traditional identity. At the same time, they devised new strategies

to deal with the federal government (Carlson 183). From this point of view, the seminal work by Philip Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (2004), has been instrumental in providing a new framework by which one can study and understand the process of adjustment devised by many individuals and many an Indian tribe. This was a way also to shed the stereotypes imposed upon them in about two centuries of white domination. To borrow from the title of Fergus Bordewich's book on American Indians at the end of the twentieth century: Native Americans reinvented themselves, and in this process managed to "kill the white man's Indian" (Berkhofer 148).

Deloria shows how Native Americans managed to adapt their customs to the necessities of an "American way of life" while preserving their "Indianness" (Deloria, *Indians* 218). Although they were pressed by a policy that intended to "Americanize" them, they adjusted to the new reality while preserving some of the aspects central to their own identity. It was a way of accommodating to the "needs of civilized life" (Washburn 233-34; Trachtenberg 41). Studying the history of American Indians today, therefore, requires an interdisciplinary approach capable of considering not only the native peoples' interaction with Euroamericans, but also the internal processes occurring in each distinct population. Researching about American Indians implies an exercise in approximation. But this approach has a long gestation. Begun toward the end of the nineteenth century and developed throughout the following one, it became viable especially after World War II, and further developed in the last quarter of the century. It is interesting to underline that scholars from different disciplines subscribe to it as the only possible approach to finally come close to a proper understanding of American Indian history and culture.

This brief essay tries to reconstruct the genesis of this approach which, although finding its prime roots in the theories of Franz Boas and Alfred Kroeber, achieved full status especially in the 1980s and 1990s thus preparing the ground for the study of American culture and history in the twenty-first century.

Between the end of the 1970s and the early 1980s, the debate over the writing of American Indian history took a new turn. Building on the interpretations provided especially by cultural anthropologists, ethnohistorians tried to open new paths by getting closer to the culture they studied in order to penetrate its thought-world, in Calvin Martin's

terms, and then provide readers with a comprehensible interpretation (Martin, *In the Spirit* 6). Such a strategy, however, risked projecting yet again a blurry image of American Indian history. It is hard, in fact, for any observer to do away with his/her own culture while being able at the same time to elaborate a framework for a world in which history takes on a different meaning where myth, language, narrative, time and material culture interact by juxtaposing. For this reason, the work of anthropologist Clifford Geertz becomes a useful instrument to re-elaborate the approach of Martin and the other ethnohistorians of the 1980s. Already in 1973, in fact, he had held that penetrating into the reality of another culture is not only impossible but unnecessary (Geertz 350). Some ethnohistorians of American Indian culture seemed to confirm this view when claiming that their task was to approach another culture reading through lenses capable of enabling the observer to focus better on the object of his/her study. What becomes important then, is to be aware of the degree of distortion such lenses can induce. It is important that the scholar becomes capable of projecting the world of the "other" as faithfully as possible onto a screen visible to anybody who is not part of the narrated world. At this point, it is possible but not necessarily certain, as claimed by some scholars of culture, that Natives can be understood in their own terms, although the image is not projected by them.

The scholarship of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century has benefited from the emergence of native historians and ethnohistorians who have contributed to provide their own reading of American Indian culture and history. This does not mean that theirs is "the correct interpretation," and that the survival of a Native narrative is possible only thanks to their work. Although often born within an Indian world, they were educated in Anglo-American universities and received an instruction that forced them to mediate between two worlds. In a way, they reached, from a different point of view the same cross-cultural line approached by "white" scholars. Speaking of American Indian education in the early twentieth century, Donald Fixico has underlined how teachers "failed to recognize the different logic of the Native American and the unique ethos of the American Indian mind." It was the Indian student in the end who had to reconcile the Indian mind and historical linear time (Fixico 84). Similarly, scholars such as Fixico and Deloria manage to resolve two different *weltanschaung* into an interpretation that shows clearly the strategies devised by American Indians for their cultural survival.

Ethnohistory has tried to come as close as possible to this goal by combining different disciplines such as archaeology, history and ethnology into a diachronic approach that attempts to reinterpret the historical event or the structure of a given society into a compounded whole. Although mediated by the scholar, oral tradition, therefore, has come to represent an essential instrument to unveil the mentality of a social group and to provide this group with a voice of its own. Ethnohistorians went different ways to achieve this goal. Many deemed it important to develop a framework which must then be adapted case by case. Accepting such an attempt as a valid step toward a re-evaluation of American Indian history also implies, however, that a real understanding of history cannot be accomplished, according to Geertz's reading, "by a drawing near, by an attempt to enter bodily into the world of particular savage tribes…," but "by a standing back, by the development of a general, closed, abstract, formalistic science of thought, a universal grammar of the intellect" (Geertz, *The Interpretation* 350-51).

Geertz's suggestive propositions are aimed at overcoming the limits of an ethnocentric view of "other cultures." His call is for a study of cultures that allows one to look through the "interfering glosses" that connect Euroamerican scholars to their subject of study and not behind them (Geertz, *Local* 44). Ethnohistory has been revisited with the help of cultural studies. This contributed to the development of an approach that makes use of different methodologies through the intratextual reading of diverse sources. Also, the scope of this methodology has become more complex. It is the culture as a whole in its multifarious expression to come under the inquiring eye of the scholar of cultures, who tends not to neglect any possible clue, from language to material culture, that can provide new answers to the many questions raised by a reality that remains external to the observer.

Yet such reality is part of a world-system that must be taken into account. To an extent this represents the basis of the work done by Fixico and Deloria at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Deloria's attention to the cultural traits that result from the combinations of the acculturation process, enables him to add yet another perspective to the articulated reading suggested by ethnohistorians twenty years earlier. An ethnocentric history has informed the reading of historical sources for too long. Introducing an anthropological approach into history has enabled historians to read the material relative to cultures in a synchronic perspective, thus helping history overcome misconceptions

and misunderstandings generated by its linear, diachronic approach to change and persistence within a given culture. In the study of cultural encounter this strategy proved especially productive. From James Axtell's and Bruce Trigger's work in the 1980s to Richard White's, Daniel Richter's and Jill Lepore's studies of contact on the old Northwest frontier, ethnohistorians of the late twentieth century managed to provide a new understanding of Native American culture. They focused on the transformation of native identity over time especially because of the encounter and exchange with the newly arrived populations from across the Atlantic. The changes introduced in their world by the arrival of newcomers did not have to do just with contact, trade and war, but also with a profound transformation of the environment. Already by the end of the seventeenth century the American natural world was not anymore what it had been until the arrival of the Europeans. This phenomenon represented a true ecological revolution, as illustrated by William Cronon and Mark David Spence.

Moreover, White, Richter and Lepore highlight how what took place in colonial history was a true process of acculturation that contributed also to the shaping of an American identity. In 2001, Richter actually went even further with the publication of his *Facing East from Indian Country*. Not only did he highlight once again the ability many Indian tribes showed in adjusting to the new conditions created by the settlement of Europeans in North America, but also how they participated in creating a new way of life in colonial times. The alternative in the end, was not, as held by many historians until the mid-twentieth century, between disappearance and assimilation. What happened was very different from this simplistic option: the resilience of American Indians showed through the history of their exchange with European colonists and later with Americans.

Encounter and conflict played a role in the construction of a new American identity which defined itself often in opposition to native cultures or by absorbing them into a general tale of confrontation and acculturation. As evidenced by Phillip Deloria in his *Playing Indian*: "Savage Indians served Americans as oppositional figures against whom one might imagine a civilized national Self. Coded as freedom, however, wild Indianness proved equally attractive…" (Deloria, *Playing* 3). But confrontation, war and resistance also contributed to a new definition of Indian identity forced to readjust continuously to the pressures of white encroachment. If through war and violence European

colonists construed their being American in opposition to the European heritage on the one hand, and to the reality of the presence of American Indians on the other, the Indians themselves built their own new self in the confrontation with European invaders (Lepore 126; Slotkin 143). Jill Lepore summarizes this concept in the closing of her essay on the relevance of the first military confrontations in the story of European-Indian relations in North America, *The Name of War*: "King Philip's War, in all its reincarnations, also traces shifting conceptions of Indian identity – from tribal allegiances to campaigns for political sovereignty to Pan-Indianism, and, today, to struggles for cultural survival and political recognition" (Lepore 240).

In this sense acculturation worked in the proper sense used by ethnohistorians: a culture adapts its own structure to the impulses coming from another culture with which it has come into contact. Acculturation, therefore, is exactly the process taking place in the United States since its foundation and does not work only in one direction. It is a two-way process that has enabled the conquered culture to acquire the instruments of the dominant culture necessary for survival. Survival in this case does not mean merely staying alive but consists also of a redefinition of the self and of one's own world according to the new needs of an intercultural, one might say global, interaction. Therefore, in studying indigenous cultures and change, one must be aware of their transitional character; a transition which is not a movement from a traditional state to an assimilated one but a moment of a cultural process that is indigenous. In other words, as proved by many an American Indian tribe, acculturation is not the equivalent of assimilation.

As Gary Anderson clearly puts it when speaking about contact in the Midwest, while acculturation was possible between whites and Dakotas, both societies showed an inner strength that made assimilation impossible. Anderson himself and James Axtell show the relevance of this theoretical framework in their histories of Indian-white relations. In the process, the older structure at the base of Indian societies adapted to the new situation brought by contact (Anderson x; Axtell, *The Invasion* 7-8). Michael Harkin has interpreted this process as representing a juncture between two existing conditions that are not fixed in time, where "the event marks but does not cause in itself a 'rupture' between two synchronic states; this rupture is a function of the states themselves and their difference" (Harkin 101). It is what Marshall Sahlins calls the "structure of the conjuncture." Such a definition provides a useful tool

for the interpretation of modes of acculturation. Sahlins explains it as a "…set of historical relationships that at once reproduce the traditional cultural categories and give them new values out of the pragmatic context" (Sahlins 125). Sahlins' suggestion is that a culture transforms to reproduce itself. An example of this is provided by the transformations of the kinship system and of tribal relations in Lakota culture after the Allotment Law of 1887. Family structures progressively readjusted, although painfully, without ever adopting the dominant Euro-American model or assimilating, which was instead the wish of the reformers who imposed such an "event" on the Indian tribal structure (Fiorentino 135-37).

An excellent example of such a process is also provided by Richard White in his comparative ethnohistory of the Choctaw, Pawnee and Navajo Indians: *The Roots of Dependency* (1983). White analyzes the process of acculturation these tribes went through after contact using the family and the kinship system as the major focus of his study on change. Cultural and ecological factors contributed to the transformation of the economy of Choctaw society, contends the author, forcing a change on the family structure. Yet, Choctaw identity survived and the same goes for the Navajos. The decline of the Pawnees, instead, came with direct and violent confrontation first with the Sioux, and later with white Americans (White 110-111; 238-249). In the interpretation of such social changes the centrality of culture is always relevant and, with it, the importance of myth as a clue to understanding the American Indian perception of reality.

According to Robin Ridington in his essay on the thought-world of the Fox and Chickadee, both mythical stories and stories of life events, in Indian thinking, are true since they describe personal experience. Their truths are thus complementary (Ridington 128-135). In Indian eyes, myth and reality are one and part of the same experience. Historians must accept them both. Richard Drinnon does something similar, echoing Ridington's claim by holding that: "With our objectified time, we historians have hidden the cyclical world of myth under our linear writings and have thereby robbed tribal people of their reality," i.e. of their mythical time (Drinnon 106-113). Myth transcends time, and the need to bring back to linear time any construction of the human mind is actually a modern European and Euro-American practice. As contended by Calvin Martin in his *In the Spirit of the Earth* (1992), we would need a reconceptualization of history and of the

passing of time as conceived by European thinkers. Myth is a symbolic product of an unconscious archetype. People who live in mythical time are able to participate in an event only when it is integrated in their own re-experiencing of myth. These interpretations follow the path traced by Mircea Eliade in his work on myth and history, especially his 1949's volume *Le mythe de l'éternel retour, archétypes et répétition,* in which the cyclical pattern of time relies on the re-actualization of myth through ritual, since myth reveals the way in which a reality came into existence. Actually, as held by Claude Lévi-Strauss, myth indeed transcends time inasmuch as it constitutes a permanent structure which is at the same time in history and outside it (Lévi-Strauss 234-35). An event, or as in the case of American Indian tribes, a government policy or social pressure, is assimilated in the culture once it becomes part of the historical narrative. The historical narrative is then integrated once it merges within a given social group to create "…a collective historical consciousness and practice" (Harkin 101-102). Historical narratives and myths must be analyzed closely, as claimed by Lévi-Strauss, on their own terms as symbolically informed by the culture (Lévi-Strauss 235). The ethnohistorian should then turn to the word and the language, the expressions of a given culture, as essential constituent forms of myth and narrative (Krupat 116-18).

From this perspective, Joane Nagel's definition of ethnic renewal falls perfectly within the analysis of acculturation and continuous adaptation of cultures that cannot be seen as independent immutable entities. Nagel writes that ethnic renewal is: "The process whereby new ethnic identities, communities, and cultures are built or rebuilt out of historical social and symbolic systems" (Nagel 10). Ethnic renewal can thus be a rational choice or a consequence of a series of events (whether introduced voluntarily or accidentally in a given culture) which can have survival imports as well as a political meaning. In his accurate analysis of American Indian Law, Frank Pommersheim underlines how the drive initiated in the late twentieth century for a revision and strengthening of Law concerning tribes and individuals at the federal and tribal level, is part of a more general "intense cultural renewal and spiritual rebirth" (Pommersheim 194). This has to do with specific legal rules as much as with politics. It entails a restitution of collective empowerment to individual tribes. Philosophically, such ethnic renaissance is an act of the will that adapts existing structures to the necessities of time and space. Therefore, an individual or a group

of people who choose new or renewed models of behaviour, which embrace certain cultural traits, are responding to an external conjuncture that drives them to redefine themselves and some of the cultural aspects characterizing their group (Nagel 23-28).

Ned Blackhawk has evidenced the misunderstandings emerging from a unilateral observation of American Indian history and encounter:

> As in much of US history, encounters with contemporary Native people tend to disturb others' expectations, and Indians remain among the least understood Americans. As many have suggested, 'Indian' is a cultural category of such densities and incongruity of meaning that it has become arguably the most 'empty signifier' in the discursive field of America's racial classifications. Accordingly, many have attempted to abandon the loaded, constraining meanings found within this powerful category, as 'Native American,' 'First Nation,' and 'Native' intermix with Columbus' famous mistake. (Blackhawk 272)

The characterization of Indians by Euro-American culture is highlighted by Philip Deloria. He argues that basically the image of the Indian and its significance is frozen in time and serves the purposes of "Anglo" culture that has cancelled Native cultures from the process of modernization whereas Indians have instead entered both the twentieth and twenty-first centuries along with other Americans. Actually they participate entirely in the transformation of an integrated society and a globalized world, but this is consciously or unconsciously ignored by Anglo-Americans (Deloria, *Indians* 107, 140-146). Studies of specific tribes and cultures made in the early twenty-first century prove how American Indian history is an integral part of American, Atlantic, and world history. Pekka Amalainen's book The *Comanche Empire* and Katharine Bjork's *Prairie Imperialists*, place American Indian history into a transnational context and demonstrate how the transformation of indigenous cultures and the tribal system have changed also the course of American and international history (Bjork 9). Along the lines of the historiography of the early twentieth century which has drawn a direct line between the domestic colonial empire the U.S. stretched across the continent especially in the nineteenth century and the later island empire over Puerto Rico, Hawaii, the Philippines and other Pacific

islands, Bjork reconnects American imperialism in its development from a continental dominion to an overseas empire. She does so by concentrating on the careers of three officers of the American army who best represent the large number of soldiers that in different ways served the purpose of American expansion overseas. As in the case of the American invasion of Indian country, the American expansion overseas contributed to change the organization and identity of native peoples as much as it imposed a transformation on the attitudes of the conquering society.

A decade earlier several historians confronted the issue of what, in the late 1970s, Robert Berkhofer called *The White Man's Indian*. Research on the Indian, invented or constructed by white Euro-Americans, became significant at a time when individual natives and tribes revamped the practice of claiming back their land rights and cultural identity and a new generation of American Indian scholars was coming of age. Several significant volumes once again dealt with the construction of an "American identity" based on the opposition, absorption or negation of indigenous people. At the same time, a group of young scholars and writers, born to Indian or inter-ethnic families, began working on the puzzle of reconstructing the several native identities still extant in the country.

The Invented Indian edited by James Clifton, and *Dressing in Feathers* edited by S. Elizabeth Bird, tackle the issue of how, over two centuries of popular and scholarly fiction, the United States constructed an image of the native that mainly served the purpose of defining an American identity. This was separate both from its European origins and its continental reality, and yet made use of both to build a new identity capable of defining an "American." The Indians in turn, succeeded, at least in part, to build their own narrative and an image that could be appealing to the outside (i.e. the world external to their families and tribal allegiances). Thus, they contributed to create another invented Indian, as underlined by Clifton:

> In our contemporary world no well-organized, highly committed interest group with major political, economic, and other goals can survive, much less prosper, without a distinctive set of images of sufficient allure to sustain solidarity, invigorate potential supporters, beguile power-holders, captivate opinion makers, disarm adversaries, and mystify

> the masses. Over the past half century, the New Indian Ring – in all its permutations, combinations and subdivisions – has successfully accomplished the invention of just such a set of collective representations. (Clifton 18)

Clifton's approach may seem farfetched. Yet, American Indians who have managed to integrate into American society at large and find sympathetic responses in professional and cultural circles in America, make use of instruments they have refined in the process of acculturation. Thus, it has been necessary for them to appropriate the tools of the majority of the culture if not the dominant elite.

A similar problem, but in reverse fashion, is the one underlined by Devon Mihesuah in the special issue of *Indian Quarterly* of 1996, and later in the anthology of essays, *Natives and Academics,* written by Native Americans and based on the journal's special issue. In her perceptive introduction to the book, Mihesuah, highlights the many misunderstandings that ensue from the obstinate approach taken by many non-Indian academics who rely more on written sources than on oral histories gathered among the members of different American Indian cultures. What is consequently passed on to readers, and to new generations of scholars, is a "fictional" account that is not much sounder than the recollections of several individual members of a tribe, for example, of their tribal history and collective past. Mihesuah contends that scholars of American Indian history do not take into proper account family stories or other oral traditions because they consider them not "scientifically" reliable, their reconstruction of tribal histories is often heavily influenced by documents that actually provide just one side of the story. Therefore, to reconstruct the Indian past, and to provide a "more objective" account of American Indian history, scholars "…can only strive for accuracy by scrutinizing all available data, by incorporating the accounts and interpretations of the participants and descendants of the participants - both Indian and non-Indian - into their analyses, and by holding their pro- or anti-Indian biases in check" (Mihesuah 5).

This, of course, raises a point in case when speaking about American Indian revivalism and the persistence of tradition. Some obvious questions arise: how Indian are American Indian revivalism and survival? Is there a degree of American Indianness that can be defined and measured? What researches and published histories and

analyses of American Indian culture should do, holds Mihesuah, is to use a degree of fairness and intellectual honesty able to recognize the importance of American Indian voices in the construction of their histories, without foregoing, at the same time, the important contribution given by non-Indian scholars to the understanding of Native American cultures. A redefinition of American Indian Studies should go along with the process of regeneration and renewal of single communities, in an attempt to comprehend their actual understanding of themselves and their culture. "American Indian history," as noted by Donald Fixico, "is not just one history of all Indian people. Actually it is a field of many tribal histories, complicated by the relations with the United States" (Fixico 32).

In a way, what some of the American Indian historians claim is a restitution of their histories to individual tribes. Fixico argues there should be an ethic concern informing the chosen approach to the subject of research. He insists, as others do, that oral history should be an important means of reconstructing American Indian stories (Fixico 94). As mentioned by Fixico, some historians and ethnohistorians began doing so in the 1970s. Scholars such as Wilcomb Washburn, Jack Forbes and William Jennings claimed a degree of fairness in conducting such research and the possibility of listening better to what Indians themselves have to say. There are different ways of doing so. Ethnohistorians tried by combining a synthesis of diachronic and synchronic analyses, through which they could read the available written sources with an "anthropologist's eye." In the early twenty-first century, historians have revived the practice of concentrating their analyses on individual tribes with the additional asset of a better contextualization in space and time which places American Indian histories within the larger framework of international and transnational relations and acculturation processes. Amalainen's book The *Comanche Empire* has contributed a great deal toward the rewriting of American Indian history, the same goes for Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz's *The Great Sioux Nation: Sitting in Judgment on America* and Theda Perdue's *The Cherokee Nation and the Trail of Tears*.

However, one of the problems in researching and writing American Indian history is the scarcity of sources. Traditionally, this field of history has been monopolized by the history of Indian-White relations, often a history of US policy toward the Indians. There are cases of studies that manage to balance the information coming from

documents written mostly by white males, with information coming from the tribes or from individuals who have inherited tribal stories from their ancestors. But overall, many essays on American Indian history are still written from a Eurocentric point of view, sometimes unconsciously. The problem of sources can be solved to an extent through excavation findings and artifacts, in order to reconstruct the most distant past. This kind of material enables the student of American Indian history to bypass the mediation of Euroamerican interpretations. This is the case also with oral tradition and interviews on the present state of Indian culture and society. In a way they can take into account the "American Indian point of view." But once again there is a problem of perspective. Most of these interviews and oral histories are conducted by white ethnographers and practitioners, although lately the number of American Indians who have joined Euroamerican scholars in this work has increased. In reading this material, caution must be used when considering the degree of intervention by the transcribers who have their own agenda be they of European or Indigenous descent.

In order to understand the people studied and their history, the researchers have to delve into the cultures using different tools. It is important to investigate their conception of the self, the structure of their societies, and the events that affected them. It is necessary to listen to their voices that convey stories of the many people composing American Indian identity. It is imperative to always consider another point of observation. This can be achieved by a progressive approximation to that reality obtainable by always considering the dynamic relationship between the researcher and the people he/she comes in contact. It is also important to overcome the limit of assigning the American Indians a time and space that is peculiar to Euroamerican culture. The realities of American Indian people are not necessarily contained in linear time, nor are their stories part of a larger history of humankind as conceived by Europeans. Moreover, scholars should always be aware, as Geertz would have put it, of the difference between self-knowledge/self-perception and other-knowledge/other-perception conceiving first of what we are in order to better approach and understand the cultures we study (Geertz, *Local* 182). To an extent this flaw has been remedied recently by an increasing number of American Indian scholars. Their ability to make their cultures speak in their name is helping these people survive. However, to be a Native of North America is not enough to make a researcher a better interpreter of a given culture. They also should

be aware of the position they occupy within their nation and within academia, since they are the bearers of yet another form of American Indian survival. However, in this case acculturation gives American Indian scholars the possibility of returning a voice to their people. It is important, though, to be aware that one's descent is not one's right to gratuitously reconstruct the history and experience of his/her own people. A scientific approach and scholarly analysis must remain the guiding principle for anybody who approaches an object of study and this is true also for those who write American Indian history.

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Edward Dorn's Idea of the Native American and His "Curious Paleface" Consciousness in *The Shoshoneans*

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Abstract

In the field of Native American Studies, the politics of representation and research was recognized as late as the 1970s, as a result of the countercultural challenge of the 1960s. Belonging to that moment of challenge and change, Edward Dorn's photo-essay or documentary prose *The Shoshoneans: The People of the Basin Plateau* (1966) is an early example for critical understandings of race, culture and subjectivity from a geo-historical perspective. The text also testifies to the poet's quest for cultural origins and claimed ancestors, defining himself as "a curious paleface." Its dialogic structure allows a space for the African American photographer Leroy Lucas' visual language and Native American activist Clyde Warrior's civic demands. Observing the Western American geography as a colonized space, a "No Where," and its inhabitants reduced to day-to-day existence, evading the police, Dorn contemplates his relation to his government, to the Shoshone and registers his otherness. A forgotten text, until the publication of its expanded edition in 2013, Dorn's *Shoshoneans* remains a geo-historical examination of subjectivity and otherness, presenting a dialogic understanding of the idea of the Native American.

Keywords: Edward Dorn, *The Shohoneans*, otherness, subjectivity

Edward Dorn'un *The Shoshoneans* Eserinde Yerli Amerikalı Anlayışı ve "Meraklı Solukbenizli" Bilinci

Öz

Yerli Amerikalılar üzerine odaklanan kültürel çalışmalarda temsil ve araştırma (bilgi kaynağı, yerli bilgi, yöntem, vb.) konularının sorunsallaştırılması, 1960'ların devrimci düşüncesinin sonucu olarak ancak 1970'lerde gerçekleşebilmiştir. Bu sorgulama ve dönüşümün ürünü olan Edward Dorn'un *The Shoshoneans: The People of the Basin Plateau* (1966) adlı belgesel çalışması ırk, kültür ve öznelliğe coğrafi ve tarihsel açıdan eleştirel yaklaşan ilk örneklerden biridir. Eser aynı zamanda kendini "meraklı solukbenizli" olarak tanımlayan şairin kültürel köken ve soy arayışının ifadesidir. Afrikalı Amerikalı fotoğraf sanatçısı Leroy Lucas'ın görsel dili ile yerli aktivist Clyde Warrior'ın konuşmalarına yer vermesi bakımından "dialogic," yani çok sesli bir yapıya sahiptir. Amerika'nın Batısını sömürü coğrafyası olarak inceleyen Dorn, yerli halkın yaşamının da günü kurtarmaya indirgendiğini gözlemlemiştir. Devlet ve Shoshone halkı ile olan ilişkisini irdelerken Dorn aslında kendi "öteki"liğinin tanıklığını yapmaktadır. Genişletilmiş 2013 basımına kadar unutulmuş bir metin olan *The Shoshoneans*, öznelliğin ve ötekiliğin coğrafi-tarihsel incelemesi olması ve çok sesli yapısı bakımından önem taşımaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Edward Dorn, *The Shohoneans*, ötekilik, öznellik

Writing on ethnicity as an outsider has an ethical dimension that is concerned with the politics of research and representation. Late in the twentieth century, humanities managed to develop critical understandings about the sources of knowledge, indigenous epistemologies and the presence of non-human factors such as landscape, flora and fauna. Given the history and legacy of Anglo-Eurocentric anthropological and ethnological research, contemporary scholarship began to address the politics of research and representation in terms of historically and ideologically developed methods and attitudes.[1] Edward Dorn's

photo-essay or documentary prose, *The Shoshoneans: The People of the Basin Plateau* (1966) was published at a time when academic discourse was undergoing a paradigm-shift, responding to the revolution that started on the streets, a time of re-evaluation of official history. Originally a product of these countercultural energies, *The Shoshoneans* has long been suspended in the out-of-print limbo, read almost exclusively by those who have a special interest in its poet-author, until the text was edited in 2013 providing a greater context with the correspondence, lectures and interviews.

The critical significance of *The Shoshoneans* is that it is an early example of creative scholarship that illustrates the ways in which race is socially constructed and commercialized, witnessing the Shoshone geography of the 1960s as a colonized space, appropriated, capitalized and privatized. The text is Dorn's working out an individual and contradictory consciousness as an American poet, which addresses the aforementioned issues of research and representation. As a "curious paleface," a position he assigns to himself, Dorn explores who he is by learning about the indigenous population in the Great Basin-Plateau region to testify his relationship to the people and the land. His quest to construct consciousness is a self-inflicted assignment to find a way to relate to Native Americans that contradicts the Cold War and white supremacist representations.

The book testifies to the poet's contradictory consciousness in a dialogic and polyvocal manner. Dorn invites two other voices and visions to provide further dimensions where his own account remains limited. One of these is photography by the African American artist Leroy Lucas. Lucas' gaze wanders on the children; he captures scenes of everyday collective activity, Western landscapes, spiritual sites, commercialized spaces and abandoned lots. Of special interest are the photographs of the Dorsey couple at their abode, where Dorn develops his subjectivity, and ritual scenes from the Sun and War Dances. Contemporary scenes from Lucas' camera provide a visual dimension into Dorn's critical observations about the geography. The other voice consists of the censored and uncensored versions of Clyde Warrior's speech at the end of *The Shoshoneans*, pointing out the problems that the descendants of the ancient Shoshone have to deal with. This indicates that Dorn's work resonates with Native American activism—then and now. In his foreword to the 2013 expanded edition, Simon Ortiz remembers reading Dorn's book thinking that it was a part of the resistance:

> When I think about it, I have to consider that *The Shoshoneans* was also part of that voice from within the American community of that time, especially because the U.S. Civil Rights struggle led by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. had been waged for more than ten years by then. And that struggle had morphed into the Third World Liberation Movement—Black Power, Red Power, Brown Power—and catalyzed the Farm Workers Strikes led by Cesar Chavez. (6)

By way of the dialogic structure provided by Lucas and Warrior, Dorn establishes connections between his contradictory consciousness and other countercultural elements, proving *The Shoshoneans* to be a form of activism.

Academic discussions about the politics of representation and research seem to overlook the significance of dialogic approach and the potentials of 1960s cultural revolution. A significant source where Native American scholars address the politics of research is *Natives and Academics: Researching and Writing about American Indians* (1998). In her introduction Devon A. Mihesuah examines the system, which grants job opportunities and scholarships for those who pursue academic promotion for its own sake. In this way, Mihesuah argues, not only is the Native American presence trivialized and forced to remain secondary, but also a certain group of scholars are rewarded while the cultural informants and Native scholars are slighted and silenced.[2] Vine Deloria's question epitomizes the same point: "If knowledge of the Indian community is so valuable, how can non-Indians receive so much compensation for their small knowledge and Indians receive so little for their extensive knowledge?" (465).

Duane Champagne thinks American Indian Studies (AIS) cannot and must not be exclusively reserved for Native scholars and calls for "strong, innovative scholarship" (188). However, his projection is grim: "I do not think such an appreciative understanding of Indian, or rather non-mainstream cultures, is forthcoming. Most likely, US academia will continue along a relatively monocultural path . . ." (188). For Donald L. Fixico, the key in Native American studies, is in the researcher's attention paid specifically to the "infrastructure of interrelated societies and roles" in the Native communities: "An important part of this network is the communities' relationship to flora, fauna, and metaphysical spirituality. This network is based on socio-cultural

understanding of a religious nature" (91). Scholarly—and poetic if you will—concern with the material and the spiritual aspects of the Native world would introduce, Fixico adds, new tools, new terms and a more accurate account of "the internal history of what has happened within the community" (91).

Monoculturalism and monolingualism seem to be the major blind spots that block the production of, in Champaigne's words, "strong, innovative scholarship" (188). Though few in number, multilingual and multicultural scholarship does exist in the works of anthropologists who managed to register multiple subjectivities. Dennis Tedlock applies the Bakhtinian term of "dialogic" to anthropology to register Native American subjectivity and avoid abstractions:

> The dialogical critique of anthropology radicalizes the phenomenological critique, refusing to privilege disciplinary discourse and instead locating it on the same dialogical ground as other kinds of discourse. . . . [W]e would argue that the voices of ["native texts"] and transcripts [of interviews] should remain in play rather than being pushed into a silenced past. The disciplinary voice still has its place within a multivocal discourse, but this voice now becomes provisional right on its face rather than pretending to finality. (3)

In Tedlock's view, the anthropologist's "dialogical critique" can save disciplinary research from Anglo-Eurocentrism or Americentrism. It is necessary to maintain the possibilities of contradictory meanings and interpretations of Native voices, or to admit the limitations of understanding. Although it is informed by academic scholarship,[3] *The Shoshoneans* is not an example of disciplinary research. Dorn neither deals with the Shoshone language nor their rituals per se. His concern is to witness the present moment of the Shoshone and their geography in relation to his own contemporary presence. Still, Dorn's approach can be considered an example to the "dialogic critique," allowing for other voices and visions as pointed out above.

The Idea of the Native American

Dorn's engagement with the Native Americans results from a problematic sense of belonging and a feeling of "obligation." A stereo-

typical idea of the Native American occupied the public imagination in the 1960s, which represented "the vanishing Indian" as a Romantic outcast, heroically denouncing all that technology could offer. As popular culture created and exploited this stereotypical image, the idea of the Native American attracted the counterculture for being out of the American system. Laurie Anne Whitt quotes the poet Gary Snyder who feels that it is "not only the right but the obligation" "to pursue and articulate" Native American spirituality (qtd. in Whitt 145). Whitt reads Snyder's words in terms of cultural exploitation and a passing lure inspired by the 1960s: "Such responses are both diversionary and delusionary. They attempt to dictate the terms of the debate by focusing attention on issues of freedom of speech and thought and deflecting it from the active commercial exploitation and the historical realities of power that condition current dominant/indigenous relations" (146). However, the 1960s' revolution still provides usable ideas, rather than being "diversionary and delusionary." Matthew Hofer also reminds, "Those who find that [Dorn's] perspective risks an intensification of a dated sense of utopianism or an (intermittent) expression of presumptive identity politics should also consider that admiration, not acquisitiveness, underwrote his qualified act of appropriation" (105n). For Snyder and Dorn, both associated with New American Poetry, adopting Native American spirituality signifies the challenge to the monologism that pervaded every aspect of American culture from society to education and the military.

The poets associated with New American Poetry share a concern with geographical and historical circumstances to invent ways of understanding culture. Anthropology, Dorn clarifies, contributes to his poetry in training himself as a witness. He understands witnessing in terms of total presence, "geographical-mindedness" (*Live* 60). Charles Olson, one of Dorn's mentors at Black Mountain College, wrote "A Bibliography on America for Ed Dorn," upon Dorn's request for reading suggestions on the West (435n). What stands out in the "Bibliography" as much as the list of books is a methodology where the researcher immerses him/herself in the subject and in the physical process, such as travelling, of getting to those sources, which can be in any shape—human, non-human, manuscript, object, etc. In Olsonian terminology, this is "a saturation job" (307), a process of "finding out for yourself," which is what the Greek etymology of "history" means. The politics of poetic form and the nature of poetic content both man-

ifest the process of "finding out for yourself." The poetic form is the finding out of the structure that would contain the geo-historical material, or subject matter, including the ways in which it functions as a social text. Poetic form becomes both a source of information and a way of knowing, bearing the context through which that specific information is acquired. *The Shoshoneans* is the account of the poet's self-inflicted task of finding out for himself. His observations, the idiosyncratic bibliography and what he, as a reluctant subject to the US government, feels towards the wide-scale colonialism and capitalism, are in dialogic relation with Lucas' and Warrior's language. In Dorn's poetry, too, there is an urge to objectify facts. The principle of "finding out for yourself" becomes both the subject and the object of the poem, as exemplified in "The Land Below":

> In America every art has to reach toward some
> clarity. That is our hope from the start.
> Dickon among the indians.
> A very new even surprising
> element (a continent is a surprise)
> makes this our reservoir of Life (not living)
> Not looking back as the sluggish beast Europe
> at a residue of what was merely heaped up
> a prepared mound, cave to go into.
> Excavation.
> Our possibility is to sheer off what
> is only suggested. And make anything what
> soever holdable, even breezes and gasses.
> Which is possibly ugly. (*Collected Poetry* 92)

Self-awareness is inevitably the most striking aspect of this "excavation," geo-historical consciousness. When geography gains a historical dimension, a "possibly ugly" account of the exploitation of Western land from the colonial times to the late capitalist period is revealed. Patrick Barron explains Dorn's involvement with geography as an "unmasking" of conceptions and experiences of spaces. In the case

of the American West, it is the Native American cultural land that Anglo-Europeans erroneously defined as "wilderness" or "virgin land." Dorn, Barron argues, consciously aims to "construct knowledge of the production of space . . . unmasking" the colonial assumptions, and continues, "[Dorn] encourages exploration into and beyond known limits, and embraces increasingly complex fields of geographic awareness" (108).

The "bitter landscape" of the Shoshone tribe covers roughly the mountains and valleys of Idaho, Utah and Nevada, which, in Dorn's time is only "well-known to a few gamblers, professional criminals, movie stars, divorcees, and, of course, the people who live there" (Dorn *Shoshoneans* 16). The "history of scarcity" is definitive to the extent that, as Paul Dresman comments, "[e]ven today . . . the Shohoneans contrast with other Indian groups such as the Pueblos in the Southwest by the nature of their geographical situation and the lack of a long and inherited cultural tradition" (99). The mid-twentieth century is such a recent period that "there are no longer any informants [born into a world before contact with whites] available in North America" (Dresman 101). Dorn is interested in the West as both a geo-historical and economic space. As discussed above, the poet endeavors to reveal the layers of capitalist investments on the land, caused first by European maritime technology and exploration, then justified by American Manifest Destiny. In Michael Davidson's words, Dorn's idea of the West is the "heavily encrusted topography of signs and dollars" (149). From Dorn's critical perspective, death prevails the air in the Shoshone land. He attempts to clarify the ideological and economic factors that produced this space:

> . . . I felt Nevada was *No* Where specifically. Since I am thinking of Indians and their present ecology, I meant: where and what is it? Leaving Shoshoneans momentarily aside, thinking of Nevada as everything else, I played with the term neo-wild West awhile before using it because the mentality of the West is strange and any place could mistake what gratuity the term might conjure. Given the peculiarly dramatic picture the "westerner" has of himself, one must be constantly aware of the perverse use he will make of the very terms that we proposed as pejorative, if not derogatory. Far from a resurgence, I mean it as an increasing ossification of what were originally thought to be prime virtues: 1. wide

> open spaces, 2. independence, 3. a special freedom from corruption (usually the imagined corruption of the "city"). (31)

The "prime virtues" of the West that depend on the expanse of the physical land has moved the American philosopher, poet and apologist alike: space is understood in terms of mental openness, and associated with self-reliance and freedom from urban, possibly European, social structures. As American western civilization came into being in relation to these "prime virtues," it also exercised its power in its total failure to acknowledge the existence of other civilizations. As a result of this fundamental failure, Dorn sees the United States as "spiritually dead" (*Shoshoneans* 81).[4]

Dorn's meditation of the Shoshone in the 20th century prompts a wider examination of the way the greater political machine operates. Understanding the concepts of race and minority as social constructs, Dorn asks the question: "Aren't we just kidding ourselves when we speak of Indians, or Civil Rights, Justice via the courts, like due process? What do we think we mean? And when culture is brought forward, like a pizza on the tray, whatever combination you want, that's *really* loading it!" (*Shoshoneans* 43). Dorn attacks the idea of race as a "gimmick" (*Shoshoneans* 84), a cheap trick that registers a false difference, food for touristic interest. As early as the 1960s, Dorn was able to read the early signs of the neoliberal mechanisms that operate on local and global levels: "it is the same official force and policy that deals with Wounded Knee (1890), the Vietnamese village (1955-), and the Watts ghetto (summer, 1965)" (Dorn *Shoshoneans* 27). Black, red or yellow is less meaningful than the institutionalized racism and systematic violence that the (formerly capitalist, now neoliberal) state exercises in different geographical locations and at different times. Dorn's gaze is on the streets of small towns where mostly the non-whites are held accountable for crime: "Various minority persuasions and institutions are faked into believing there is a majority. And there is A majority produced specifically to believe it has not been infected by the minority—meaning the rest of the existing world" (*Shoshoneans* 26-7). Contemplating the rationale behind these terms, Dorn infers that the United States of his time is "'a permissive asylum'": a huge society of the excluded, the criminalized and the marginalized. Ironically, as the exclusionary authority imagines itself to be the majority, which in this case is the white society, it is the "minority."

The Native American, in this greater picture, functions more like an emblem of resistance, a fundamental element of the "permissive asylum" than an anthropological entity. The cultural, political and spiritual differences of the Native Americans and Euro-Americans in general stand as bulwarks for Dorn's carefully claimed ancestry. As in the discussion below, the terms of Dorn's affiliation does not rest on a romantic idealization but on a careful examination of his own otherness. Dismissing race as a social construct, the poet finds out for himself what this amalgamated geography means and in what terms he may relate to it.

"A Curious Paleface" Consciousness

Dorn's sense of displacement stems from this critical attitude toward the US policies in general, but symbolically manifests in the appropriation of the Native American land and life. In "The Poet, The People, The Spirit," the early version of *The Shoshoneans*, delivered at the 1965 Berkeley Poetry Conference, Dorn declares a personal annulment of the US government: "Now, the strength of [the government's] vast apparatus . . . continues to grip us and will. But for . . . even practical purposes it is not necessary to have it any more and I—everyone *must* know that" (159). In Dorn's observation, the centuries long colonialism has produced the wasteland and the wasted human that he feels himself connected to:

> Anytime someone comes through Pocatello who looks like a criminal, or a fugitive, a bum, somebody weird looking and it doesn't take much to be weird looking in Pocatello, I immediately recognize them as the people that I want to walk beside, to be near, to talk to, to be with. Because they are precisely the people who for one reason or another have compromised their allegiance to the thing that might destroy us all, including them. And they've taken that risk. Maybe they haven't taken it voluntarily. I don't—that I don't care much about. But they maintain it. The man who doesn't belong . . . He's the man who knows where he comes from. (159)

The connection Dorn establishes is the outcome of critical observations about the geo-historical circumstances as discussed above.

His visit to the old Shoshoni couple's house, William Dorsey and wife, both aged around 100, which opens *The Shoshoneans*, illustrates the critical terms of attachment. Dorn is overwhelmed by an "embarrassed confusion" (11) and "an oppressive thrill over the idea of [his] own presence" (13): "I also saw myself as a curious paleface . . . I was looking at the scene, and at myself, in a mirror, seeing the looking . . . what and who I was compressed all at once into one consideration, and again I watched myself as I might think of a god" (11). Preoccupied with his own subjectivity as a reluctant benefactor of centuries-long colonialism he commits himself to the colonized instead: "This man and woman were the most profoundly beautiful ancestors I've witnessed to go before me. He is the spirit that lies at the bottom where we have our feet" (12-3). The feeling of displacement marks this subjective experience of spiritual turbulence. However, it is still not an easy familiarity or a rash appropriation of a shared displacement. The question is: To what extent is it important that the "paleface" at the Dorseys' house is Edward Dorn, a poet, from the Midwest, born in 1929, "curious" about the American West and its people? The details of Dorn's personal qualifications obviously had little, if any, value for the people he came to visit. He interrogates the sources of this intense self-awareness and finds out that no matter how critical he is about it, he still thinks in Western habits of mind:

> I thought of [my presence] as a ruptured chord in the consciousness, a strong confusion of the signals of my culture. I think I failed to see this as a pure event having nothing to do with *me* as such. I felt intrude the foolish insistence of conception of myself, the content of my own particular conception of history raced past my head and I must say I thought of my government's relation to this man, I felt I would "realize" him somewhere in the cache of all my own sentience. (13)

Registering his own blind spots conditioned by his arbitrary privilege of whiteness, Dorn confesses he was looking for a kind of egocentric spiritual fulfillment, which did not come. What came was the acknowledgement of his difference and the couple's indifference. Dorn examines his otherness in Dorsey's house to the extent that he tests for himself the boundaries of his difference from them and the terms of their possible connection.

Dale Smith sees that "in the filth of the old couple's home, an awareness formed in him, derived from a naked disposition and a genuine reduction of intellect or western self. Not only was he other in their home, he was sensing his own otherness, that trans-human quality of the self. . . . An inwardness moved out and made him subject to facts accountable only to that moment" (102). Smith further argues that Dorn's awareness does not put Native Americans in a secondary position, either: "These people are not tools for his self-knowledge, but facts of a greater Basin-Plateau environment he has come to relate not as anthropologist or cultural apologist, but as a poet whose marginal existence within his culture gives him the freedom to honestly account for his experiences there" (109). Barron also notes Dorn's critical understanding of his own subjectivity: "his ethnographic approach places a great deal of scrutiny upon his own person as an uncomfortable and awkward observer, making it an early example of new journalism, and an example also of the turn then occurring an ethnography toward a study of one's own culture" (114). Dorn in his geo-historical-conscious approach inspects the critical terms of attachment and displacement, producing an account that functions beyond genres and disciplines, as discussed at the beginning of this article.

As Dorn leaves Dorsey's house, he accepts his otherness and what his senses register as filth or heat as a part of the couple's habit of living: "It was I who objected to the heat and stillness of the air. Not him. It was his place, his home, that *was* where he was, his own chamber, own rectification. And I didn't wash his feet. That meliorism, strong in me, tinged with the Methodism of my youth, I put down. I left their house" (15). In addition to the sharing of cigarettes, his was the only way, and the only extent to which Dorn, as an outsider, could connect with them. This was the only possible contact that could be established. And it was established. As Dorn's journey comes to a close, he contemplates the Sun Dance, from which he is "curiously absent," as Smith puts it (110). Smith explains that since it is impossible to totally escape the Western frame of mind, his only possibility is to accept his otherness in terms of absence: "He's a poet with a secular education and experience. Without really addressing these limits, he shows it by his absence (110). Dorn is not in this project as an anthropologist who has to record and come up with evidence for publication. His allegiance is clearly defined with the politics and a poetic consciousness, which can be manifested in terms of art, such as the book itself. About

participating in a private ceremony, Dorn reflects that "One can voluntarily or involuntarily take on another man's politics, his economic or social terms, and fairly well understand the risks and rewards. But you don't fool around with his ritual" (84). Thus, he sets his personal limit between politics shared on the basis of consciousness, and an appropriation of beliefs, which indeed would be profanation.

The last word of *The Shoshoneans* is left to a member of the Native American community. Clyde Warrior, activist and the co-founder of National Indian Youth Council in 1961, is known for his criticism of both state policies and the moderate attitude of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. For the closing statement, Dorn presents Warrior's speech that he wrote for the conference, "War on Poverty," entitled "Poverty, Community and Power." Warrior's essay is available in Dorn's book in both versions—the approved and the rejected. In the approved version Warrior speaks in the formal discourse of "War on Poverty," which was a part of Lyndon B. Johnson's campaign, the Great Society. He argues that progress, understood as urbanization, is not a solution and emphasizes the need for a genuine community, as opposed to the bureaucratically determined heredity classifications. He points to the chronic poverty and emphasizes the need to preserve the tradition in other terms than defined by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The speech ends in a note of hope and encouragement for the future: "We are on the threshold of creating the Great Society. What was once thought a fantasy could become reality. But if you don't speak, no one will listen—" (91). The obvious evidences for the government's lack of commitment to The Great Society were the escalation of the Vietnam War and the urban rebellions in the ghettos of Chicago and Detroit. The fact that Warrior had no choice but to speak in permissible terms demonstrates the censorship. The rejected speech, on the other hand, is bitter and signals disbelief in the government and the conference organizers: "Now we have a new crusade in America—our 'War on Poverty'—which purports to begin with the local community" (92). Here, the speaker is a serious, bitter, and cynical Warrior, improper for such a government-supported conference. The fundamental issue, he argues, is the lack of a community and the government's ignorance of what that means for the Native American:

> In most places [communities] serve as the buffer against the outsider. And in fact other people of prestige and influence among us thus go unnoticed and unbothered by the white

> man, so that much of our own leadership is hidden from the eyes of the outsiders. Many times our tribal governments, which have very little legal power, have been forced into the position of going along with programs they did not like and which in the long run were harmful. They had no choice. They were powerless to do otherwise. (93)

Power comes with the community: "The lack of power over one's own destiny erodes character . . . self-esteem is an important part of character. No one can have competence unless he has both the experience to become competent and make decisions which display competence" (94). To illustrate his point, he gives a brief historical account of the Ponca, and comments, "In those days we were not 'out of the system.' We were the system, and we dealt competently with our environment because we had the power to do so" (94). Warrior's primary demand is that the US government recognize each Native American's self-determination. In the programs devised by the government, he argues, experience, decision-making and taking action are denied in the name of progress and modernization, which he believes are pretexts to meddle with Native communities. This process of meddling "erodes character," disarticulates and excludes people from the system that legitimizes itself on the basis of progress. Warrior's demand is plain: "Give our communities respect, the power to make choices about our own destiny, and with a little help we will be able to join the United States and live a decent fulfilling life" (94).

As a "curious paleface," Dorn scrutinizes what has become of the Shoshone in the late 1960s as a result of this centuries-long assimilation. Dorn is concerned not only with the historical usurpation of the land but also the Reno police whose suspicious gaze rests on him as it does the Asian, African and Native American. To the extent that he manages to de-privilege a traditionally privileged vantage point, Dorn is entitled to the views in *The Shoshoneans*. As Dorn leaves the final word to Warrior, by demonstrating the censorship Warrior encountered, he has already manifested an idiosyncratic perspective that could be a model for a resistant and contradictory consciousness. The addressee of Dorn's *The Shoshoneans*, and Warrior's speech is the same: the white/general audience. When asked about the intended reader in his works on the Native Americans, he unapologetically conveys, "I don't need to, or care to, or don't intend to address Indians. I mean, they're not my business. But attitudes exhibited and displayed from my

own race are my business, and that's the business of any poet" (*EDL* 157). Since the academic disciplines are isolated, the book fits properly neither in the field of American Indian Studies (AIS), nor sociology, history or literature. Dorn's presentation of Warrior's two speeches, which tell the story of censorship on their own, and Lucas' photographic collaboration testify Dorn's "dialogic" attitude which is yet to be recognized within the compartmentalized disciplines of the academy. Contrary to the artificial confusion in academic qualification, in this article I have tried to show that *The Shoshoneans* still provides useful ideas as a model for creative scholarship that trigger a critique of the greater power mechanisms which first and foremost excludes contradictory consciousness.

Notes

[1] Dennis Tedlock, in his essay, "Interpretation, Participation, and the Role of Narrative in Dialogical Anthropology" referring to the canonical sources in the fields of ethnology and anthropology, illustrates the problems and errors ethnographers and anthropologists carried on from their field studies to their academic publications. Such canonized publications entailed others based on the same errors and misinterpretations. Donald L. Fixico reminds that from the nineteenth century to the 1950s, "Careless historians followed ethnographers as a part of the academic community that wrote imbalanced articles and books about American Indians" (87).

[2] See also her articles, "Activism and Apathy: The Prices We Pay for Both," (*American Indian Quarterly* 27. 1/2 (2003): 325-332) for a projection of what might happen if an academic becomes an activist hence politically dangerous, and also "Voices, Interpretations and the 'New Indian History': Comment of the *American Indian Quarterly*'s Special Issue on Writing about American Indians" (*American Indian Quarterly* 20.1 (1996): 91-108) for an elaboration of her concerns mentioned here. Elizabeth Cook-Lynn also points to the shallowness of what passes as Native American intellectualism in the mainstream culture. As she criticizes the market's preference for the stereotyped Native American images and a proliferation of modern Native American scholars disconnected with the tradition, she does not acknowledge that this shallowness resides on a larger scale, and that critical intelligence is almost always excluded from the public sphere.

[3] Dorn backs up his research with scholarship by Theodora Kroeber, Julian H. Steward, Helen Hunt Jackson, Jane E. Harrison, and D. B. Shimkin.

[4] An interesting coincidence of wording is that Martin Luther King Jr., in his 1967 speech, "Beyond Vietnam: A Time to Break Silence," prophesizes a "spiritual death" if the US government continues to legitimize violence and atrocity both in and out of the country. In his speech where he relates the civil rights movement to the Vietnam War, King states, "This business of burning human beings with napalm, of filling our nation's homes with orphans and widows, of injecting poisonous drugs of hate into the veins of peoples normally

humane, of sending men home from dark and bloody battlefields physically handicapped and psychologically deranged, cannot be reconciled with wisdom, justice, and love. A nation that continues year after year to spend more money on military defense than on programs of social uplift is approaching spiritual death" (n.p.). An obvious analogy would be between the international policies of the twentieth and twenty-first century US power and the eighteenth and ninteenth century US policies against the Native Americans.

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Building Native Women's Leadership through Community and Culture

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Abstract

Using the lenses of colonialism and gender, this article explores the evolving nature and perception of Native American women's leadership historically and in the present. Historically, women and men had different yet equally important leadership roles to play within the community. These roles were inextricably interdependent. Euro-American colonialism through conquest and religion brought concomitant gender ideologies that slowly tore at the fabric of indigenous communities and ultimately altered the nature of gender parity within community leadership. Today, Native American women are taking back a degree of the significant sociopolitical power they once exercised. Native women are rising to the top ranks of leadership in the nation as members of the US House of Representatives, in their states as executive officers and as state representatives in their state legislatures, as well as in their communities as tribal officials, education advocates, environmental activists, and as culturally empowered mothers, sisters, and daughters.

Keywords: Native American Women, Indigenous Women's Leadership, Indigenous Culture, Indigenous Community

Kızılderili Kadın Lider Kimliğinin Toplumsal ve Kültürel Oluşumu

Öz

Bu makale, sömürgecilik ve toplumsal cinsiyet kavramları üzerinden, geçmişte ve günümüzde Kızılderili kadınların liderlik algısını ve bu liderliğin değişen doğasını inceler. Kızılderili toplumunda, günümüze değin, kadın ve erkeklerin farklı ancak eşit derecede önemli liderlik rolleri olmuştur. Bu roller ayrılmaz şekilde birbirine bağımlıydı. Avrupa-Amerikalı sömürgeciliği; toprakların ele geçirilmesi, dini ideoloji ve bunların beraberinde gelen toplumsal cinsiyet ideolojileri aracılığıyla, yerli toplumların kültürel dokusunu yavaş yavaş bozmuş ve toplumsal liderlik konusundaki cinsiyet denkliğinin tam anlamıyla bir değişim geçirmesine yol açmıştır. Günümüzde Kızılderili kadınlar geçmişte sahip oldukları sosyo-politik gücü bir ölçüde geri almaktadır. Yerli kadınlar ABD Temsilciler Meclis üyeleri, kendi eyaletlerinde yürütme memurları, yasama meclislerinde eyalet temsilcileri, ve kendi toplumlarında kabile yetkilileri, eğitim savunucuları, çevre aktivistleri ve kültürel anlamda güç kazanan anneler, kız kardeşler ve kız evlatlar olarak ülkede liderlik anlamında üst kademelere yükselmektedirler.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kızılderili kadınlar, yerli kadın liderliği, yerli kültür, yerli toplum

"Our voices and spirits must come together to reaffirm the bonds of community and renew the vitality of our future as Miami people."—Miami Women's Council, 2010

Introduction

Given the election of the first Native American women to the United States Congress, Representatives Sharice Davids (Kansas) and Deb Haaland (New Mexico) as well as that of Penny Flanagan as Lieutenant Governor (Minnesota) in 2018, it seems appropriate to engage in an exploration of female leadership within Native American

communities and consider the women's organizations Native women have created to build broad community and empower female leaders.[1] While such reclamations and expressions of female leadership exist throughout Indian Country, this article will primarily focus on an example from my tribal community—the *Myaamia*[2], the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma (Kiiloona Myaamiaki).[3]

Native American leadership historically has centered on interdependence, and shared vision and responsibility (Hill and Keogh Hoss 226). Women and men both participated in leadership, but in differing yet equitable ways. However, over time with the arrival of Europeans, Native American gender structures began to shift and resemble more closely that of European male-dominated structures. Shifting gender ideologies caused an alteration in how leadership roles played out in Native communities; causing women to lose the influence they once had (Allen 40-41). European males, at worst, were unwilling to accept the authority of Native women, or, at best, failed to recognize and therefore understand the important role Native women played in decision-making within their communities. Though European males would not have been privy to the inner workings of tribal communities and therefore would not have seen the alliance-building skills of *mitemhsaki* (women)[4] and the influence they wielded behind-the-scenes, it is highly doubtful that even if they were aware of these facts that they would have consented to negotiate with women on an equal level.

Indian Country, as we refer broadly to all of the spaces and places Native Americans occupy within the United States, elects more women to state legislatures than does the general population (Trahant).[5] Additionally, according to numbers from 2017, women accounted for 25% of seats on tribal councils and other tribal governing bodies (Trahant). These numbers reflect a resurgence of Native American women taking back a degree of the significant sociopolitical power exercised historically, but within the contemporary realm of politics. Fortunately, female leadership does not reside only in elected positions of power. There is a strong history of Native American grassroots activism, much of which either women have been a part of or have been led by indigenous women. So many contemporary female activists come to mind. To name only a few:

LaDonna Brave Bull Allard (Ihunktonwan Lakota from the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe) –tribal historian, activist for cultural pres-

ervation, leader against the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL); Founder of the Sacred Stone Camp.

Suzan Shown Harjo (Cheyenne and Hodelgee Muscogee) – activist fighting racist representations of indigenous peoples, advocate for tribal sovereignty, poet, and policy advocate; President of Morningstar Institute.

Winona LaDuke (Anishinabe) –activist for sustainable development, renewable energy and food systems, and environmental justice, writer; Executive Director at Honor the Earth.

Dina Gilio-Whitaker (Colville Confederated Tribes) –journalist, scholar, and activist on issues relating to Indigenous nationalism, self-determination, and environmental justice.

Each of the aforementioned activists have their own areas of advocacy, but each of these areas support and advance goals that stem from traditional and contemporary concerns and priorities of Native peoples. Additionally, each of these women empower other women to stand up and reclaim their powerful role within Native communities and the nation.

These activists are examples of the most visible models of Native women leadership. Women's leadership/influence/activism, however, flourishes in many different ways and on many different levels. It is exercised in families and in tribal communities, and in local and national organizations led by women and organizations focused on women. Native American women, like many women of all communities, are the life givers, the healers, the original teachers, the matriarchs who preside over naming ceremonies, birth ceremonies, and death rituals for other women, as appropriate by custom. Native women serve their communities through meal preparation for elders, grassroots organizing for social, economic, and political community priorities, and myriad other ways big and small. This is leadership—servant leadership.

More and more organizations focusing on empowering Native women are established each year, organizations that seek to end domestic violence and sex trafficking, increase access to quality healthcare, to protect grandmother Earth, to revitalize culture, to improve education, and to protect tribal lands and sovereignty. These organizations seek to better serve our communities through servant leadership and the empowering of self and others to lead.

One such organization is Women Empowering Women for Indigenous Nations (WEWIN), an organization dedicated to strengthening and sustaining tribal cultures for the benefit of our children and to promote honest and dignified tribal leadership.[6] The founders of WEWIN include powerhouses within the Native community, including Wilma Mankiller (Former Chief of the Cherokee Nation), Susan Masten (Yurok, former president of NCAI), and Veronica Homer (Mohave, first female president of NCAI and former Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs). And, there are others involved in this organization who lead tribes as chiefs and as cultural preservation officers, lead social, economic, and political grassroots efforts for their people, and those who are leaders in business, law, and education. Whether leaders of our nation or leaders of our communities, these women have forged—and continue to forge—a path forward for Native peoples, yet their accomplishments rarely get the attention they deserve.

Why Women's Communities/Councils are Needed

Though national organizations like WEWIN are powerful connectors of Native women, women's communities, or councils, within a tribal community are an equally important network of relationships. Due to colonialism and forced removals from homelands, the traditional social structure of tribal communities was dismantled and in its place a new social model was installed, one that devalued the role of women. Women's councils are an important way in which tribal communities are reclaiming and nourishing the valuable role Native women play in our communities once again. One of the most powerful outcomes of these national women's organizations and of the local, tribally-based groups is the feeling of belonging.

Forced relocations, forced assimilation through education, and shifting federal Indian policy that swung between termination and constitution, tore apart Native communities and families. Boarding schools were particularly toxic to Native communities as these schools sought to erase and beat out indigenous cultures, languages and spirituality.[7] The legacy of this estrangement from families, the cultural violence, and the sometimes-physical violence endured by Natives is a sense of dislocation and loss. These experiences left some Natives to feel hollow. They knew they were Native, but removed from their

communities, they no longer had a firm point of reference for what that actually meant. For many, this hollowness remains and is due to a lack of cultural knowledge and the absence of a Native community in their lives. As Devon Mihesuah points out, even now some people are "Natives by race, they remain culturally unsatisfied" (94). Native social structures became imbalanced and therefore broken, causing many Natives to become partially or completely disconnected from their Native identities and cultures.

Cultural violence has affected Native communities on both macro- and micro- levels. At the macro-level, this cultural violence has torn at the very fabric of Indian communities. Through its shape-shifting policies, the federal government has tried to define for Indian peoples what an Indian community is and who should be allowed to be considered a part of that community. The government creates definitions of community for federal acknowledgement purposes (United States 9293).[8] With federal acknowledgement comes a whole host of benefits—education, health, other funding—due Indian peoples through treaties negotiated long ago but which are still legally binding (United States 9294).[9] The government has attempted to define "community" for Natives, often to the detriment of tribal communities and the Natives themselves, in three ways. First, the Office of Federal Acknowledgment, housed in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, has the power to evaluate whether or not tribes meet the legal definitions of what constitutes a tribe. Second, from the mid-1940s to the mid-1960s, the government attempted to disband tribes through tribal termination policies, thus establishing the criteria to determine which tribes were viable and valid and those that were not (Canby 27-30; Cramer 7-8, 20-26). Those tribes they considered not viable, were terminated. Many of the tribes that were terminated are currently seeking federal recognition, which is evaluated by the Office of Federal Acknowledgement, as mentioned above. Lastly, through the government's encouragement of establishing a blood quantum as a baseline indicator for membership into a federally recognized tribe, Indian tribes have been coerced into setting a course of communal extinction as intermarriage (and thus the "watering down" of "Indian bloodlines") is common (Sturm 89; Cramer 119).[10] Never mind the fact that blood quantum is a metaphorical construction to trace ancestry and for which there is no accurate measurement and therefore no accurate determination (Schmidt 1). The government's ability, or perhaps presumption, to define legally what

a "real" tribe is according to federal dictates, despite the historical role the government played in the disruption of Indian communities, is appalling because it undermines tribal sovereignty (Canby 72-104). Though tribal sovereignty has many nuances in its definition, at its essence, sovereignty simply means the inherent power or right to govern**.** It should not be up to the federal government to define community for Indian peoples as it takes away our legal right to sovereignty. An unexpected and unfortunate consequence is that too frequently Native Americans themselves will use the government's determination of tribal status to judge other tribal communities, thus deepening the insidious problematic nature of "official" tribal communities.

Belonging is most intimately practiced at the local level. The federal government's policies towards Native Americans shook the foundational structures that disrupted the traditional social relationships that define and ritualize belonging. While "official" tribal community is undeniably vital, albeit sometimes problematic, there exist other forms of community within tribes that are equally, if not more, significant. These communities exist at once within and outside of tribal delineation and often overlap with like groups in other tribes. A few examples of these communities are veterans, powwow dancers, and women. Veterans share their status and experience with other veterans from other tribal groups and even with non-Indians (Meadows 169, 385, 391). Powwow dancers share a rich culture unto themselves, separate from but related to their tribal affiliation (Ellis 6-10; Valaskakis 151-174). Native women share powerful bonds among other tribal women, but also have an affinity for others beyond their tribal boundaries. At once, these groups are created as a separate entity from their tribes, but also reside within their unique cultural experience. Veterans express their status and experience through their own specific cultural lens, which is displayed through ritualized behavior and regalia. Powwow dancers express their cultural affiliation through the cultural specificities of their regalia (emblems, types of ribbonwork, beadwork, colors, and the like). Native women's conception of themselves is intrinsically meshed with their tribal and/or cultural affiliation, which is also delineated through regalia.

Native peoples must define community on their own terms and must maintain some flexibility in these definitions as assimilation has increased differences in tribal communities, particularly in non-reservation Indian communities. Native American communities are a net-

work of relations, not a geographically-situated group of buildings and activities with accompanying shared attributes (Lobo 2).[11] If the network of relations is disrupted, so too is the nature of the community disrupted. This still holds true for Natives today as many no longer live in closely situated communities, they are dispersed throughout the US and world.

Members of the Miami Nation, and extending the generalization to all non-reservation Indians, are often more assimilated to the hegemonic culture and usually more geographically dispersed. The tie that binds, so to speak, is cultural affinity and sanguinity. The challenge in solidifying the reality of community—that almost tangible feeling of belonging—is the unfortunate reality of a lack of frequent face-to-face contact to reify those bonds of community. Many tribal members only see one another when they travel back to Miami, Oklahoma once a year to attend our annual tribal meeting and occasionally for cultural activities held by the tribe, like our tribal language camp for kids or our winter stomp dance. A more concerning reality is the fact that there is a new generation of Miami peoples, who have never been to our tribal headquarters in Miami nor have they ever been to our homelands in Indiana. "Community" is a state of being that is constantly challenged, continually fortified, and persistently reimagined in Native America. Groups like the Miami Women's Council were an outgrowth of this effort to fortify and re/create community. Part of the reason why the Myaamia women's community had been dormant for so long is because of assimilation and the accompanying devaluation of women found in the dominant (colonizing) culture. Our council was an attempt to survive, endure, and resist the harsh legacy of our colonized past.

On a more micro-level, this cultural violence has upset the balance between the genders in Indian communities. As previously mentioned, this gender imbalance is a result of the reality that indigenous populations were colonized politically and culturally and then forced to assimilate to the norms of the dominant culture. In this case, the dominant culture, the culture of the United States, which is a derivation from that of Western Europe, places greater value on men than women. Native Hawaiian Lurline Wailana McGregor agrees that, "In the past, men and women had very specific roles that complemented each other, assuring a functional and thriving community life. Although these roles are less rigid today, they are no longer balanced. Western cultures devalue women. So now we struggle for equity in the workplace and

recognition in our own communities" (Mankiller 8). After assembling a distinguished group of Native women for a dialogue on those issues most critically facing Indian Country today, Chief Wilma Mankiller recorded the consensus among them that regaining gender balance was vital for Native communities to thrive once again. Mankiller writes, "While the role of indigenous women in the family and community, now and in the past, differs from nation to nation, each of the women at this gathering stated unequivocally that there was a point in time when there was greater equity between men and women, and that balance between men and women must be restored if we are ever to have whole, healthy, communities again" (Mankiller 8). Denise K. Henning in her article "Yes, My Daughters, We are Cherokee Women" provides, perhaps, the best bit of advice on how to achieve these healthy communities. She writes, "we can't demand power until we own the innate power we have within" (Henning 197). The Miami Women's Council was, in part, an attempt to recreate that balance and to reestablish a "whole, healthy," Miami community once again by first reclaiming our power within.

The Myaamia: Past and Present

The sovereign Miami Tribe of Oklahoma, based in Miami, Oklahoma in the northeastern corner of the state, has a population of approximately 4,400. Our citizens live in all 50 states as well as outside the boundaries of the United States. Our tribe's contemporary population is concentrated in northeastern Oklahoma, eastern Kansas, and northern Indiana. This contemporary tribal geography reflects our historical experiences of a series of forced removals from our historic homelands in the Great Lakes region – to a reservation in what would become the state of Kansas, and then from Kansas to Indian Territory, which later became the state of Oklahoma. We refer to ourselves in our language as Myaamiaki, the "Downstream People."[12]

In October of 1846, after decades of resistance to removal by the United States federal government and its army, the bulk of Myaamiaki boarded several canal boats and left our sacred homeland in Indiana. Each mile that separated our ancestors from our homeland, dismantled our culture bit by bit. Upon arrival to the Miami reservation in Kansas, the federal government employed policies to eradicate Miami culture

and to force assimilation. One way the United States federal government forced the Miami to assimilate was through boarding school education. One of the many casualties of this forced assimilation and earlier efforts that began with the very first encounters Myaamiaki had with Europeans and then Euro-Americans was traditional gender ideologies, particularly in relation to leadership roles within our tribal communities.

Myaamia Leadership

Historically, every leadership position with the Miami Tribe was dualistic and so had a male and a female counterpart. The typical Myaamia village had a gender-appropriate leader representing each gender, and each gender was responsible for different aspects of community health and wellbeing (Ironstrack 7). Every *akima* (civil leader-male) worked together with an *akimaahkwia* (civil leader-female) (Trowbridge 14-15). Men's activities focused outside of the village on activities like hunting, trading, negotiation, and war (Ironstrack 7). Women's activites focused on internal matters like construction and maintenance of the *wiikiaama* (lodges) as well as food production and preparation (Ironstrack 7). *Myaamiihkwia* controlled the family home and possibly the entire village space, including farm fields and garden plots. Control over land and domestic belongings allowed *myaamiihkwia* significant authority and power within the community. The men hunted, but could not demand food supplies. If they were given these items, it was because the women allowed for it. Women also owned the *wikiami* (lodging). If a woman decided to divorce her husband, she placed his things (usually moccasins, blanket, and pipe) outside the door of the *wikiami*. The divorce was thus finalized. She usually kept the children (Trowbridge 44)**.**

Traditional and contemporary Myaamia leadership positions are servant-oriented and not positioned as authoritative. The authority rests within the community, which served/s as the traditional decision makers. As tribal members, we enact our responsibility to the community by informed participation in the decision-making process. Our leaders then dispense and implement the results of that decision-making (Ironstrack 2). The focus of Myaamia leadership is on group responsibility, which stands in stark contrast to the individual-rights-based culture of America (Ironstrack 2). Servant leadership and traditional

social structures in which that brand of leadership existed is challenging to maintain within the governing structures imposed upon Native governments by the federal government, which more closely resemble modern United States governing structures than traditional Native governing structures.

An important philosophical concept that informs the core of Myaamia conceptions of leadership is the balance between *mitemhsaki* (women) and *aleniaki* (men). Prior to European arrival, *myaamiihkwia* controlled the lodges, agriculture, and food preparation, which gave them considerable influence within the community. Men could not proceed with negotiations without the support of the women in the village, both in terms of agreement and in the material supports necessary to cement relationships with negotiating parties (Ironstrack14). *Myaamiihkwia*, like other Native women, also played a crucial role in building alliances with the French and the British through intermarriage, which built in no small part the extensive fur trade networks (Wright 528). The efficaciousness of a leader, whether male or female, rested on their ability to build and maintain relationships and alliances.

This separation of the genders was not rigid and there was some crossover, but it was not common. One ancestor of mine, for example, was one such crossover example. Her name was Takumwah (1720-1790).[13] She was the sister of the great Miami chiefs Mihšikinakwa (1752-1812) and Pacanne (1737-1816) and mother of future chief Jean Baptist Richardville, but more importantly, she was a trader in her own right and acted as an *akimaahkwia* in public, a realm that was typically considered male. One historical account recounts a council meeting, a typically male space, where Takumwah spoke on behalf of her son (Sleeper-Smith, *Indigenous Prosperity* 296). The eighteenth century was one of political turmoil and frequent warfare. This age of instability allowed women increasing agency. In addition to the skewed sex ratios that often accompany recurrent warfare, women's work of providing the necessary food and supplies needed to feed war parties became more important. Women also kept the usually male-dominated fur trade alive while the men were fighting (Sleeper-Smith, "Women, Kin, and Catholicism" 430). Miami women were left to tend to many of the activities traditionally undertaken by men, which left many of the British and later American leaders uneasy.

This "intense male anxiety" Euro-American authority figures

felt over Native female agency and gender divisions that did not mirror their own ideological framework of gender, with male superiority at the apex, caused some groups to specifically and assertively address the issue directly with Native communities (Wilson 41). For example, in 1802-1803, the Society of Friends sought to persuade our principal chief Little Turtle to institute individual farming techniques in Miami villages and sent farming implements as well as a Baltimore farmer named Philip Dennis to demonstrate how to use these implements. While there, Dennis and his companions were aghast to see men doing what they deemed "women's work" and vice versa. The Society of Friends then emphatically urged the Miami to engage in a "more proper" division of labor between men and women (Ellicott and Hopkins). The report concludes that both the implementation of individual farming and the adoption of "proper" gender divisions would be a gradual process.

Despite how well Miami gender ideologies and the concomitant divisions of labor and authority worked for our people, eventually through dislocation and assimilation this balance dissipated, as it did for other Native communities (Sleeper-Smith, *Indigenous Prosperity* 310). So, too did women's own participation in the evolution of their traditional subsistence economy, one in which Native women played an important role, to a much more dependent role in the market economy cause gender roles to evolve (Wright 526). The onset of the nineteenth century and the renewed fervor for proselytizing the "unenlightened peoples" and "heathens" of the world including indigenous peoples in North America, eventually solidified gender ideologies among Native communities that closely resembled those of dominant culture (Devins 45). While some Native men found the missionaries' religious teachings as useful in successfully dealing with the dominant culture (ideally, to the benefit of Indian peoples), many Native women rejected these teachings as they saw in them a threat to their status and influence within their traditional socio-political structures. It is likely that gender conflicts that ensued in Native communities was due to this gendered divergence in the acceptance of these religious teachings (Devins 44). Ultimately, however, *mitemhsaki*, slowly sank into roles that precluded them from having much (at least publicly) influence over matters other than in the domestic sphere.

The Year of Myaamia Women

The Miami Nation of Oklahoma declared the year 2010 to be *Kweehsitawankwiki myaamiihkwiaki*: The Year of Myaamia Women. One reason for this declaration was the reconstitution of the Miami Women's Council after there had been no female-specific community like that for over 100 years. An old tradition was resurfacing via modern day technology, giving voice to tribal women. The women of the Miami Nation of Oklahoma resurrected their traditional women's council, but unfortunately it would not last. The women's council thrived for almost five years but sadly it came to an end. Though the council itself ceased meeting, the aspirations of cultural revitalization lived on through the relationships that had been built, ribbonwork workshops, and other cultural events.

With a mission of Miami cultural preservation, revitalization, and education, the Miami Women's Council sought to gather Miami women together, build connections among them, and create with them the tools to reestablish women's cultural position within the larger Miami community. We wanted to establish again a sense of community and enhance leadership within the women's community, again allowing Miami women's voice to rise.

As mentioned above, a challenge to reclaiming the power within is a willingness on the part of the women to recognize that they indeed have power. Part of this challenge relates to a feeling by many dispossessed Native women that they are not a "legitimate Indian" and that they simply do not belong. Many Native women face this deep wound that refuses to heal or heals only as they regain a connection to their culture and their homelands. Native women do have power, but external factors limit their ability to see their own power within. For some, their non-native religion has taken them away from their cultural power. Others may have married a non-indigenous person who is not interested in Native culture, and so the ribbonwork that binds these Native women to their traditional ways of being and knowing are made threadbare (Mihesuah 95). Traditional ways of being and knowing are the basis for Native cultural power. Women's Councils, like the Miami Women's Council, provide a framework and a support network in reclaiming this power. A Miami Women's Council member from Oklahoma City, who has made an effort to attend all of our Women's Council meetings and deeply loves our Tribe, but is married to a non-Miami,

wrote, "I appreciate everyone involved in getting this going. I think it's a wonderful idea. The only thing—it's hard when I am the only one in my family that's interested in all of this, so, it's good to have a support group like you all" (Prescott, Survey). Some women in our council have retained ties to our tribe, attended tribal functions, powwows and other cultural events, and even have supportive families, but for some reason feel something is lacking and they want to strengthen and deepen their connection to our culture. These women believed at the time that the way to strengthen their connection to our culture was through a women's group. At the base of what we were building with the Women's Council is the belief that we need to have a community that reaffirms our identities as indigenous—*Myaamiihkwia* (Miami women).

Kweehsitawankwiki Myaamiihkwiaki

Women have always been the bearers and keepers of culture and of community. The Miami Nation's resolution proclaiming the year 2010 as *Kweehsitawankwiki myaamiihkwiaki*: The Year of Myaamia Women affirms the role of women as culture bearers and signals a rebirth of the Miami people:

> WHEREAS, Miami leadership acknowledges that our unique cultural identity as a Sovereign Nation must be supported, protected, embraced and perpetuated at all costs to ensure our continuity as a community, a people and a Nation, and; WHEREAS, the Miami Nation, as a people, does acknowledge and embrace the vital roles of myaamiihkwiaki, Miami women, in our community and more importantly in our very homes, in the rearing of kiniicaanhsenaanaki, our Miami children, and thus the ultimate perpetuation of our unique language, traditions and culture…. ("Miami Tribe of Oklahoma," Resolution 2010)

In our tribal newspaper *Aatotankiki Myaamiaki* (which translates to "what the Myaamiaki are talking about"), the historic event was posited as a time of "newness, emergence, beginning" and was set to correlate with a new decade according to our culture's lunar calendar. The reason for this correlation was because "[s]uch…themes…are directly related to the status and role of the females/women who make up the foundation of the ribbonwork that is our community" (*Aatotankiki Myaamiaki* 4). Women are vital to our traditional community,

both historically and in the present. It is generally the woman who passes on the culture to her children.

Numerous Miami Women's Council members have stated that our children and the passing on of our knowledge and traditions to our children are of primary concern to them and served as an impetus for them to join the Council.[14] It is the woman that will save a culture because in many ways, she IS the culture.[15] But, as Wilma Mankiller points out, tradition and culture are always evolving. "Indigenous women are not responsible for continuing time-honored traditions," Mankiller writes, "they are also creators and interpreters of indigenous culture in the early twenty-first century, a time when advanced technology draws the entire world closer together and there are many attempts to homogenize world cultures" (Mankiller 4). Organizations like the American Indian centers established throughout the urban centers of the United States, tribal organizations themselves, as well as councils like the Miami Women's Council are all resisting this homogenizing tide and ensuring the survival of Indian cultures.

Rebirth of a Tradition

The idea to resurrect the Miami Women's Council was born collectively between several tribal women elders, including my mother, over twenty years ago when we participated in the establishment of our tribal language program. We discovered that such a council had been incubating in the minds of many Miami women for years. As one Women's Council member from Ft. Wayne, Indiana wrote, "A Women's Council sounds exciting and long overdue. A lot of Miami people are experiencing a call back to the basics/simplicity of our ancestors. There is an urgency about this call: survive" (Prescott, Survey).

The Fruit

We held our very first Women's Council meeting at the Ethel Miller Moore Center (also known as the old tribal longhouse) in 2009 during the weekend of our annual Tribal Council Meeting. The organizers (including myself, my mother—Piitilahnoohkwa (Rain Woman), and one other tribal elder) were all uncertain as to how many

women would show up. I optimistically estimated that approximately 10-15 women would attend. I was flabbergasted when over forty Miami women arrived! We spent the first part of our two-hour meeting going around a circle and introducing ourselves and our family affiliation to the group and sharing a little about what brought us to the meeting. Many of the stories shared similarities. Miami women were looking for community. We were all looking for another strand that binds us to what makes us Myaamia. At this meeting, we discussed what identity and culture means to us and how we might work to preserve it and share cultural knowledge among us all.

Our Values

The cultural education employed in the Women's Council was to be an organic education, coming from within Miami tradition and from Miami ways of knowing. Guided by our Miami elder women and strengthened by intergenerational bonds, we sought to meaningfully incorporate our history and culture into our everyday lives. We wanted to create a vehicle for knowledge transmission, to develop knowledge of our culture and history and to foster community among and between the generations. In this endeavor, we worked from a position of building consensus and minimizing hierarchies within our group, and respecting all Myaamia women's perspectives in the group, as we each brought something valuable and unique to our council community.

Bringing Our Community Together

What brings a community together? Opportunities to connect and share. The Miami Women's Council established these guiding objectives to achieve community:

- To offer cultural education opportunities through special workshops, webinars, events, speakers, and discussion via our Google Group, Miami Women's Gathering, and social media.

- To create a support structure through which Miami women could educate one another about what it means to be Miami and together amass a collective cultural wisdom.

> We attempted to do that by sharing our stories in the Google group and in our council meetings. We shared knowledge about our traditions of storytelling—when we tell stories and what those stories are about.
>
> • To establish an annual Women's Gathering through which Miami women gather to learn and to share. At our very first annual gathering, an elder in the women's council shared with the rest of the group how to make cornhusk dolls. There were many heart-felt tears at our council meetings. There was a palpable sense that we were building something important and vitally necessary. We all felt closer than we had before. (Myaamia Women's Council Mission Statement)

Who?

It was important to us to keep the group as inclusive as possible. In our mission statement, we wrote that the Miami Women's Council was open to all Miami women, including mothers of Miami children and Miami spouses. We recognize that modern families do not always follow the prescriptive guidelines laid out by normative society and we recognize that our traditional kinship structure did not follow these dictates. As such, neither did our council membership. We consciously decided to use the term "spouse" as it allows for a more inclusive definition of partnership.

Successes and Challenges

Of utmost importance was creating a communal and cultural link between Miami women across the nation—that was one of our greatest challenges. Due to removal and the dissipation of our land base, Miami peoples dispersed throughout the nation. This fact created challenges to our efforts. How does one resurrect a traditional gathering when council members live thousands of miles away from one another? One must turn to modern day technologies, like the Internet. We recognized the vital necessity of integrating and utilizing the newest technologies that would help us bridge these vast distances. We

used social media platforms such as Facebook, as well as Gmail, and Google groups. We wanted to explore the possibility of using podcasts, as well, but time ran out before this happened. Of course, we preferred the old-fashioned face-to-face experience, which we did get to have during annual meetings.

Despite these challenges, the Google group steadily gained members and had a consistent flurry of posts about topics ranging from recipes, to wild ginger and milkweed, to mortuary customs, to history, to storytelling, local powwows and culture. Sometimes, the women used the space to share the joys and hardships of life. Through this virtual world, we truly created relationships based upon mutual interest and a caring that is so real that it belies the medium in which it was created.

There were many challenges that we faced with this endeavor of reestablishing a women's community through the Women's Council. As there were more elders than young women interested in participating in the Women's Council, a very large challenge was a lack of computer literacy. Further, many elders had no computer, computer access, or Internet access. To address this issue, council organizers were working to overcome this challenge by working on grants to obtain money to pay for mass mailings and for transportation to face-to-face council meetings.

A second challenge was that many of the women did not feel comfortable in their skins as *myaamiihkwia*—Miami women. Our Miami Women's Council Google group grew slowly but steadily. Our women were reluctant to participate in discussions, but seemed to enjoy and learn from the posts made by a few women who regularly posted. Many of our group members were not tech savvy and so did not feel comfortable posting due to this. The larger reason, however, is what I alluded to previously. Some members were having difficulty "owning" their experience as Miami women. They felt they had nothing to offer. What I often heard was: "I am not Miami, but my grandmother was." I reminded them that if their grandmother was Miami then so are they. Some felt that their culture is something of the past, even though they yearn for a resurrection of it—they still felt detached. As a result, we targeted that issue and tried to make the women more comfortable with the idea that they have something valuable to share as Miami women. Devon Mihesuah calls this "rediscovering Indianess" (95). I call this rediscovering their Miami-ness.

A third challenge, related to the last, is that there was a reluctance of anyone to step into a leadership position. Group members were reluctant, too, to make their presence in the group publicly known. Instead, they watch from the sidelines. Experience teaches us that our tribal members tend to 'observe' sometimes for years, before they actually become involved. They step from the shadows into the soft light. Perhaps they were waiting to build confidence in their identities. When women finally do get the comfort level or courage to participate in the group, they tend to share their feelings of deep appreciation at feeling connected in some way with each other. "God bless you for trying to keep all generations of our history," wrote a Women's Council member from St. Petersburg, Florida (Prescott, Survey). Many women said they were excited to be a part of the group and to learn a little about their history. They wanted to connect. Many of the women spoke of this experience in an emotional—and even spiritual way. One Council member from Oregon wrote that she wanted to attend Women's Council because to her "it would be a pilgrimage (Prescott, Survey). These women, most of whom would never call themselves activists—were in reality revolutionaries. They were acting out against centuries of oppression and neglect. They were acting to build a better society built on their values rather than those imposed upon them. Every Google post. Every corn husk doll. Every Miami family recipe swapped. Every ribbon that is worked. Every Myaamia word that is learned. Every traditional story told is a revolutionary act of activism—whether or not they choose to use the label.

Reflection

Though the Miami Women's Council started with and engendered so much hope for community where women could safely explore what it meant to them to be Miami, it ended. The reasons for its ending are multivalent and complex. Although its ending still evokes some longing and sadness within me and many others, many of the objectives of the group lived on through other avenues like our tribal ribbonworking, language, and history workshops. Native women tend to take leadership when they feel a sense of belonging, a cause for which to fight. In these successive years, the Miami Nation has experienced a significant cultural revitalization, which has increased opportunity to experience belonging. Our language program and the development of

the Myaamia Center (a tribally-driven research and educational partnership with Miami University) serve as shining examples of the survival and endurance of the Miami people. We have seen the Miami Nation establish our very own inter-tribal powwow that brings in some of the most talented head man and head lady powwow dancers in the nation. It also gives us the chance to show off our own Miami dancers decked out in regalia adorned with traditional Miami ribbon work and our customary styles. Our Winter Stomp dance provides more than just a good excuse to stomp in time with the shell shakers and friends and tribal members from across the US, it also provides a venue for Miami artists to showcase and sell their work. This is us practicing our culture.

Conclusion

As the National Congress of American Indians points out, "Each Native woman's journey is a revealing story of strength, courage, and wisdom. For generations, our grandmothers, mothers, sisters, and daughters have played a major role in maintaining our culture, protecting our families, and supporting our governments. Their guidance sustains and equips future generations with the knowledge, support, and resources necessary to achieve success in their personal and professional lives." It is critical that Native women have a seat at the table of influence and politics. It is even more critical that Native communities reconstitute the equitable gender ideologies that created a socio-economic structure that enabled influence and participation by both men and women. Young Native women need to know about the female leaders who came before them and serve as an example of servant leadership for us all. Most importantly, women need to stand together to support, nurture, and protect other women. To lift them up and, in return, to be lifted. It is time to decolonize Native gender ideology. Aho.

Notes

[1] Sharice Davids is an enrolled member of Wisconsin's Ho-Chunk Nation Tribe and is not only the first Native American to represent Kansas in Congress, but is also the first out lesbian to serve in that role. Deb Haaland is an enrolled member of the Laguna Pueblo Tribe. Currently, there are only two male Native American members of Congress, Representatives Tom Cole (Oklahoma) and Markwayne Mullin (Oklahoma), both Republicans. There are no Native Americans currently serving in the United States Senate. Peggy Flanagan is an enrolled member of the White Earth Band of Ojibwe and is the second Native American woman elected to statewide executive office in the United States. Denise Juneau, Mandan Hidatsa Arikara, was the first; she was elected State Superintendent of Public Instruction in Montana in 2016.

[2] For help with pronunciation, please refer to the *Myaami Dictionary* (*Myaamiaatawaakani)* online at https://www.myaamiadictionary.org/dictionary2015/index.php.

[3] The Miami Tribe of Oklahoma is a federally recognized Indian tribe now headquartered in northeastern Oklahoma, but whose traditional homelands were in the Great Lakes region.

[4] *Mitemhsaki* is the Myaamia word for women. Though mitemhsaki refers to all kinds of women, I will use this word to specifically refer to Native women and will use it interchangeably with "Native women" and "Native American women."

[5] According to *Indian Country Today's* editor Mark Trahant, 47% of those elected to state legislatures in the 2018 election were women, this is up from 40% in 2016.

[6] Women Empowering Women for Indigenous Nations. Mission Statement. https://www.wewin04.org/about-wewin. Accessed 7 August 2020.

[7] For more on the effect of education on Native Americans, please see Prescott "Neepwaaminki," Adams, and Lomawaima.

[8] According to the Office of Federal Acknowledgement, Bureau of Indian Affairs: *"Community* means any group of people which can demonstrate that consistent interactions and significant social rela-

tionships exist within its membership and that its members are differentiated from and identified as distinct from nonmembers. *Community* must be understood in the context of the history, geography, culture and social organization of the group."

[9] The acknowledgment process is the administrative process of the Department of the Interior, by which petitioning groups that meet the criteria are "acknowledged" as Indian tribes and their members become eligible to receive services provided to members of federally recognized Indian tribes.

[10] As Cramer points out, the federal government has also used blood quantum to allow or disallow Natives access to community resources. Cramer writes, for example, that the Burke Act empowered Dawes commissions to set blood-quantum standards for individual Natives seeking land allotments. Blood quantum is a highly politicized and highly charged issue in some Native communities today. In fact, some Natives consider the blood-quantum standards set by the federal government as another form of genocide.

[11] Lobo writes, "The application of this standard definition of community to urban American Indian communities by researchers, and including the U.S. Census Bureau, distorts reality and limits an understanding of many aspects of community dynamics…."

[12] For more information on the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma, please see the Tribe's official website: www.miamination.com.

[13] For more on Takumwah and the fascinating trial between her and her ex-husband, please see Marrero.

[14] The passing on of tradition and knowledge to our children was a very common response in the original survey sent out to the women of all Miami households.

[15] This is an interesting counterpoint to the essentialist assertion that makes women emblematic of nature.

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The Reel Indian or The Real Indian?:

The Three Modes of Representation of Native Americans in Western Movies

Cem Kılıçarslan

Abstract

Historically, Native Americans have been common and dominant visual elements in the western genre. Modes of representing Native Americans in movies have developed and changed over time. The increasing popularity in global markets of films depicting Native Americans has encouraged more filmmakers to make movies that incorporate native elements. An examination of films depicting Native Americans shows that such depictions change according to who controls the production and mode of representation. The films thus reflect different attitudes about Native Americans, depending on whom the film is made by: American Indians, non-Indians, or directors who use stereotypes of American Indians as a kind of proxy to represent disadvantaged non-American peoples. Using examples from specific movies, this paper will analyze both the images of Native American characters in films and the plots or story lines which are ideologically instrumental in how Native Americans are represented cinematically.

Keywords: Native Americans, western, mode of representation, American cinema

Filmlerdeki Kızılderili mi, Gerçek Kızılderili mi?: Western Filmlerdeki Kızılderili Betimlemelerinde Kullanılan Üç Farklı Yaklaşım

Öz

Tarihsel açıdan incelendiğinde, Kızılderililerin, Western türünün en yaygın ve egemen görsel öğelerinden olduğu görülmektedir. Kızılderililerin temsil şekilleri zaman içerisinde değişikliğe uğramıştır. Kızılderilileri betimleyen filmlerin küresel piyasalarda artan popüleritesi daha çok yapımcıyı filmlerinde yerli unsurlara yer vermeye teşvik etmiştir. Kızılderilileri betimleyen filmlere bakıldığında, bu betimlemelerin üretimi ve temsil biçimlerini denetimi altında tutan otoriteye göre değişiklik sergilediği görülmektedir. Dolayısıyla bu filmler, filmin kim tarafından çekildiğine bağlı olarak—Kızılderili yönetmenler, Kızılderili olmayan yönetmenler veya Kızılderili stereotiplerini Amerikalı olmayan dezavantajlı grupları temsil etmek için bir tür vekil olarak kullanan yönetmenler—Kızılderililere yönelik farklı yaklaşımlar barındırırlar. Bu makale, belirli filmlerden örnekler vererek, Kızılderililerin sinematik temsili üzerinde ideolojik etkiyi sahip Kızılderili karakter imgelerini ve bu filmlerdeki konu ve olay örgülerini inceleyecektir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Kızılderililer, western sineması, temsil biçimleri, Amerikan sineması

Some years ago, one guest Native American lecturer at Hacettepe University was blamed by the listeners for not being "a real Indian," as he appeared before the audience as a university professor who was wearing a suit and a tie. Seeing him on the podium, one member from the audience whispered to others around him; "This is not a real Indian. Look! He has been completely *assimilated* by the white American culture. No *real Indian* would appear here like this."[1] Quite possibly, the audience expected to see someone wearing pale buckskin clothes, with paint on his face and feathers in his long hair. This example is a very good indicator of how much an image propagated by films, cartoons, comics and literature can be the primary factor in the formation of the image of an ethnic group not only in its own land but

also in other cultures across the world. Quite probably, there is no other ethnic group in the world that has been defined this way, and this pervasively is due to the wide transmission of Native American imagery throughout the world via the products of mass culture and most notably via Hollywood films.

The problem with the depiction of Native Americans in various films is that the image on the screen has come to be known as so "real" that, it has almost replaced the physical and historical reality. Other than becoming larger than life, the image of Native Americans in films has shaped the visual and behavioral patterns that defined public perception of the whole ethnic group. This fact, apparently, set a number of visual standards and in turn created a continuous public demand for this image. This is not a new phenomenon[2;] even the nineteenth-century tourists to the American West wanted to see traditional clothing and quiet nobility (Bird 4) that they thought were associated with Native Americans, and this interest and expectation has not really changed throughout the 20th century. Mass culture has replaced contemporary Native American realities with movies, television, and romances, which are almost invariably set in the past.

A categorization of films depicting Native Americans illustrates that such depictions change according to those who control the production and the mode of representation. The films thus reflect different attitudes about Native Americans depending on three separate modes of representation: external (by non-American Indians), internal (by American Indians) or by proxy (directors using American Indian stereotypes to represent non-Native American peoples). While these modes as defined by the agents of representation have developed in time, a deeper analysis of these categorizations also reveals that representations take place on two separate layers: an imagery layer and a formula layer, both of which are ideologically instrumental in the creation and maintenance of the Native American image in films. This paper will try to analyze how these modes of representation function in relation to the layers of representation by referring to certain films that portray Native Americans.

Cinema has a special place when it comes to discussions on culture, representation and ideology. The Soviet leader Lenin reminded his comrades, "Cinema, for us, is the most important of the arts" (qtd. in Cowie 137), and what he meant was the fact that social changes, be

they through evolution or revolution, need this indispensable artistic means in the creation and propagation of new meanings to establish a new social order. Many societies have been subjected to such cultural indoctrinations and definitions (by forceful or willing exposure and actively or passively). Native Americans, both as an ethnic group and subject matter, are no exception and Hollywood films helped a great deal in the formation and definition of the Native American within the American popular imagination. As Gore Vidal argued, "the history we believe we 'know' is the history presented in film" (Rollins xi) and thus films were instrumental in the creation of a past and its accompanying imagery. The notion that the only "real" Indians are the historical ones is still pervasive today as Cornel Pewewardy's warning aptly points out:

> Expecting Native Americans to look like the Hollywood movie Indians is a huge mistake. ... There is no such thing as a real lndian, only Hollywood-created images of past tense Indians. "Real Indians" are a figment of the monocultural American psyche. The term comes from a European perspective. Therefore, framing a response to "Are you a real Indian?" requires me to respond by saying, "There are no real Indians in America, only indigenous peoples increasingly forming into a hybrid culture trying to hold on to what little culture, language and sacred knowledge are left." The only real Indians in America are those Indians that originated from the country of India. (Pewewardy 71)

As it was the white settlers and their culture to blame for the demise of the Native Americans, then why have they been so frequently and insistently used in films made by the white man and his culture? Wilcomb E. Washburn offers an explanation and presents four thematic and visual criteria that summarize the characteristics of Native American imagery in films: "While all ethnic groups have been depicted, defined and stereotyped in films, no other [ethnic group] provides the opportunity to convey the image in a narrative form in terms of *rapid physical movement*, *exotic appearance*, *violent confrontation* and *a spirituality rooted in the natural environment* [italics added]" (Rollins ix). Thanks to a unique blend of these qualities, Washburn believes, those films actually have made a very positive contribution to public perception of Native Americans. According to him, films,

> helped promote the recovery of the contemporary Indian in the early and mid-twentieth century and the renaissance of the Indian—particularly in art and literature—in the most recent decades of the century. Motion pictures did this first by not letting the Indian identity be absorbed into the larger American society as just another -and tiny- ethnic minority; and, second, by reminding other Americans of the worthy character of the Indian adversaries of the other principal *dramatis personae* of American history, the frontiersmen and pioneers who form the subject of the current debate over the "new" and "old" Western history. (Rollins x)

However helpful the films made in Hollywood might have been in the protection of the Native American image, they surely had a simplistic attitude by presenting Native Americans as two-dimensional characters: They were either the bloodthirsty warmongering savages or the peaceful and mystical wise men living in harmony with nature. As stated earlier, this image of the Native American created by films and other media is not limited to the American cultural atmosphere. Borrowing from Native American imagery they witnessed in Hollywood films, many other cultures developed similar opinions of who "the real Indians" were and, more interestingly, used this imagery in the films they made.

The issue leads one to take a different look at the phenomenon, to a perspective that involves politics and money; the commercial aspect of filmmaking and marketing. The Indian was depicted and became popular this way because in early days of Hollywood films followed by other filmmaking centers in other countries, including Yeşilçam in Turkey, they realized that the Indian, or "the Redskin," is what the audience found most interesting in Western films and hence demanded more. Thus, as is the case in all products of popular culture;

> Stereotypes sell. To this day, consumers recognize the stylized Indian chief on cans of Calumet Baking Powder and the kneeling Indian maiden on packages of Land O' Lakes butter. The athletic fortunes of [the sports teams of] the Braves, Indians, Chiefs, Redskins, and Black Hawks are followed by professional sports fans across the country. (Pewewardy 71)

What followed this ornamental aspect of the Indian as product

advertisement was the notion that the image somehow depicted "the real Indian." Hence, the Indian many people all around the world took to be "the real" was itself a product designed to be packaged and sold in various shapes and it is only natural that the changes in the way Native Americans are depicted in the films and related media conformed to the rules of the market, i.e. the products were changed and reshaped according to the expectations and trends in the domestic and the global markets. As Pauline Turner Strong observes, for instance, "Disney has created a marketable New Age Pocahontas to embody our millennial dreams for wholeness and harmony, while banishing our nightmares of savagery without and emptiness within" (Bird 3). John O'Connor warns that even the seemingly positive depiction of the Native American was itself a testament to the commodification of this image and the pragmatism involved on the part of the Hollywood filmmaking process:

> Hollywood is presumably not filled with Indian haters' intent on using their power to put down the natives. One need only observe how quickly a director or a studio might switch from portraying a "bloodthirsty" to a "noble savage" if the market seems to call for it. Far from purposeful distortion, significant elements of the Indian image can be explained best through analyzing various technical -and business- related production decisions that may never have been considered in terms of their effect on the screen image. (Rollins 3)

A quick survey of the films that depict Native Americans demonstrates that there is almost no limit to the way Native Americans can be put on the screen by the filmmakers. Most notably in the Westerns, the idiosyncratic American film genre, Native American characters were frequently used and while not all Westerns depicted a Native American character, the Native American figures were widely used in Westerns made by other cultures[3]. As various other countries borrowed heavily from the American Westerns, Native Americans have become an indispensable ubiquitous element of the genre and may have even become more popular than the cowboys at least in the eyes of the non-American audience. Apart from the inclusion of native elements for local color, the Western genre formula required that an antagonist be put in front of the protagonist and the Native American was sometimes much better than the traditional dark cowboy because he offered greater cultural difference and maybe more similarity to the imagery

of evil in a professedly Christian mainstream cultural environment. In Westerns "[the Indian] posed a formidable threat to the dreams of civilization, yet he was almost always faceless and voiceless, little more than a stubborn and irrational hindrance to be crushed and swept aside by progress's reckless vanguard" (Prats xiv).

The replication of the Western formula in foreign markets brought the incorporation of the Native American elements into Western films and a number of examples are cases in point. Almost all of the characters that represent the natives in these films are purely ornamental and detached from their cultural and social experience. The French Western *Les Petroleuses* (1971, dir. Christian-Jacque and Guy Casaril), starring Brigitte Bardot and Claudia Cardinale, is nothing more than a French erotic-action film in which a scantily-clad all-girl gang in cowboy suits robs trains and reveals their bodies as much as they could. In the film, one of the girls of the gang is accompanied by an Indian chief called Spitting Bull (acted by Valery Inkijinoff), who not only adds a fake aura of mystery with his stolid face but also seems to be the only male character that does not display any sexual interest towards the half-naked girls around him. It appears that in the eyes of the European audience, the Native American's contempt for any material pursuit—however absurdly it might be presented—was due to his almost superhuman and transcendental romanticism.

Kanunsuz Kahraman – Ringo Kid (*The Lawless Hero – Ringo Kid*) (1967, dir. Zafer Davutoğlu) is a Turkish Western film which borrows heavily from John Ford's *Stagecoach,* including a protagonist named Ringo (acted by Cüneyt Arkın) and wagon attacks in the desert. While the film depicts Indians in war-paint charging on the whites, it does not seem to make the slightest commentary on the natives' motives. The Turkish audience was given no information as to what those Redskins demand. Instead, they appear to have been included as merely hostile elements so that the good whites can become victorious. Such ignorant borrowing of the Native American elements interestingly seems more in conformity with Hollywood's vision than any alternative or revisionist interpretation of history that might have presented the Turkish audience an account they might have found more illuminating.

The (notoriously) titled *Atını Seven Kovboy* (*The Cowboy Who Loves His Horse*)[4] (1975, dir. Aram Gülyüz) is another interesting ex-

ample of Turkish Westerns. A slapstick comedy, the film was based on the comic character Lucky Luke, or as he is known in Turkey, Red Kit. The images of the old American West—the stagecoaches, African Americans in tuxedos and Native Americans—are again elements not only removed from their historical conditions, but also reduced to caricatures with no associative meaning. The outlaw Dalton Brothers disguise as Indians while hiding from the good cowboy Red Kit, and their cookie-cutter representation again reveals that the Turkish audience knew the Native Americans only through the Westerns and as barbaric threats against civilization. Actually, however absurd they may seem, what these Western films made outside the realm of Hollywood did was not very different from what the American films had been doing until very recent periods[5;] that is, presenting an absurdly unrealistic vision of Native Americans with the pretext that they were depicting the textbook reality that "the Indians hindered progress" (Prats xiv). The Western genre used (and abused) the image of the Native American as the historical *other* through which the white settlers' ordeals and progress can be elaborated. As A. J. Prats confirmed, "the Western requires him—not because it needs to depict one more moment in the relentless course of empire, but because the Western functions primarily as a source of national self-identifications" (xv).

It must be remembered that genres are commercial categorizations themselves; in other words, the ideas that are commercially proven, and film genres function on two different layers. Hence, representation moves along two different lines: Imagery and Formula. In the imagery layer, as the name suggests, the visual characteristics and certain clichés that help the viewer recognize and categorize an item are dominant. In other words, the relationship between the signifier and the signified is unmistakably apparent. Thus, a Western is a "cowboy movie" and the Indian is depicted as somebody who wears feathers in his hair, has paint on his face and body, carries a bow and arrows, hatchets, rides on bareback horses, lives in nature in tents called tipis, hunts buffalo and sometimes prays to the Manitou etc. and it is this imagery that is generally copied by many other films to make it easy for the audience to identify "the real Indian." In the formula layer, however, the underlying value systems and more abstract concepts are at work on a symbolic or representational level. At this layer, the signifier does not necessarily resemble or remind the signified of the relationship between them making the formula layer ideologically more powerful

while creating and transforming meanings. On this layer, a Western is not necessarily a cowboy movie taking place in the old American West and the Indian may not be somebody whom one can so easily identify, at least visually. The film could be taking place in another galaxy (as is the case in Space Westerns) or actually any other place that might stand for the inhospitable and desolate landscape of the old American West, where presumably civilizing forces are at war against the wilderness and savagery. In these projected forms, the Native American is again not necessarily an indigenous American but could be any form of character or culture that is in one way or another associated with Native Americans. The formula uses Native American elements to contrast the image of the (*non-Indian*?) self and the (*Indian?*) other, i.e. the confronting powers or the cultural anti-thesis the protagonist(s) encounter along the development of the plot. The two layers are not mutually exclusive, i.e. they may coexist (imagery can be a part of the formula) or there may be an exchange of components between the layers; nevertheless, both can be understood separately.

In addition to these layers of meaning, the manner in which the Native Americans were depicted in films -- mainly in Western films -- demonstrates best the "how" of representation process rather than the "what;" i.e. the manner rather than the subject matter. In this regard, the representation of the Native Americans in Western films can be analyzed under three headings, which correspond to the three modes of representation: external representation, internal representation and representation by proxy.

External Representation

Basically, these are the films in which the Native Americans are depicted mostly from the outside, i.e. by forces and mechanisms of meaning created beyond Indian control, regardless of the type of meaning. To put it differently, these are the films made by non-Native Americans,[6] who use Native American imagery to create a narrative story irrespective of the moral goodness or badness of the Native American characters depicted in the final narrative. If the act of representing something is a sign of the ownership of the created meaning, then it becomes apparent that this mode refers not only to the perspective of the mainstream American culture, but also to elements within this culture

that shape the image of the Native American. This is the mode that is employed by a great majority of the films made in Hollywood's mainstream film sector. As Bird Runningwater observed, "If you look at the history of the Native image in film, the vast majority of it has been created without the consent and most often without the control of the Native person, whose image is being taken and utilized in the media" (Lewis xv). This lack of control in the process of representation seems to be crucial especially in the Western films since the genre had a key role in the formation of a national identity and self-definition and while providing this definition, the filmmakers also gave the mainstream culture an unquestioned role as the shaping force of the destiny of the country. Thus, representing the Native American, *the historical other* in the Western, the filmmaker became the owner of the image and held the fate of the Natives at his own discretion. Prats explains, "he is most American, somehow, who knows Indians best—who knows them, we may as well anticipate, principally so that he may destroy them, and who destroys them *even as, if not indeed because, he represents them"* (10).

The layers of meaning reveal another political aspect of external representation. In this mode, the Native American is depicted more as a visual element than anything deeper such as a substitute value system. The camera portrays the Native Americans using the most typical imagery and it is these clichés that are supposedly creating the image of "the real Indian" in the minds of the audience. Most Westerns present a heavily polarized version of the whites and Native Americans and the natives are almost always on the wrong side. As stated earlier, the depiction of Native American has alternated between the good Indian and the bad Indian according to the market expectations, but the alternation does not seem to change the subtraction of the Native American from his historical context. Indeed, the films that present the Native American from an allegedly more positive perspective caused another sort of damage and possibly a greater one: They eternally put the destiny of the Native American to be modeled in the hands of the white culture. The damage became two-fold when the Native Americans eventually (quite possibly due to the pressure from their financial constraints) came to assume the forms imposed upon them in these films. Ted Jojola explains;

> In the face of the exotic and primitive, non-Indians had drawn on their own preconceptions and experiences to ap-

> propriate selectively elements of the Indian. The consequent image was a subjective interpretation, the purpose of which was to corroborate the outsider's viewpoint. This process is called revisionism, and it, more than not, entails recasting native people away and apart from their own social and community realities. In an ironic turnabout, Native people eventually began to act and behave like their movie counterparts, often in order to gain a meager subsistence from the tourist trade. In that sense, they were reduced to mere props for commercial gain. (Rollins 13)

The emergence of a Native American who was following the patterns dictated by Hollywood films put him into a more controllable position. He is no longer marketed as an alternative to the cruel whites, but also, further promoted to become a cultural icon of resistance in the hands of the filmmakers regardless of the filmmakers' ethnic origin. A case in point is one of the earliest films that dealt with American indigenous peoples; *The Vanishing American* (1925), which traces the pre-Columbian peopling of the North American continent. While seemingly presenting a very unbiased and sympathetic picture of these peoples, the film nevertheless creates a quasi-scientific version of these civilizations and concludes that their disappearance was inevitable due to the principles of evolution, i.e. faced with the white culture, the natives were doomed to fail and vanish. Even when the subject matter was Native Americans, the leading actors and sometimes actresses were white. The body language, facial expressions and mimics thus were completely irrelevant and unrealistic even for the silent era. The depiction of the seemingly assimilated Indian who comes to reject the values of the white society as symbolized by his throwing a Bible away and resorting to traditional Indian lifestyle might have looked like a criticism of the white society. Nevertheless, while glorifying the fallen Indian, the film infallibly declares that he was doomed to fail by mechanisms which do not make the white the guilty party. The Natives vanish due to an almost natural causality, not due to any wrongdoing by the dominant culture or imperialism, as the whites seem to be depicted as both good and bad. Such an approach, limited to the moral goodness and badness, without touching upon the underlying economic forces and cultural hypocrisy, seems to have helped various filmmakers in Hollywood to create stories that provided a cleaner conscience for the dominant culture by making a martyr out of the fallen and almost ex-

tinct indigenous people. Other titles worthy of attention for this approach are *The Massacre* (1914), *The Covered Wagon* (1923), *Iron Horse* (1924) and *Run of Arrow* (1957).

Another visual preference frequently seen in this mode of representation has political/ideological connotations as well. In many of these films, the filmmakers generally chose to depict Native Americans as groups of people rather than individuals, a visual preference that results in a loss of the individual identity in the mass. Especially in Westerns, the Native Americans are generally presented as a huge silent and expressionless group standing and observing the white settlers from the tops of hills that surround them. They merely point their fingers towards the wagon, town or train, quite possibly showing the target to be attacked and maintain a stoic and laconic attitude throughout the films. This menacing poster-like Indian posture became one of the most ubiquitous and even archetypal image of the movie Indian: A character who stares at the whites from the top of the mountains and then charges towards them: the ultimate inhumane enemy with no just motives and hence deserving whatever form of punishment available in the already lawless West. The two Westerns that are generally considered to be the most important within the genre, *The Stagecoach* (1939) and *The Searchers* (1956), both by John Ford, used this distancing technique. In *The Stagecoach*'s famous chase scene, the stagecoach representing civilization was ruthlessly attacked by the savage natives and this chase ended with the timely arrival of the US Cavalry. When a journalist asked Ford about the then technically marvelous chase scene, "Why don't the Indians shoot the horses to stop the coach?" he answered, "Because that would have been the end of the movie" (IMDB). The answer is self-explanatory: the Indians are used for filmic purposes; they are there to attack and to be pushed back, not as human beings with reason. In the chase scene, similarly, their faces become blurred and the Native American imagery is once again reduced to two dimensional representations of evil passing in front of the coach's windows.

Apart from having racist messages, such as the Indians deserving to be treated harshly as this is *the language* they speak and understand, *The Searchers* seems to have been designed to convey the message that the savages must be destroyed, as Prats observed, "If opposition is essential to the national self, so too is the elimination of it" (10) and the historical other thus becomes an agent whose annihilation is not only justifiable, but also necessary for the safety of the

civilization. In an ironical manner, as was the case with the primary Native American character in *The Vanishing American*, the antagonist in *The Searchers*, Chief Scar is acted by a white actor-the German born blue eyed actor Henry Brandon-, quite possibly due to the fact that the 1930s were still not the right time to create a charismatic Native character from a Native American. Chief Scar, a "stoic, stone-faced, bloodthirsty redskin" (Kilpatrick, 37), is presented as a polygamous rapist, a ruthless killer, and a collector of scalps of the whites he has killed. Nevertheless, Ethan Edwards (acted by John Wayne) "speaks his language" and scalps him after finding him dead. Even when dead, the Indian should not go unpunished and "The annihilating punishment that Scar receives is a warning to adopted non-whites of what awaits their transgressions" (Henderson, 448), reminding the half-Indian character Marty (acted by Jeffrey Hunter) that he has to kill the Indian in him to be acceptable in the white society. Hence, the reduction of the Native American to a purely ornamental level takes a new turn with the addition of elements from Native American faith. In one scene, Ethan shoots the eyes of a dead Indian so that he will be doomed to wander in the lands of the winds and not be able to reach his ancestors. To add insult to the injury of shooting even the dead natives and ridiculing their beliefs in afterlife, in many similar Western films, the native extras were asked to play the part of another tribe, regardless of their relations with that tribe in real life and were sometimes paid in alcohol, tobacco and guns (Singer, 2006: 212).

Another film by John Ford, *Drums along the Mohawk* (1939) used color imagery and sound elements, such as silhouettes of Native American characters in backlit door scenes and drum sounds, to further aggravate the effect of the native menace with the addition of comic touches. The film focuses on the ordeal of a settler family trying to survive in the native land and the natives' attacks on them. Trying to illustrate the frontier culture in a visually rich way, Ford focuses on the vulnerability of the individual family when faced with the harshness of frontier life. The solidarity of the frontier people against various ordeals is glorified and the real reason of the attacks by the Six Nations of the Iroquois Indians (to acquire the land that had belonged to them before it was forcefully taken from them) is not touched upon and the white settlers are presented as victims. As the natives were allies with the British during the War of Revolution, any chance on the part of the audience to sympathize with them disappears. In real life, the war

against the Six Nations was won when General John Sullivan attacked the natives' villages and massacred them. However, the film focuses on how the settlers won the war to exist and hence, according to Ford, such massacres, unspoken as they may remain, might be necessary for a still more glorious end, i.e. the formation of the USA. Such a lack of an attempt to provide any different look at white experience and history in North America renders the movie constrained to the limits of external representation.

As can be seen in the examples, although there were many Western films that included Native American characters, none offered the level of depth their white counterparts had. The Native Americans, as they were, were nonexistent. This was the dominant mode of representation until 1968, when American Indian Movement (AIM) became popular and Native Americans began to make their own films. Although external representation is no longer considered popular, this is more because the filmmakers have found more ingenious ways of creating Native American imagery and have abandoned this relatively outdated way of cinematic representation.

Internal Representation

This mode is employed in the films that depict Native Americans more or less from their own perspectives or at least try to present a Native American reality professedly without resorting to clichés and representation made by the dominant culture. This mode is not restricted to Native American filmmakers and it also includes many films that attempt at presenting a perspective that might be considered alternative to the external mode of representation. In this mode, the Native Americans are depicted from the point of view of an insider, mostly from that of a white Anglo-Saxon American but sometimes by one with supposedly greater insight into the Native American culture and society. A common technique used in this mode is the narrator who starts as an outsider and finds himself in circumstances that force him to become acquainted with Native American society and life. While relying on the imagery layer heavily again, this mode at least appears to be more constructive towards the formation of a Native American image as an alternative culture. Hence, the films made in this mode supposedly reflect the change in the point of view towards the Native Americans, or

life, people and the past as seen through their eyes. Nevertheless, what is interesting and ideological about this mode is the fact that it can present a totally subversive message. While seemingly presenting a more positive image of the Native American, this mode of representation leads the viewer to other less recognizable pitfalls that are potentially more damaging. As external representation made use of the good Indian for commercial purposes, these films present Native Americans as an endangered species, not a threat towards the white culture to be protected just like the panda (or buffalo would be a more appropriate example); no longer a threat but an element of cultural richness which must still be kept alive. By creating another sort of romantic image, in direct contrast to the external depiction of the Native American, this mode presents, in many cases, a victimized Native American, who becomes further removed from the reality and a more easily marketable product for cultural consumption. The change from the good white vs. the evil Indian to the victimized Native vs. the morally evil white presented in these films does not seem to serve for any change or development of cross-cultural perception. In contrast, the victimization process makes the process more commercial, making it harder to perceive the Native American reality. In other words, while the internal representation mode is a relative development over the external, because of it, as Michael Riley concludes, now Native Americans are not only trapped by history, "but are forever trapped in the history of film" (Rollins 6). While individual examples existed earlier, it was the 1970s that witnessed the change in this mode of representation. In an age when minorities made their voices heard and people were becoming politically more active and even militant while demanding their rights, filmmakers can no longer portray any minority the way they used to do. Furthermore, the Vietnam War and its perception by the American public also had repercussions in filmmaking and led to a reevaluation of the American past taking into consideration the Native American experience. To provide material to the market, films with similar themes and perspectives emerged and new techniques were required, which resulted in the change of mode rather than a change in the status of the natives.

Thanks to the internal mode of representation, Native Americans are no longer the savages eyeing the white folks' stagecoaches from the tops of the hills but now they have names, faces and some depth of character. In this mode, there are two basic story lines. In

the first, an outsider, a white man finds himself in a Native American community for some reason and he gains insight into the then so-called savage way of life. As the story progresses, he becomes not only one of them, but also a hero among them as he gains recognition. The second type of narrative is more daring; the central character is a Native American and the audience is asked to empathize with him and see the world through his eyes. In the first story type, there are films like *Soldier Blue* (1970), *A Man Called Horse* (1970), *Little Big Man* (1970) and *Dances with Wolves* (1990).

A Man Called Horse (1970) narrates the story of an English aristocrat (acted by Richard Harris) who is kidnapped, tortured, humiliated and held as a hostage by a native tribe. To further insult him, the natives call him Horse and give him to their children to play. As time passes, Horse gets used to the ways of the Native American tribe and not only begins to dress like them but also adopts their behavior to survive. He fights with a man and kills him only to find that he must scalp the man in accordance with the ways of the tribe. He later takes part in the Ceremony of the Sun (better known as the Sun Dance), a very lengthy and painful ritual, after which Horse becomes the tribe's leader. Nevertheless, the filmmakers make him leave his tribe by making whites attack the tribe and kill his Indian wife (acted by a non-Native female character again). He thus has to go back to his white lifestyle -- a testament to the fact that filmmakers did not know what to do with a white leader in a native tribe, which is a problem repeatedly seen in similar films. Yet, following a significant box office success, two sequels followed; *The Return of A Man Called Horse* (1976) and *Triumphs Of A Man Called Horse* (1982). The idea of making the white man the leader of the natives seems to have found its target audience and the studios wanted to exploit the method. *A Man Called Horse* is a quite fitting example of how "making the Indian look good in films" does good only to the white man.

Little Big Man (1970) is another film that followed the same formula. Blended with visual and intellectual humor, *Little Big Man* presented the main character Jack Crabb (acted by Dustin Hoffman), who was adopted and raised by Native Americans and has difficulty readapting to the ways of the white folk. Not being able to make it among the white culture, Little Big Man continuously comes back to the native community but cannot help witnessing their slow but sure collapse. While Crabb provides interesting commentary into the lives

and troubles of the Native Americans, he himself has a morally ambiguous position within the narrative; he is a cheater and keeps changing his identity between the white and the Indian to get away from the thick of the trouble. The insider is thus not somebody who has learned the ways of the natives but also someone who betrays them. While the film may be referred to as one of the most anti-establishment films, it was more a reaction towards the Vietnam War and the killing of Asians rather than the historic incident of the massacres of Native Americans. In other words, the filmmaker's usage of Native American motifs was more an allusion to the American involvement in Vietnam than a historic reevaluation of the Westward Movement, leading some scholars to call films like *Soldier Blue* and *Little Big Man* as "covert Vietnam films" (Basinger and Arnold, 192).

In the final scene, the Little Big Man accompanies his Indian grandfather and mentor to his death ritual. The Indian character Old Lodge Skins (acted by Chief Dan George) gives a long sermon on what death means for a native and offers his soul to the Great Spirit but fails to die on that specific day saying, "Sometimes the magic works, sometimes doesn't" (02:13:40). The humorous aspect of the scene seems to create the impression that Native Americans are not mystical creatures with special bonds with the supernatural. However, the director Arthur Penn's own words in an interview signify that the preference to make the Chief live rather than die, as was the case in the original novel written by Thomas Berger, was due to his own directorial preference for narrative style:

> We thought long and hard about this and in the first draft of the script [the Indian Chief] does die, but this death would have introduced an element of sadness into the film and we didn't want this. The film would have become dramatic, even melodramatic, instead of being picaresque. I also wanted to show that not only were the Indians going to be destroyed, but they were also condemned to live. On the whole, audiences like their entertainment dramatically compact and homogenous, but I want the opposite. A film should remain free and open, not with everything defined and resolved. (84)

Penn's seemingly critical attitude towards America was, more or less, an attempt to create a different narrative among other films.

Little Big Man, despite all these, can still be considered one of the most positive films that came closest to presenting a different point of view. Penn further added "The history of this country is the story of a nation destroying communities on the one hand and on the other re-creating them and letting new ones evolve. This is why we can't lose all hope for the future" (84). This ambiguous commentary seems to support the view that the destruction of the native, however unjust and barbaric it may have been, was like a constructive destruction. Hence, the justification of destruction, with the hope that it will lead to the emergence of a new society and the formation of new communities, becomes equally political as both the film and the director's comments leave one question unanswered, "Who will make up the new society that we hope for?" The recreation of the Native American not only sounds ideologically manipulative but it also makes the issue of rebirth more romantic and abstract. Therefore, the demise of the Native American is once more glorified and the martyred Indian is given the solace that his Phoenix-like reemergence will be within the new American society, not against it. As Prats observes, "America, the Western tells us, comes into being when the Indian is out of the way," and adds, "Perhaps the ambiguity explains why the Indian is the Western's everlasting revenant: the Western had to save the Indian so that it could destroy him" (10).

Despite Hollywood's attempt to rectify its image, Indians in the leading roles were continued to be played by non-Indians except for *House Made of Dawn* (1987) and *The White Dawn* (1985). Jojola says: "This … guaranteed that a movie cast by and about Native Americans was a losing investment" (Rollins 14). Name recognition was necessary for success in Hollywood and this revised Indian activism reached a bizarre level in *The Legend of Walks Far Woman* (1984) starring buxom Raquel Welch as a legendary Sioux woman warrior. Only in 1989, with *Powwow Highway*, Indians played by Indians was accepted by Hollywood as a successful technique for the first time.

Then came *Dances with Wolves* (1990), winner of seven Oscar Awards and almost a remake of *Little Big Man* (1970). Both films depicted Lakota and Cheyenne as heroic tribes fighting against the US Cavalry and Pawnees. Yet, unlike *Little Big Man*, which had a Vietnam era anti-militaristic message, *Dances with Wolves* had no remarkable "redeeming social merits" (Rollins, 17) and it was indeed apolitical and made use of the New Age concepts of universal peace and Mother

Earth. Thanks to its commercial success, it led to the emergence of another wave of Indian sympathy films. Nevertheless, as Jojola asserts, "these were as surreal and bizarre as a Salvador Dali painting" (Rollins 17). *Dances with Wolves* was instrumental, maybe much more than *Little Big Man*, in the Native American films becoming more and more commercialized with further transformation of the image of Native Americans into promotional material. Having found a new image to sell, in the 1990s, Hollywood continued to rely on mythmaking with Native American characters becoming gentler and kinder mystic chiefs instead of true to life Indians. *The Last of the Mohicans* (1992) is a very good example of what Hollywood can do to a potentially illuminating story: To fuse fact with fiction; "The fact was supplied by Native American consultants, the fiction by James Fenimore Cooper" (Rollins 18). The film turned Cooper's frontier story into a love story, in other words Hollywoodized it, and the last Mohican was there to add a melodramatic overtone instead of any information that illuminates the audience about what actually happened to many Native American tribes and cultures. All these films were indeed nothing but Hollywood's multicultural love affair. In the age of multiculturalism, the Indian sells and at the turn of the century, the market expressed its demand for victimized Indian stories. None of these films depicted the most pressing issues in the Native American communities and the most important problems for them, such as substance abuse and alcoholism, school desertions, fragmented families and problems regarding school curriculum ("Native American Issue Today"). Instead, these films presented a polished face over the Native American community, transforming it into a nonrealistic social entity.

As for the films that relied on the Native American protagonist, they fared much better in this regard. Films like *Smoke Signals* (1988) and TV series like *Northern Exposure* (1990-95) may have portrayed Native American communities with all their problems but they were few in number and could not help but sentimentalize their subject matter. The primary native characters presented in these films are naïve adolescents and have many comic aspects, which are not necessarily negative qualities themselves. Actually, as Vine Deloria Jr. observed, humor is a very vital element of Native American life: "Indians have found a humorous side of nearly every problem and the experiences of life have generally been so well defined through jokes and stories that they have become a thing in themselves" (39). Interestingly, these qualities, while making the characters more sympathetic for the audience, result in their being

painted on the screen as less than intelligent human beings. Despite the acceptance of the grotesqueness and absurdities of the closed and small community whose pitfalls and destructiveness have been depicted many times over in the American canon, the natives, not being able to make it in the big city, keep coming back to the reservation, the only place where they can survive as they are. Within the closed sphere of the reservation, the native character is invited to enjoy and take pride in the brave ancestors who fought against the white man while they are depicted to have completely accepted the American way of life in their daily lives. The resistance issue is no longer practical and the struggle for an Indian cause has been a thing of the past or not very different from the acts of any other ethnic group to become more visible within the American mosaic. The native movement seems to have taken its place among street parades and demonstrations that are so common in American life that at times they become a part of daily life and less perceptible during the daily rush. This attitude, the crippling of the native cause by forcing it to take place within the vagaries of the legal system, limitation of the few survivors to the reservation while the accompanying depiction of the reservation as a place which is not for the mentally stable, shows that the native has come to rest on the assumption that the battle has been lost against the white man's possession of the native image in his films. The Indian, who just began to depict himself in his own films can only depict a struggling race under the overwhelming influence of the mainstream popular culture. Thus, the place for the Indian to reach success is in things like playing basketball while getting aspiration from his brave ancestors, being a brave soldier in the American military while claiming that he has a long history of warriors is the ultimate deflection of a culture's own values and its being put to the service of commercial processes. *Smoke Signals*, the first film, written, acted and even produced by Native Americans seems to be the only film that comes closest to depicting a Native American reality that makes use of Native American humor as "the cement by which the … Indian movement is held together" (DeLoria 53).

Representation by Proxy

This approach is the most interesting one not because it treats the Native Americans better, but because of the ingenuity in the methodology it utilizes in their representation. In this mode, the imagery layer has been reduced to a minimum and in many respects it may even be impossible to recognize the Native Americans as they are only

depicted by the imagery. Yet, what has taken over is the formula layer; that is, in these films the Native Americans do not appear as themselves, but are represented by proxies; in other words, by still *others* that symbolize and correspond to a certain culture and its value system. In other words, the proxy makes the native twice removed from his present state and transforms it into a being which is absolutely removed from the reality of the present world. Hollywood uses these proxies to make use of the commodity of the noble savage who lives in nature and under the threat of imperialistic forces to market it into less perceptible masses. To put it bluntly, this mode is what many members of the audience discovered saying, "those bluish creatures in *Avatar* are actually Indians!" The change is most visible in the change from the Western to Science Fiction as the popular genre that depicts the white man's adventures in hostile land. Actually, many films especially in the Science Fiction genre utilize this approach and thus provide indirect commentary on the Native American experience. These depictions ultimately remove the Native Americans from their direct historical condition and turn them into cartoonish or animated proxy figures who might still represent the Native Americans, but also, who have surrendered to a commercial process without staining the conscience of the white man, providing him with good white protagonists to identify with while at the same time putting the blame on the bad characters who caused all the destruction and massacres. The "alienation of the Native American" in his own land is the final step that is taken in Hollywood to further profit from the native imagery in an environmentally conscious consumer market. Removed from historic experience, Native Americans have completely become a commodity to be redesigned, repainted, reanimated and remarketed in different guises in processes beyond their control. Now, the natives cannot even protest the depiction of their ancestors because there is no nominal, historical and legal proof that these are -or were- the Native Americans of the old West. This mode presents a homogenized picture of the diverse indigenous cultures, blending them all into a "feathered bunch" who love nature and have the ability to form mystical connections with it. The individual identities and differences of Native Americans have been reduced to a monolithic mystical culture and thus their role in American history has been distorted. The proxies that the white man encounters in his further voyages into *terra incognita* are the embodiment of a strange amalgamation of the romantic qualities -good or bad- that the supposedly real Indians used to carry.

It appears that some examples in this mode of imagery that may not directly conform to the Native American imagery. Nevertheless, the formula layer makes it clear that the main issue is not what the proxies look like but what they stand for. Sometimes, these creatures are depicted as Native Americans, as in the case of *Star Trek: Voyager*, easy to identify but most of the time they were other types of non-human beings; aliens, extraterrestrials, other races and those who are "different" in one sense or another. They have certain things in common that define their culture: They live in harmony with nature, most of the time in the forest and have special ties with their environment. On occasion, directly or indirectly, they state that they consider themselves not as the owners of the land and nature but rather a part of it. The superficial romantic portrayal seems to be the most idiosyncratic quality of science fiction's creation of others that are the alternative to materialistic conquest, without providing any acceptably true solution to the very same issue in the USA.

For instance, *Star Wars: Episode I: The Phantom Menace* (1999) takes place on a planet called Naboo, in a galactic system that is in turmoil like the old West and located in the outer rim, just like a frontier town caught in lawlessness and waiting for noble and brave rescuers. The planet's Edenic landscape is inhabited by two sentient races, the humanoids; that is the aristocratic whites, and the Gungans, the underwater and forest dwellers that are friendly but at the same time "great warriors and riders," wearing feathers, carrying shields and fighting with spears and arrows against the invading imperialistic drone army that is after their land. They have sacred places in the forest where they go when in distress and boast about never surrendering to any authority. The filmmakers, George Lucas in this case, chose these not as a coincidence in an age of ecology and environmentalism. As the Star Wars paraphernalia has shown, from the very start Gungans were modeled on Native Americans, but not the Native Americans living in the USA today, but on the Native American as the image or the proxy presented as the nature warrior, a restoration of the noble savage in space. The Imperial Army, paradoxically, destroys the land they are trying to capture, quite possibly trying to make it unlivable for the creatures on it. Hence, "the inhuman" practices of the Imperial Army against "the humanitarian" natives serve as the basis of the moral conflict and the natives become victorious at the end. Nevertheless, the victory of the Gungans has no meaning for the Indian living on the reservation today.

In the *Star Trek*s series of films, as well, many aliens encountered in different star systems depict the same qualities, such as being warriors on the run, having strict social and/or communal rules instead of a legal codex and wearing clothes unusually similar to Native American clothing. Even the iconic Mr. Spock has interesting similarities to Chingachkook of *Last of the Mohicans;* he is also the last of his race as his home planet Vulkan has exploded. In one episode of *Star Trek: Voyager* (1996), the crew of the Voyager is stranded on a primitive planet and continuously refers to the planet's native population as "the aliens." The audience is invited to perceive the others as alien and different, even though they are the indigenous population of an area the protagonists happen to visit. Thus, the audience is invited to choose their sides in any potential future conflict; the unfamiliarity is enough to consider the natives as hostile. The estrangement makes the underlying moral questions irrelevant, such as "what right do we have to be there, even if we claim to ourselves that our intentions are good?" Science Fiction or space westerns do reiterate the basic argument of the white man with slightly different terminology and in better (or maybe funnier) looking shapes: "We are good people and we have a right to be here." The Manifest Destiny of the frontier era has been replaced with the drive for scientific exploration that results in a complete distortion and reversal of historical reality that seems to justify intergalactic conquest.

Lastly, *Avatar* (2009), which was marketed with hype such as "a revolution in the history of filmmaking" and "nothing will be the same from now on" in its trailers, has once again proven that almost nothing has changed and the future will be the same unless somebody does something about it. The symbolic symbiosis of the planet in the film and its heavenly peaceful inhabitants, the Na'vi, who worship a mother goddess and have dreamwalking warriors among them, are angelic missionaries for the environmentally-conditioned global eco-genteel market wrapped in noble savage attire. The absurdity of the very existence of such a humanoid race is apparent by the fact that they are presented as warriors on a planet where there is no other race to fight against. Disregarding reason, the blockbuster focused on the peace brought by the unification with nature and the group meditation reminiscent of mass rituals of indigenous peoples around the world. As the main argument presented to the audience, the mystification of life vs. the cruelty of materialistic possession is seriously in conflict with

a film which at the same time claims to be one of the most expensive productions Hollywood has ever made, grossing more than 2 billion US dollars.

As a conclusion, the three modes of representation outlined here are, as this study tried to portray, are nothing more than basically marketing strategies that recreate and reinstate the image of American indigenous peoples. The change from one mode to another appears to be a response to the demands of the market and Hollywood seems to be making an art and science of this pragmatic shift between modes of thinking for material gain and ideological superiority. As the image of the Native American continues to be shaped by the hands whose motives are fundamentally different from the natives, it is unlikely that the image will depict historical reality and cause any change for the good. Nor is it likely that the Native American filmmakers, who resort to using the very same methods utilized by Hollywood in an attempt to depict their status, will witness any development in that status. History has shown that commercialization has but one aim and once this aim is made the objective of a filmic narrative, which, due to its nature, is very prone to be abused for material pursuit, the result will be equally destructive and will render the Native American problem eternally insoluble. At the same time, it is likely that Hollywood's primary aim is to keep its status as the determining force of the meaning and control of images and continue to find novel means to make use of this subject material. This ideological aspect, that is the maintenance of a status quo, as practiced by Hollywood may not be as clear as keeping, buying and selling slaves and call the process "the white man's burden," but nevertheless is no less unethical.

Notes

[1] The quotation is from a personally observed anecdote.

[2] In the 1890s, it was the German writer Karl May who wrote about the adventures of a fictional Native American character called Winnetou through the eyes of his German blood brother Old Shatterhand. The popularity of May's novels not only sparked an interest in Europe towards the Native Americans but also became the source of inspiration for a series of movies made between 1920s and late 1960s.

[3] As a genre, the American Western has its own set of conventions, practices and norms and not every single Western included a Native American character.

[4] The alternative title of the film is *Red Kit Daltonlar'a Karşı*. The film is an adaptation of the animation *Lucky Luke: Daisy Town* (1971, dir. René Goscinny).

[5] It must here be noted that the depiction of the Native Americans in Turkish films is not limited to the negative portrayal reminiscent of the US-made Westerns. There are various examples in which the Native American was depicted as the social outcast and even revolutionary. Such films worthy of attention are *Kovboy Ali* (1966, dir. Yılmaz Atadeniz) and *Yedi Belalılar* (1970, dir. İrfan Atasoy) both starring Yılmaz Güney. Quite possibly due to his own political views and experiences, Güney, who also wrote the script for *Yedi Belalılar*, chose to act on the side of the Native Americans, forming a striking parallelism between the revolutionary-socialist cause in the late 60s in Turkey and the Native American condition of the old West. Nevertheless, the Native American imagery used in these films is again limited to visual layers.

[6] While a great number of films in this category were made by non-Native Americans, there are a number of films in which Native Americans took part as scriptwriters or producers/directors. Nevertheless, this does not change the fact that the way the these films were made still adopted an outsider's perspective. The reason why such films adopted an exterior gaze may be due to commercial/market expectations and this also shows that such motives led even some Native Americans to internalize the type of perspective imposed by the dominant culture.

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Book Review

Meldan Tanrısal

Dialogism or Interconnectedness in the Work of Louise Erdrich. Lysik, Marta J. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017. ISBN: 978-1-4438-8607-9, 195 pp.

Dialogism or Interconnectedness in the Work of Louise Erdrich, by Polish scholar Marta Lysik, is a profound investigation of Louise Erdrich's writing. The title explains the essence of the detailed, six-chapter book: Mikhail Bakhtin's dialogism, that is, interconnectedness, as seen in Erdrich's selected works. In the introduction, Lysik states: "This study is not a veiled biographical project, but an attempt to view the selected literary works as one entity while paying attention to its singular elements, among them the writer's insights into the processes of writing and reading" (2). Lysik informs the reader about the writer's life and her relationship with her husband—specifically their collaboration and failed marriage—but that is kept to a minimum, as she concentrates on Erdrich's practices of reading, writing, co-writing, and rewriting her works, which she analyzes thoroughly as a single entity.

The first chapter, "Compost Pile and Temporary Storage: Dialogism in Louise Erdrich's *The Last Report on the Miracles at Little No Horse,*" explicates Bakhtin's theory of dialogism and demonstrates how Erdrich applies it to this novel. The mosaic-like quality of Erdrich's novels is emphasized and attention is drawn to the fact that even the published book is not the final version, for she often chooses to rewrite or edit her books.

In the second chapter, "A Portrait of the Artist(s): The Erdrich-Dorris Partnership," Lysik recounts how their relationship

evolved into a partnership. Michael Dorris was Erdrich's teacher, husband, editor, and literary agent. This is the only chapter where the reader is given a brief view of their lives, focusing on their collaboration in the writing of novels such as *The Crown of Columbus*, which they co-authored. After Dorris passed away in 1997, readers doubted whether Erdrich would be able to write without him, but she defied sceptics and continued to write. Lysik reveals interesting aspects of the Erdrich-Dorris relationship. A later interview with Erdrich tells a different story about their work and life together.

The third chapter, "A Case Study of Three Editions of *Love Medicine* (1984, 1993, 2009) and Two Editions of *The Antelope Wife* (1998, 2012)," pursues dialogism in the three versions of *Love Medicine* and the two versions of *The Antelope Wife* by illustrating the changes Erdrich made in the rewriting of the novels. Erdrich gained widespread recognition with *Love Medicine* (1984), her debut novel that received several prizes. She continued to revise and expand the novel, and new editions were published in 1993 and 2003. This chapter carefully details the alterations Erdrich made to both novels.

In the fourth chapter, "'Nursing a Baby while Holding a Pen': Ink & Milk; Writing, Reading & Motherhood; Production and Re-production," Lysik analyzes Erdrich's two memoirs, *The Blue Jay's Dance* and *Books and Islands in Ojibwe Country,* and explores the difficulties of being a mother and a writer at the same time. Nevertheless, for Erdrich, "writing, reading, parenting, domestic rituals and nature are entwined" (120).

The fifth chapter, "A Tetralogy, or One Long Book?," studies the structural and narrative characteristics of the texts in Erdrich's North Dakota tetralogy—that is, *Love Medicine*, *The Beet Queen*, *Tracks*, and *The Bingo Palace*—which turned into "one long book," as the renowned author describes it. *Tales of Burning Love*, *The Painted Drum*, and *The Last Report on the Miracles at Little No Horse*, and other books in the series (*The Master Butchers Singing Club*, *The Plagues of Doves*, *The Round House*, and *La Rose*) are all interconnected, and Lysik also examines them according to their themes.

The sixth and final chapter, "'Equivalence in Difference?' Dialogic Acts of Translation in *The Last Report on the Miracles at Little No Horse,*" concentrates on the novel while asserting that dialogism renders translation "dialogic traffic."

Each chapter contains subdivisions with short sections and (with the exception of chapter two) also a conclusion. At the end of *Dialogism or Interconnectedness in the Work of Louise Erdrich*, there is a "Coda," which means tail in Italian, summarizing how Erdrich deploys Bakhtin's theory of dialogism. Understandably, Lysik does not refer to Erdrich's latest works, *Future Home of the Living God* (2017) and *The Night Watchman* (2020), since they were published too recently to be included in her analysis. Nevertheless, Erdrich's hallmark dialogic literary style is studied extensively in this well-researched book and is an excellent illustration of the fact that "Storytelling is an ongoing process." While Lysik's style is conversational and informal at times, it displays the necessary level of academic rigor. Thus, *Dialogism or Interconnectedness in the Work of Louise Erdrich* is a meticulous study of Erdrich's works and is positioned to be a major contribution to the field.

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On the Trail of Sitting Bull: A Documentary Film on the Lakota of Today

Ece Soydam

When asked what they would want people in Turkey to know about the Lakota, most of the Lakota interviewed answered: "*That we are alive!*"

That indeed was the main objective of the one-part documentary film produced by the public television of Turkey, TRT. As the title of the documentary *On the Trail of Sitting Bull* suggests, the film is about the renowned Lakota leader Sitting Bull and how his descendants lived in the 21st century.

The filming locations were in North and South Dakota, covering two of the major reservations in the area, Pine Ridge and Standing Rock. The 26-day filming trip took place in July-August 2009 and 12 people were interviewed, in addition to the on-location shootings of many different places and activities.

There were five main questions that were addressed in the interviews made for the documentary: the Bering Strait Theory, Assimilation, Racism, Genocide and Hopes for the Future. These were not the only questions asked and many more issues were covered in the interviews depending on the person interviewed. Some of the topics were land claims, the Wounded Knee massacre, freedom of religion, the boarding school experience, living on the reservation, humor and contemporary art. The five topics selected for this review are considered to be the main issues concerning the past and present lives of the Lakota. They are also the issues that the Turkish audience might be most interested in, but also misinformed about.

Finally, it is important to remind the audience, or the reader in this case, that the main objective of the documentary is not to make judgements, but to hear what the Lakota think about certain issues.

Bering Strait Theory

The Turkish public's knowledge of Native Americans is limited to the old Hollywood movies and comic books. Interestingly, despite the rather negative stereotypes in these "sources of information," Turkish people generally have quite a positive view of Native Americans. Today, thanks to the internet, people who are interested in the Native cultures and peoples can get more information on their history and current living conditions. Most of the time, Turks consider Native Americans as "distant relatives." Many people in Turkey believe that Turks and the native peoples of the Americas are related.

Some of the possible reasons for such feelings of kinship are the shamanic background of Turkish culture; similarities in material culture, including figures and designs on rugs; and clothes and physical appearence. Although the physical characteristics of Turks vary according to region and ethnic background, some Turks believe they look like Native Americans, with high cheek bones and similar complexions.

However, the larger public in Turkey seems not to be aware that there are many different nations of Native Americans. The Plains Indians, being the best-known Native American image of Hollywood, are the Indians that Turks identify with the most.

The first question asked to the Native people interviewed was what they thought about the Bering Strait theory. Ron His-Horse-Is-Thunder, a descendant of Sitting Bull and chairman of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe between 2005-2009 answers:

The whole theory about Bering Strait, is that we migrated across, I guess it is contrary to every creation story that we as Native Americans have. There is not one tribe or a nation of Indian nations that believes that they came across the Bering Strait… And so they tell us we came across the Bering Strait? Well no, we didn't. We don't believe so.

Elizabeth Cook-Lynn, a writer and a poet and a member of the Crow Creek Sioux Tribe, has similar opinions:

It has nothing at all to do with the origin stories of the native people of this continent. So I presume it's a story made by scientists or anthropologists or some people who consider themselves scholars. It has nothing, nothing at all to say to Dakotas and Lakotas… There are lots and lots of creation stories in North America, told by indigenous people all over North America and I don't know a single one of them that suggests that we came across the Bering Strait. I find "that" kind of revealing. Wouldn't we remember that?

LaDonna Brave Bull Allard, the Standing Rock Tribal Tourism Coordinator for the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe comments:

We do know that the people in Alaska and Northern Canada and the people in Northern Siberia are the same people and they have always been, they have always had a trade network. We understand that. But we are not like them… The oldest remains we have of our people are in South America. So if our oldest people are in South America and not in the north, it just doesn't even make sense… We all believe we come from the south. Our oral stories tell us we come from the south.

I really have issues with the Bering Strait Theory, because it's another example of archaeological evidence that says we don't belong here, that the Americans had a right to come in and take our country because we don't belong here. We belong here. We have been made from this soil.

Joseph McNeil Junior, also a descendant of Sitting Bull and a member of the Standing Rock Tribal Government argues:

They say long time ago earth was pangea*, all the continents were connected at one point and I believe at one point we were. And that's why you have some similarities between Central America and Egypt… If there was a split, there was a split of thought as well. And even though that may be centuries and ions ago, those relationships still exist. Trades still existed. People did a lot of things in little papyrus boats, travelled all around the world from China, from the East travelling over here to the West Coast… That occurred and there is proof of that, but is it going to be glorified and announced and advertised like a discovery from Caucasian America or European America? Those*

things when they discover that, it is a great discovery, it is a great find but if something happens with us, that can be disputed... You know, we can tear that apart. But those things they discover about themselves are fact. Those things that are discovered about us can be speculated upon because they want to attain and maintain a proprietorship of this country.

Assimilation

Assimilation of the Native peoples of North America by the American state is one of the subjects that the Turkish public might be most misinformed about. There is a common belief that the Natives who do not live as they did in the 18th century are assimilated and have lost their identity. People expect to find what they see in movies. Seeing Native people in cars, in cities, or in western clothes make their "spectators" disappointed. Vine Deloria says in his famous book *Custer Died for Your Sins* (1969: 9):

People can tell just by looking at us what we want, what should be done to help us, how we feel and what a "real" Indian is really like. Indian life, as it relates to the real world, is a continuous attempt not to disappoint people who know us. Unfulfilled expectations cause grief and we have already had our share.

Because people can see right through us, it becomes impossible to tell truth from fiction or fact from mythology. Experts paint us as they would like us to be. Often we paint ourselves as we wish we were or as we might have been.

No one questions how the English language is adapted in store names or brand names in Turkey, or even in the daily language to a certain extent. Turkish people, or any other people in the world, no matter what their culture is, can listen to rap music, rock music, made use of all the opportunities of technology, can wear anything they want in their daily lives. Yet, Native Americans are often expected to continue a life style of many centuries ago. If they don't do so, they are often looked upon as "apples" - red outside, but white inside. It is extremely important for people to understand that the Native Americans living in the 21st century have a right to adapt.

The Lakota views on assimilation:

Believe it or not people still ask; do you still live in tepees? Still, still ask this question. Do you still live in tepees? Are you related to Crazy Horse? Are you related to Sitting Bull? Are you related to so and so? You know, it's not something you would ask a black person or white person. Are you related to George Washington? You know, are you really from… Can I see your pedigree papers to prove you're white? Oh, I've got a little bit of white in me you know. No. But still those questions are asked, those things are still said.

Joseph McNeil Junior

Are we assimilated so much that we stopped becoming Indians? No. As long as we have the language, as long as language is intact, you still have your culture. So yes, I wear buttoned-up shirts and I wear cowboy boots and blue jeans and I drive a car. Am I assimilated? Well, I've adapted some of those, some of the things from the environment around me but have I stopped becoming Indian? No, I haven't stopped becoming Indian. Inside that's who I am.

Ron His-Horse-Is-Thunder

I think the government's original policy of assimilation, "to make us like them" failed in the United States. All we did was take parts of what we thought was good for us and left the rest. Back to what Sitting Bull told us what to do is, "learn all you can, take the good and leave the bad." Because assimilation is taking everything here (showing her heart) *and placing it over there and trying to be something you are not.*

Assimilation happened but it failed. So for me, we are adapting. It's a whole different concept; we are adapting to the environment around us, still being who you are, still being Lakota, still walking with pride of our people with our relatives and our ancestors right beside us, still being able to pray, still being able to go to our ceremonies, still being able to love this earth and yet still walk with our cell phones and our televisions and our computers. Because we adapt. Indian people have always been adaptable people.

LaDonna Brave Bull Allard

Assimilation is, as I define it, is the complete absorption of one culture by another. That's the way I define it. I don't think that has happened and I don't think it is going to happen… The fact that I don't live on the reservation, that I have an education and have taught everywhere and live in a decent house that's paid for, is I suppose, for some people, an indication that I have assimilated, that I have been absorbed by America. It's hard to say and define how it is that one lives in a broader community and yet is not a part of that community.

Of course America is the great assimilator. You know, it assimilates everything, everybody. That's what it does. You go to Iraq and you've got the United States writing a constitution for Iraq. That's what America does, whether they want America to do it or whether they don't.

Elizabeth Cook-Lynn

Racism

Most people see racism as something of the past. That is unfortunately not the case. One of the objectives of the documentary was to show the difficulties Native people face today, especially to a Turkish audience who do not know much about the present life of the Native people.

I think America is based on racism. I think that where we live, South Dakota, is one of the most racist states against Indians that I know of. And racism is something that is learned and it is part of history, too. When you consider that Lakotas and Dakotas and the Sioux Nation fought for forty years, fought hard wars for forty years against white people, against white invaders, it's no wonder that there is racism. And so there is a lot of just emotional racism that goes on. My problem with it is that when we define racism we very seldom say that it takes acts in order for racism to thrive. And in this town there are hate crimes, in this town it is difficult to get a job, in this town Indians are insulted on the streets everyday and that's ironic because if there is any place that we belong, it's here, here in our country.

Elizabeth Cook-Lynn

It still occurs, yes it does. Not as blatantly as it did twenty years ago, thirty years ago, hundred years ago, no, but there are still racist attitudes in America. It depends a lot on how close you live to another group of people as to whether or not they are going to be prejudiced towards you. If they live right next to you and compete with you for the same jobs, yeah, they're going to be prejudiced. But, I as an Indian can go to, let's say some place in America where they don't have lots of Indians, let's go to, gee where would that be, let's go to Ohio where there are hardly any Indians at all and you won't experience racism like I do here in North Dakota, like I do here in South Dakota. You won't experience the level of racism because they won't see you as a threat but if there was a large population of Indians in Ohio, yeah there would be some open racism. And so today there is still open racism in this part of the country, yes.

Ron His-Horse-Is-Thunder

We still live on reservations with different laws and rules than other people do. We still have to tolerate and try to survive and make success out of living under a federal system of laws. We have different laws. If you as a non-Indian attack me there is a different law. If I, as an Indian attack you there is a different law. If an Indian and Indian attack each other there is a different law for that. It's all broken like this.

And we're going to give you laws that's going to address you so you can get some sense of justice but not the same justice that white people get. Because we are superior, we are going to have dominance over you. So if I hurt you my sentence will be greater; if you hurt me you might still be able to get out, you might still be able to make it, have success, because the government wants you to succeed. Whereas the government wants me to stay in my place or to be put away. This still exists, these laws still exist.

The United States is reaching out to Darfur, is reaching out to Somalia, is reaching out to Bosnia, is reaching out to many other places around the world, trying to seek a civil justice. Where is our justice here? Where are our rights to be equal here? Where are our rights to be treated by the same law, the same way here?

(Racism) is not something that we wish would go away, it is something that must go away.

Joseph McNeil Junior

Genocide

Another issue that was addressed in the documentary was related to the genocide of the Native peoples of the Americas. It is difficult to understand why this issue is not addressed much in the international political arena and the killing of millions of Native peoples in the Americas is considered just as history, except for some minor efforts to make it officially recognized. It is even less of an issue that the genocide of Native peoples is not just physical, but also cultural. Some of the statements in the interviews are:

There is no interest in American historiography to talk about America's genocide of Indians, of indigenous people. America simply does not accept its role as a genocidal nation. It has been asked to do that and in fact some of the discussion that went on during the Vietnam War suggested that America might be able to see its own history in some kind of reality, but that didn't come about. So America is, as yet to say that it is a nation based in genocide. It's unfortunate that reality is, it's probably going to continue… The effort to rid America of its indigenous people is well documented. It's just not in the public arena; it's not in the schools, it's not in the public academic world.

Elizabeth Cook-Lynn

It's never been addressed in the manner that it was addressed with Jews, the Jewish people per se, the Holocaust that occurred over there. Ours is only two hundred years ago and still exists today.

Everyone thinks they know everything there is about Indian people, but they don't. When every piece of land you drive on here is paid with our blood, there should be at least respect given and honour to these people, to our people all over this country, for what we were forced to do.

On the backs of slaves, on the backs of African American and

Indian people, what this country was made upon, our industrial great supremacy was based upon. We are a world power based on slavery and thievery and that needs to be recognized. This land was taken, this land was not earned. So this great American value that, "you can go out, you can do it, you can earn it," it's a fallacy! Because this land was, how did I say it, "Land of the thief, home of the slave" instead of saying "Land of the free, home of the brave." We look back at our history and we see these things. We are brave and free people, as Americans we are and I love this country. But this country must recognize its own history and make some kind of retribution for that.

Joseph McNeil Junior

Hopes for the Future

As stated in the very first paragraphs, the main objective of the documentary was to show the Turkish audience that the Native peoples of North America "are still alive." One nation, the Lakota, was chosen as a symbolic example of Native people in general and it was quite exciting to hear that our objective was the same as that of the Lakota who accepted giving us interviews. They just wanted our Turkish audience to know that the Lakota was not a nation of the past, but a living one. They were concerned, but also hopeful about the future. Their thoughts and wishes about the future are:

Well, I wish that we could live on our land and that our young people didn't have to grow up in Denver and Los Angeles and Rapid City. And I wish that… they could be educated people and…. I wish that we could be Indians. I wish that my kids could be Lakotas and my grandchildren, too. And when you look at what goes on in the world, you recognize that, that's getting less and less and less of a possibility, you know. People of my age will talk the language but young people don't... I really think that being able to live on your land where you are and where your relatives have always lived is an important thing. But the likelihood is that my children will grow up in some city, my grandchildren will grow up in Cincinnati you know, and not know who they are. That is the fear of everybody who's my age I think, and that is the final insult of America toward us as indigenous people, you know…

I have nothing to complain about really as a person in this

world. But how the tribes are going to survive is a whole different issue. How tribal nations are going to survive the 21st century is a whole different issue. And if we think that it is clinging to casinos, we're all crazy, cause that's not it. But I do think that we have a lot of good leadership and we have a lot of good people who are working everyday to make it possible for us to survive. And… survive what? Survive America, that's what we're trying to do. Survive America.

There's a lot of discussion about pre-America days that we were just kind of savages in the wilderness. What I would like people to know is that, that is a vicious lie, that we were nations of people and there are still three or four hundred nations of people who live here on the land that is primordial, that there is a primordial world in the land that we possess.

Elizabeth Cook-Lynn

I wish that each young person know who they are here. That each young person re-learn their language, that each young person know their culture, that my people continue to live, that people in this world know that we live. That is the most important thing. Because I know we are going to survive. But to survive with our culture intact, to continue to fight to keep that culture because my way of life is a good life for me and it will be a good life for my grandchildren. So, I just want to live.

(I want people to know) That we are alive; that we're a living people; that we continue to adapt to our worlds around us but we keep our culture, our spirituality and who we are intact. We know who we are, we know our duties to the world and I want people to know because some people actually think we're all dead. Some people think we still live in tepees, some people don't know that many of us went out and got an education and came back home to work with our people. We believe in our ways to keep the world in balance, to replenish the earth, that is the most important thing we have, to work together with our communities, aboriginal communities to try to save what we have.

LaDonna Brave Bull Allard

To return to the main idea behind the documentary film, Ron

His-Horse-Is-Thunder summarizes the reason why *On the Trail of Sitting Bull* was made:

If we send one message, that is: We are still alive. We still exist, we weren't wiped out. The second is, that our culture still exists, that we still have the same beliefs we did before. Our form of government may have changed but our belief system is still intact. Our language is still here. We are still a distinct group of people who has its own nation.

The documentary *On the Trail of Sitting Bull* was first broadcasted in 2011 on TRT, the Turkish national public television network. It was screened at national and international festivals, universities and various events. It received the Royal Reed Award at the Canada International Film Festival in Vancouver, and was among the four nominees for Best Feature Documentary at the 36th American Indian Film Festival in San Francisco. It was also an official selection at the Indianer Inuit American Indian Film Festival in Stuttgart, Germany. Ron His-Horse-Is-Thunder and all the other interviewees hope their message reaches people from different nations. Native Americans of the 21st century are still alive and not frozen in time.

Submission Guidelines:

The Editorial Board welcomes the submission of articles, interviews, and book reviews for publication in JAST. Articles should be approximately 6000-8000 words in length, and book reviews should not exceed 800 words. Articles should be consistent with the objectives and scope of the journal. All accepted submissions are subject to stylistic editing prior to publication.

Article manuscripts should be submitted as 2 separate documents: the first should be a title page with the submission's title, subtitle (if any), the author's name, affiliation, full postal address, telephone number, e-mail address, and acknowledgements (if any). The second, the **anonymous manuscript**, should be arranged in the following order of presentation: title, an abstract (of approximately 150 words), keywords (4 to 6 words), the main body of the text, endnotes (if any), works cited, and appendices (if any). The text should be organized under appropriate subheadings whenever possible.

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Manuscripts should be prepared in Microsoft Word, in Calibri 11-point font, and be double-spaced (including any notes and the works cited). They can be e-mailed directly to editors

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