

REVIEWS



The Battle of Negro Fort: The Rise and Fall of a Fugitive Slave Community. By Matthew J. Clavin. New York: New York University Press, 2019. 272 pages. \$24.95 cloth, \$14.95 paper.

In 1815, a fort abandoned by the British after the War of 1812 became a refuge and a site of resistance for enslaved people, who ran there looking for freedom, and Choctaw allies fighting against white American encroachment. For southern slave-owners like Andrew Jackson, it was an eyesore and an obsession that, for more than a year, stood as an affront to white American settler expansion. Instigated by Jackson, in July 1816 US federal troops launched cannon and obliterated the fort, killing many of the inhabitants. Compared to other episodes in the Florida borderlands, such as the First and Second Seminole wars, this site, called “Negro Fort” in newspapers of the day, has been given short shrift by historians of the antebellum period. Yet in *The Battle of Negro Fort: The Rise and Fall of a Fugitive Slave Community*, examining the circumstances leading up to and surrounding these events, Matthew J. Clavin contends that destruction of this military stronghold was a catalyst in these two conflicts as well as other clashes between self-liberated enslaved people, Native nations such as the Creek, Choctaw, and Seminole, white southern enslavers, and the US government.

The destruction of “a fugitive slave community in a foreign territory for the first and only time in its history,” Clavin argues, marks a turning point in how the institution of slavery shaped the formation of the United States because “it accelerated its transformation into a white republic, which served both the interests and ideology of an emerging Slave Power” (14). At the same time, the demise of the fort also revealed how the United States used the issue of chattel slavery in its strategies to dispossess Indigenous nations of their land and undermine Native sovereignty.

The monograph’s most compelling theme reveals how white settlers viewed both enslaved people of African descent and Indigenous Peoples as threats to dreams of national expansion, border security, and wealth. Clavin emphasizes that in particular, the prospect that terrified white southern enslavers like Andrew Jackson was facing a combined army of British soldiers, Black individuals in revolt against enslavement, and Indians defending their lands. In an effort to undermine these threatening alliances, white American politicians resorted to sowing divisions between Black and Native peoples. Accordingly, the United States enlisted federal Indian agents like Benjamin Hawkins at the Creek Agency to recruit Indigenous allies to defend the southern border of the United States. In exchange, Hawkins promised that Creeks could take as their own “property” any person of African descent not claimed by anyone, and a fifty-dollar reward for any self-liberated enslaved person they captured—four times the usual amount paid for fugitive slaves (28). Clavin illuminates how the new American

republic made chattel slavery an institution and issue that Indigenous Americans in the cotton-rich lands of the Deep South could not ignore, whether or not they were enslaved people of African descent. That Creeks like William McIntosh, an enslaver himself, fought on the side of the United States to defeat Creeks and Choctaws who sided with the British and escaped slaves, demonstrates how slavery served as an intractable obstacle in effective alliance-building between Black and Native peoples in the nineteenth century.

An additional strength is Clavin's clear demonstration of how the issues of slavery and Native sovereignty intersected in antebellum politics when discussing the conflicts that surrounded the negotiations that ended the War of 1812. When Hawkins negotiated with the British general in charge of the fort, Edward Nicolls, he became infuriated that the general, an ardent abolitionist, balked at returning the enslaved people who absconded to the British, and that Nicolls insisted that the United States return any land taken from Native peoples during the war back to those respective nations. Thus, for white settlers "blinded by their racist ideology and insatiable quest for land" (71), the "Negro Fort" that drew approximately seven hundred self-liberated people and Choctaws who decided to continue to fight against the United States even after the war was over was increasingly viewed as "a symbol that frontier officials felt compelled to eradicate" (76). Nonetheless, even after anti-Black and anti-Native rhetoric fanned by newspapers and white American leaders led to the annihilation of the fort, its legacy of resistance lived on in events like the Seminole wars and as a rallying cry for radical abolitionists like John Brown, who opposed the expansionist fantasies of white Southern enslavers and their political and economic allies in the North.

Although Clavin's book is effective on a conceptual level, the antiquated language used to describe the primary historical subjects is a major flaw. In one instance Clavin uses the term "enslaved employees" to describe the enslaved individuals who labored at a trading post and several times he refers to Native people who defended their land against white settler expansion as "Indian warriors" (23). Another problematic expression appears after Clavin summarizes the racist ideology that newspapers employed to demonize the resistance of enslaved people and the Seminoles. To put it mildly, these phrases are jarring. Clavin writes, "United by a thirst for the blood of American settlers, these enslaved and savage people were the avowed enemies of white Floridians, whose lives were consequently in grave danger" (151). This kind of language not only downplays the racism and violence perpetrated against these groups, but inadvertently feeds into stereotypes as well. With the abundance of commentary in both Native and slavery studies on the importance of avoiding language that reifies violence, more appropriate terminology could easily have been selected.

Overall, *The Battle of Negro Fort* is a welcome addition to the history of the Native South, slavery during the antebellum era, Indian expulsion, and Black Indian history. Similar to the work of Nathaniel Millett (who discusses this same event), as well as the works of Walter Johnson, Adam Rothman, and Claudio Saunt, which highlight the connections between the expansion of slavery in the Deep South and Native land dispossession, Clavin's monograph demonstrates that enslaved people

of African descent and American Indians resisted white nation-state building and expansion, consequently shaping the political, economic, and social policies of the new nation that set the stage for conflicts and divisions that continue to affect the relations of African Americans and Native people with the federal government in the present.

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Bury My Heart at Chuck E. Cheese's. By Tiffany Midge. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2019. 192 pages. \$29.95 cloth; \$19.95 paper; \$29.95 electronic.

With this collection of nonfiction essays, Tiffany Midge (Standing Rock Sioux) diverges from the poetry monographs for which she's been known. *Bury My Heart at Chuck E. Cheese's* showcases a mix of memoir and pop culture op-eds that offer a humorous take on life and the woes of early twenty-first-century culture and politics from a Native American perspective. A collection of several previously published articles from the last five years that have appeared in various outlets, including *McSweeney's*, *The Rumpus*, *Waxwing*, and others, but primarily drawn from her regular humor column in *Indian Country Today*, Midge also delivers a number of new essays that convey a more personal, self-reflective sense of memoir next to the many pieces that serve as outward-facing cultural and political critique. Multiple short essays hang loosely together by theme to comprise ten parts. Throughout, the author exhibits the satire, wit, and pointed critique that readers have come to expect from her writing. While many of the individual essays in the book are previously published and remain accessible online, the new and more personal additions are among the strongest. Although the collection is uneven in some respects, it feels fresh, distinctive, and timely and it holds together through the power of Midge's cutting humor. *Bury My Heart* joins a recent surge in Indigenous nonfiction and memoir, yet this collection of essays is unique in its mix of styles and emphasis on humor.

Indigenous writers have long written in essay form, and the recent spike in Native-authored nonfiction monographs signals a resurgence in this tradition—as does the anthology *Shapes of Native Nonfiction: Collected Essays by Contemporary Writers*. Essay collections and memoirs that make the weight of historical and political injustice on the personal lives of contemporary Native people manifest are the most popular of these recent publications. A growing collection of Native nonfiction writing reveals the intimacy of violence and injustice wrought by the settler-colonial projects of the United States and Canada, including memoirs such as Teresa Mailhot's *Heart Berries* (2019), Elissa Washuta's *My Body is a Book of Rules* (2014), Deborah A. Miranda's *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir* (2013), Ernestine Hayes' *Tao of the Raven: An Alaska Native Memoir* (2017), and many more. Midge's *Bury My Heart at Chuck E. Cheese's* does the same work, particularly the new essays, but offers broader pop-culture observations with fewer moments of personal critique. Midge's

use of humor as a through line in these essays is comparable to other Native writers whose nonfiction takes a humorous bent; the works of Drew Hayden Taylor come to mind. However, Midge's versatility as a poet, column writer, and humorist gives her work in *Bury My Heart* the distinctive patina that comes with well-honed craft and a seasoned voice.

The title's play on the one of the most recognizable books on Native American history, Dee Brown's *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, prepares readers for an irreverent take on contemporary Native American life. As we learn in the first essay, the "bury my heart at Chuck E. Cheese's" line is attributed to Midge's mother after her cancer diagnosis, and it speaks to the heart of the collection. The early essays of parts 1 and 2 toggle between the subjects of her parents' deaths and Midge's childhood memories, and these are the most self-reflective and satisfying: personal, experimental, and thought-provoking essays. Here, Midge brings to bear the poet's knack for creating that beautiful and excruciating tension between human grief and laughter. Later essays that recount relationships and episodes from Midge's life display the same bent toward humor and wordplay as her poetry and op-ed pieces, but these essays triumph in their subtle development of emotion—regret, grief, love. Here, the writer shows the crux of Native humor by narrating, for instance, the irony of a young Native girl of "undeterminable ethnicity, tending to blend in" portraying the dubious ethnic characters that arise in *The Music Man* and *The King and I* for the local theater. These early sections of *Bury My Heart* provide a study in irony that's deepened by the intimacy of memoir.

The majority of the collection that follows turns toward pop culture and the tone shifts into satire, hyperbole, and sharp sarcasm. Arranged by loose thematic turns, these articles range among Native feminism, the Standing Rock protests, "Pretendians," and the waning years of the Trump administration. The short, varied, and witty pieces both entertain and inform through the vibrant language play and the author's experiments with essay form will suit a number of readers. The collection includes "Thousands of Jingle Dancers Appear at Standing Rock," a piece that went viral at the height of the #NoDAPL protests at Standing Rock reservation in North Dakota in fall of 2016. From one angle, the essay works as a satirical news report from the scene of the protests but, from another angle, the vivid descriptions in the piece also provide a powerful vision of the jingle dress tradition and the emergence of a broad, Native-led effort to address eco-justice issues in the twenty-first century. While a number of the pieces rely too heavily on wordplay and references that may quickly feel dated as they are tied to specific events of the past four years, the more sophisticated efforts that draw on Midge's poetic lyricism prove satisfying in their critiques on contemporary life.

The audience for Tiffany Midge's *Bury My Heart at Chucky Cheese's* is broadly defined. The individual reader will find the collection easy to absorb and return to particular entries for confirmation of the absurd, ironic, and poignant facets of the human experience. For students of Native studies, the text offers a variety of hot takes on the latest subjects of political and cultural concern in Indian country. And for creative writers, Midge's collection becomes a primer in humor writing with an

expansive mix of genres and forms. This collection of opinion editorials and recent essays solidifies Midge's standing as one of the most versatile talents in Native and American writing today.

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The Commissioners of Indian Affairs: The United States Indian Service and the Making of Federal Indian Policy, 1824–2017. By David H. DeJong. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2020. 395 pages. \$75.00 cloth; \$40.00 paper.

The Commerce Clause of the United States Constitution is not only the proverbial “supreme law of the land,” but also has had a profound epistemological bearing on scholars of American Indian law and policy. Much research is so deeply embedded in the understanding that Congress has exclusive authority in Indian affairs that we fail to go beyond our scrutiny of judicial interpretations of the law to consider instead that the executive branch can direct policy in momentous ways. In *The Commissioners of Indian Affairs*, David H. DeJong's painstaking review of the activities and influences of those charged with directing Indian affairs over the years, both challenges and broadens the macro-perspective.

The author's mode of analysis is simple: using annual reports and related documents as his primary sources, he seeks to identify the consistent themes of federal Indian policy over two centuries. As tedious as his task may sound, DeJong identifies numerous “stands” contributing to, or influenced by, two overarching “philosophical braids,” “the social and political integration of American Indians” into American society, and “gaining access to tribal lands” (xi). Rather than becoming mired in theoretical exegeses, DeJong grounds his analysis in an understanding that federal Indian policy is historically and ontologically grounded in Enlightenment-era philosophy, which posited that “the means of securing liberty was individual labor which converted the common estate into private property” (ix).

While DeJong's book provides a comprehensive history of the US Indian Service, his research required a deeper scrutiny of the activities of those who brought the office into existence and determined the breadth of its influence. DeJong notes that the Commerce Clause itself was not an imposition into the affairs of tribal authority and lands, but chapters 2 and 3 provide a cogent analysis of how heads of the Indian Service, in executing and urging elaboration of Indian Trade and Intercourse acts, successfully expanded the authority of the Indian Office and its ability to interlope in the affairs of tribal polities. It was under Superintendent Thomas L. McKenney in 1816 that the Office started systematically combining trade regulation with education as assimilative tools, thus laying the groundwork for the 1819 Indian Civilization Act, which effectively gave the Indian Office legislative sanction to expand its influence. It was not until Andrew Jackson's presidency that the head of the Indian Office was provided with a more secure title of “commission,” when Elbert Herring assumed

the office. The commissioners under Jackson, of course, were vital architects of the Removal policy and often more concerned with land alienation in the East; however, as early as 1838 it was realized that Western tribes required a different approach. Commencing with Commissioner Thomas H. Crawford, the Indian Office advocated a policy of ensuring that treaty annuities were delivered as an incentive to encouraging Indians to pursue Western vocational education and a path to “civilization.”

Indeed, the massive land acquisitions following the Mexican War changed the playing field. While most scholars mark this as the beginning of the Reservation period in Indian policy, DeJong illustrates that however benevolent or indifferent previous Indian commissioners might have been, their policies were not entirely myopic in pursuit of the braids of integration and land alienation. The reservation policy was built on earlier structures for advancing severalty, and commissioners such as Charles Mix, appointed by President Buchanan, envisioned a road to “domestication and civilization” through controlled noncash annuities, effectively foreshadowing some of the social experiments of the Assimilation era. In essence, DeJong illustrates that up until the American Civil War, Indian affairs at the executive level was still an exploratory field, but one very much defined by the Indian Office itself.

In his assessment of post-Civil War Indian Service initiatives, DeJong’s tone seems to shift in a way that is both deceptive and directive. The Assimilation era (1865–1930) is often regarded as the most unified epoch in Indian policy, clearly embracing the two braids of integration and land alienation guiding DeJong’s assessment. Yet his layered treatment illustrates that Indian affairs was guided more by a tug-of-war between humanitarian reformists (clearly represented by Commissioners such as Ely S. Parker, the commander of Grant’s Peace policy) and those with more pragmatic, experimental, material interests. Nonetheless, the author treats this as a more nuanced transition period in which Indian commissioners effectively made policies that, in some cases, influenced and surpassed congressional oversight. Ezra Hayt, for instance, actually was far more influential in initiatives that are usually credited to others, including designing the boarding school policy and advancing “divide-and-rule tactics” such as Indian police forces and courts of Indian offenses. Although the book’s ultimate goal is to explicate restrictions to tribal sovereignty, DeJong’s summary of commissioners’ accomplishments and policies during this period seems to take a laudatory tone, yet the policy failures of this period had motivated reforms long before the New Deal.

Indeed, DeJong’s treatment of Indian Office policies from John Collier to the present cannot be separated. While he does not devote as much space as one might expect to the enigmatic commissioner/reformer, he makes it clear that the Indian New Deal, although not divorced from a Western ontological trajectory, made it possible for Indigenous Peoples to seize some control, if limited, over the promulgation of policy. From there on out, policies could not ignore Indigenous agency, even during the Termination era when Commissioner Glenn Emmons sought Indian “consultation but not consent.” His analysis of the Reagan-era “Indian federalism” and the emergent self-governance project, though not as attentive to tribal agency as one might expect, provides a much-needed analysis of executive-level policies that have received very little scholarly attention.

This book deserves a high canonical position in critical Indigenous studies. DeJong's exhaustive research provides solid data with a straightforward explication of the obstacles to tribal sovereignty and Indigenous visibility that drive the field. Together with works that thoughtfully read Marx in assessing the pitfalls of state recognition of Indian nations, such as Coulthard's *Red Skin, White Masks*, DeJong's work illuminates the deep history of colonial manipulations and the boundaries that tribal nations must work within, but ultimately transcend, in bolstering sovereignty.

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Incarcerated Stories: Indigenous Women Migrants and Violence in the Settler-Capitalist State. By Shannon Speed. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019. 163 pages. \$90.00 cloth; \$27.95 paper; \$21.99 electronic.

While studies of migrant detention have grown within the last twenty years, much of the literature on migrant detention has remained situated within Latinx studies and theories of neoliberal dispossession, with minimal engagement to the colonial processes that have caused global displacement. In *Incarcerated Stories: Indigenous Women Migrants and Violence in the Settler-Capitalist State*, Shannon Speed provides a critical analysis of the interconnected web of violence that Indigenous migrant women encounter in and across settler-colonial capitalist states. Through the stories of Indigenous women detained in T. Don Hutto ICE Detention Center in Texas, Speed argues that Indigenous women are made vulnerable to myriad forms of violence facilitated through the overlapping structures of gender violence, settler colonialism, and neoliberal regimes. She positions this study through a Native feminist analysis informed by a hemispheric approach to indigeneity and centers Indigenous women from Mexico, Guatemala, and Honduras. Speed presents the testimonies of Indigenous women in Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) detention as being part of the larger structure of violence that Indigenous women face, such as those highlighted in the Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women (MMIW) movement in the United States and Canada. By mapping these testimonies onto their structural foundations, Speed takes a bold approach to drawing out the resonances between studies of migrant detention and Native American studies, opening the door for a plethora of new directions in both fields.

The oral histories and *testimonios* that make up the chapters of the book are grounded in a "critical engaged activism" that aims to produce critical scholarship on the structures of violence while simultaneously alleviating the material conditions that affect the communities we work with. Each of the book's five chapters begins with the *testimonio* of an Indigenous migrant woman to foreground the chapter's arguments in a real-life narration of those directly impacted by the structures discussed in the proceeding arguments. In place of "vulnerable," Speed applies the word *vulneradas* to emphasize the status that Indigenous migrant women are forced into under settler-capitalist states. Acknowledging the debates around the spectacle of violence and the

instrumentality of battered bodies for voyeuristic intentions, the author contemplates the strategic use of writing in trauma, but commits to Indigenous feminist epistemologies to assert that storytelling is both a tradition of transferring knowledge and a tool to speak back to power.

Chapter 2 begins at “home”—both in the sense of the women’s country of origin and the interpersonal violence that drove them to migrate. It follows the stories of three Indigenous migrant women to establish a nuanced discussion on the “continuum of violence” and the intersection between domestic violence and state violence. Chapter 3 engages the stories of the three women previously discussed in chapter 1 and introduces two additional women. It examines their migratory journey and the layers of vulnerability they experience through various actors along the way. Speed argues that the violence the women encounter on their journey through various settler states mirrors the structures of power that they experience at home. Chapter 4 delves into the structures of violence that Indigenous migrant women are subjected to after crossing into the United States and its immigration system. The kafkaesque US immigration and asylum systems are a symptom of the overlap between mass incarceration and the homeland security state. The concluding chapter centers the stories of three women revealing how gendered violence continues to follow women into post-detention, whether they are released or deported. The condition of deportability—living in fear of deportation—renders Indigenous migrant women *vulneradas* to gendered violence, including domestic violence, human trafficking, and death in their countries of origin.

The author’s theory of *neoliberal multicriminalism* is central to her argument. For Speed, “multicriminalism,” the latest phase of a capitalist social order, is a multi-scalar process produced at the junction of the neoliberal market and the “state of illegality” in which all state actors engage in extralegal activities with impunity (113). One prominent example of neoliberal multicriminalism lies in the transnational intricacies between *narco* gang violence in Mexico and Central America on the one hand, and the US opioid crisis and policies such as the war on drugs on the other. Throughout her chapters, Speed demonstrates how neoliberal multicriminal violence renders asylum seekers vulnerable as they transit from “one settler structure to another” (18). Multicriminalism is not exclusively produced by a singular colonial state (Mexico, Guatemala, or Honduras), but is a process that works in tandem with US imperialism. For Indigenous women, this manifests into a continuum of gendered violence—both interpersonal and state-sanctioned—at every level of their lives.

Taking a hemispheric approach to Native studies, the theoretical conceptualizations of settler colonialism that *Incarcerated Stories* advances are a monumental intervention. Speed, a Chickasaw Native, complicates and interjects into North-South divisions between Native American studies and Latin American Indigenous studies by drawing on her positionality as an Indigenous person with a long relationship of working with the Indigenous Zapatista communities of Southern Mexico. From this perspective, Speed questions the widely accepted truism that paints Latin America colonialism and US colonialism as intrinsically distinct. The author does acknowledge certain aspects of this truism that are particular to political geographies, such as the incommensurable US legal systems of tribal recognition and the Latin American

racial ideology of *mestizaje*. However, she interrogates claims that rigidly (and perhaps too reductively) position US colonialism as acting through the dispossession of land for the elimination of Native peoples, while framing Latin American colonialism as exclusively acting by extracting resources and labor. The realities are much less neatly defined: in Latin America, for example, the extraction of resources extends to the dispossession of land, which in turn facilitates the elimination of Indigenous People. Speed clarifies these complex realities through the experiences of the *vulneradas*, whose narratives in *Incarcerated Stories* demonstrate that Indigenous Mexicans and Central Americans are exposed to heightened violence and targeted for death both in Latin America and in the United States.

When Indigenous Peoples cross colonial borders, Indigenous identities do not simply vanish, nor does settler violence end, Speed contends. Indigenous migrant women endure structures of violence and premature death that are part of a colonial thread interwoven throughout the hemisphere. This part of the book's conversation advances theories of racial triangulation proposed by scholars such as Eve Tuck, K. Wayne Yang, and Jodi Byrd. Speed's analysis, alongside Byrd's concept of the *arrivant*, complicates monolithic approaches to the figure of the migrant by demonstrating precisely how the vulnerability of Indigenous migrants remains conditioned by violences that exceed the boundaries of any one settler-capitalist state.

Incarcerated Stories is a compelling book rooted in the raw testimonies of Indigenous women and the multitude of systems that have constructed their vulnerability. The contributions are vast and fruitful. Speed urgently reminds us to place analyses of Indigenous migrants within the interdisciplinary rubric of Indigenous studies, rather than relegating them solely to the narrow parameters of immigration and border studies. By extension, the stories of the *vulneradas* push us to understand ICE detention as settler space, although it is often not theorized as such. *Incarcerated Stories* provides a nuanced approach that enriches existing conversations on Latinx migrant women and state violence, including those provided by Eithne Lubhéid, Martha Escobar, and Rosa-Linda Fregoso. Finally, Speed eloquently demonstrates that theories of settler colonialism and neoliberalism cannot be detached from one another; they must both be examined as mutually constitutive logics of state formation.

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Monumental Mobility: The Memory Work of Massasoit. By Lisa Blee and Jean O'Brien. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2019. 288 pages. \$90.00 cloth; \$29.95 paper; \$22.99 electronic.

In *Monumental Mobility: The Memory Work of Massasoit*, Indigenous studies historians Jean O'Brien (White Earth Ojibwe) and Lisa Blee trace the memorialization, from early-twentieth-century Plymouth, Massachusetts to Salt Lake City, Utah, of the figure of Massasoit, the Wampanoag chief who supposedly welcomed the Pilgrims

to Plymouth in 1621. The authors argue that Massasoit's memorialization manifests settler-colonial desires to erase and replace Indigenous Peoples and their histories, supporting their thesis with archival analysis, oral history interviews, and ethnographic visits to memorials dedicated to Massasoit. *Monumental Mobility* builds upon Blee's and O'Brien's previous scholarship about public history and settler commemorations, as they consider multiple temporal, spatial, and political spaces that recount a narrative framing Massasoit as a passive Wampanoag chief.

Monumental Mobility itself is organized by various theatrical themes. Chapter 1, entitled "Casting," considers the creation of the first Massasoit statue by Utah-born sculptor Cryus E. Dallin, who was motivated by his desires to civilize Native peoples and assimilate them into US settler society. O'Brien and Blee also consider the figure of Wampanoag chief 8sâmeeqan, who served as the model for the first Massasoit statue, whose alliance with English settlers motivated Dallin and his commissioners, a fraternal order called the Improved Order of Red Men. In chapter 2, "Staging," the authors analyze 1921 Plymouth-based newspapers that announced the unveiling of the Massasoit statue on Cole's Hill in Massachusetts. In "Distancing," O'Brien and Blee unpack both settler and Indigenous narratives found in the museum "Plimoth Plantation" as well as the 2004 PBS series *Colonial House*. The final chapter, "Marketing," critiques the function of settler public performances in reinforcing settler control over political and economic capital, such as the play in the Plymouth-based Jenney Museum's tour.

The main argument of *Monumental Mobility*—that Massasoit's various memorializations continue to perform settler histories and "superiority"—is reinforced by the authors' theatrical chapter themes. Throughout, O'Brien and Blee center a multi-scalar analysis that traces how Massasoit served as a conduit to inform and reinforce the settler state at the national, local, and individual levels. While monuments themselves may be erected in one place, O'Brien and Blee consider how Massasoit's image relies on temporally fluid, spatially transportable images of Native submissiveness and include various historical contexts that begin with 8sâmeeqan's 1621 alliance with British settlers—framed as evidence for British settlers' cordial relations with Wampanoag people, which later helped America come into being as a nation—and end with contemporary understandings and commemorations about Massasoit.

With archival and oral history research that reveals how multiple historical and contemporary actors have produced different cultural meanings of Massasoit, the authors trace how the Massasoit memorials shape both the monument's sponsors, such as lawyer John W. Converse's 1915 proposal to memorialize Massasoit, as well as its contemporary viewers' perceptions about Indigenous-settler relations across the United States, including Brigham Young University students and tourists who regularly visit Plymouth. For example, O'Brien and Blee trace different tours of Plymouth, one by the Jenney Museum founder, Leo Martin, who prioritized patriotic narratives about pilgrims, and the other by the Cherokee Nation citizen Tim Turner, who centered Wampanoag histories and understandings of Plymouth (chapter 4).

Focusing on Massasoit as a settler-colonial symbol rather than a historical figure helps the authors trace historical connections between different time periods and places that range from early-twentieth-century Plymouth in chapter 1, to a 1977 suburban shopping mall in Evergreen Park, Illinois in chapter 2. O'Brien and Blee also trace how the Massasoit statue operates "as a site of intervention, an opportunity to disrupt settler memory and install an alternative temporal consciousness" that erases Indigenous historical and contemporary acts of resistance (203). In this way, O'Brien and Blee's analysis disrupts narratives of settler-colonial progress and modernity that is devoid of Native peoples, save for memories of their contributions and sacrifices to the seventeenth- to nineteenth-century formation of the US settler state.

The authors' analysis grounds the importance of Wampanoag people's place-based context through their critical reading of settler archives like Massasoit's monuments, interviews with Wampanoag cultural leaders like Darius Coombs, and framing of Massasoit as a settler-colonial conception. Consequently, O'Brien and Blee reveal how settler histories rely on the historical narrative of Massasoit's collaborations with English settlers, rather than the historical experiences and struggles of 8sâmeeqan himself. In this way, O'Brien and Blee emphasize Indigenous genealogical ties to place that the settler state constantly tries to erase through the invalidation of Wampanoag historical experiences or commodify through an emphasis on British settlers' perspectives about 8sâmeeqan's 1621 alliance.

O'Brien and Blee describe how Wampanoag and other Native organizers contest settler-colonial erasure by staging acts of protest that caused the Plimouth Plantation to create the Wampanoag Homesite (144), or create Indigenous monuments that instead remind viewers about historical and ongoing acts of Native genocide (135). Grounded in Wampanoag cultural meanings and histories, O'Brien and Blee astutely critique the role public history plays in maintaining settler colonialism's systematic, intended erasure and replacement of Indigenous People across the United States. By displaying how 8sâmeeqan as a Wampanoag historical figure was commodified into the mobile image of Massasoit, the authors show how settler colonialism relies on public performances of Native collaboration, rather than historical memories of Native survival and resistance.

All in all, *Monumental Mobility* is a striking book that critiques the role US settler-colonial imaginaries and desires play in Massasoit's memorialization. Whether it is a Massasoit memorial in the Utah capitol building, or a Jenney Museum tour of Plymouth, O'Brien and Blee effectively trace how public historical narratives consolidate settler-colonial erasure and control, but can nevertheless be deconstructed and resisted through their emphasis on Indigenous actions and histories. *Monumental Mobility* is an important work for scholars who study Indigenous performances and histories.

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Oyate [documentary film]. By Dan Girmus. Watertown, MA: Documentary Educational Resources, 2016. 72 minutes.

In 2011, Diane Sawyer produced “A Hidden America: Children of the Plains,” a 20/20 documentary special featuring an impoverished Pine Ridge Reservation community in South Dakota. As someone raised on the Pine Ridge Reservation, I was full of dichotomous reactions. On the one hand, I was excited to see my home reservation shown on national television; on the other, I was disappointed by the overt presentation of poverty, abuse, and the centering of children in often hopeless situations. The exposé felt like salt in a wound because I had seen a dozen other documentaries with similar narratives.

Oyate, Dan Girmus’s first feature-length film, is a leap forward from the typical poverty exposé of the Pine Ridge Reservation. A non-Native filmmaker, Girmus’s formal experiment was filmed in the summer of 2015 and weaves together moving images of everyday life during a summer on Pine Ridge: local scenes, regional sounds, and community events. Instead of centering the typical deficit model often employed when narrating stories about the reservation—a hyperfocus on the Pine Ridge documentary tropes of poverty, substance abuse, and violence, or historical narratives of activism—this documentary film attempts a poetic presentation of the day-to-day activities of two young families who experience a wedding, a birth, and simple interactions with other side characters. The filmmaker does not lead viewers into each new scene, event, or change in landscape with introductions or captions. The documentary pieces together beautiful landscapes in juxtaposition to community events like a local rodeo and a powwow. I appreciated the simple presentation. Offering scenes of firework shows, the film engages with rural living while it highlights northern Plains living conditions, including multigenerational homes. Overall, breathtaking northern Plains landscapes shape the film as a diverse reservation summer experience.

Although avoiding direct dialogue or interview-style narrative building—the film’s narrative experiment focuses on casual conversations between reservation families as they go about their typical lives—Girmus is able to present and cover a variety of issues and events on the reservation. In one of my favorite scenes, we are placed in a tribal council meeting in the middle of a serious discussion of treaty rights, education, and Lakota language use, subtly introducing audience members to political conversations, cultural protocols, and tribal governance. Girmus achieves a nuanced description of the diverse experiences of the reservation by offering conversations among the film’s participants about sovereignty, treaty rights, tribal governance, and even local community organizing. As an insider, I was impressed with the dynamics the filmmaker was able to capture on film, while also capturing the types of conversations the tribal council scene could produce for an outsider.

Girmus’s editing style and content choices throughout *Oyate* present simple, yet nuanced stories. At times, the editing creates its own language as well. For example, Girmus’s opening scene begins with sound, the cacophonous buzz of insects and wind. We then cut to a shot pointed toward the sky. Billowing white clouds moving across a blue sky that shines just above tall leafy trees. From there, the film cuts to a black

screen and transitions the narrative using a subtle shift in the soundscape—the insects are less cacophonous and we hear a different wind. A new moving image appears, this time a young man attempting to catch a wild horse in an open field. The camera follows the young man and we quickly meet an intergenerational family, all concerned with roping the horses. We hear conversations between the family members, but no one speaks directly to the camera.

At first, I thought the filming felt voyeuristic. There were side looks at the camera by different individuals throughout the film and as an audience member, I often felt very apprehensive about being a spectator to the characters' lives. I often watch documentaries about Pine Ridge with extreme foreboding, but my initial unsettled feelings about watching these lives unfold on camera faded as *Oyate* presented a wide breadth of experiences that did not manipulate the audience into empathy. I became aware of how much I had feared repeating previous experiences. Instead, the film's presentation of everyday life of the families without direct interviews is a strength. The film does not overtly give an audience a way to consume the narrative. Rather, the audience has to sit with specific references points with either insider knowledge of the community, or not.

If the hyperawareness of the camera was not always comfortable, this is also in the nature of documentary and ethnographic filmmaking. The audience gets to make decisions about what is occurring on screen with gentle guidance from the filmmaker. Girmus appears to sidestep the problematic approaches non-Native filmmakers often utilize to exploit or spectacularize reservation life. Girmus was able to craft a deeply political narrative about Pine Ridge without demonstrating the impoverishment that is repeatedly employed to garner a non-Native audience to pay attention to the reservation. We get to see children playing, elders speaking the Lakota language, families laughing together, and young parents bringing a new baby home. The film provides an insight to a specific land and place and could supplement any curriculum discussing present-day experiences of northern Plains reservation life. As an appropriate alternative to the many poverty-stricken narratives of Pine Ridge currently existing across many platforms, I would recommend *Oyate* to both Native and non-Native audiences. In Lakota, *oyate* means “the people.” *Oyate* absolutely delivers a story of the people.

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Picturing Indians: Native Americans in Film, 1941–1960. By Liza Black. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2020. 354 pages. \$65.00 cloth; \$65.00 electronic.

Picturing Indians fills in a critical knowledge gap of Native American representations in film between 1941 and 1960. It demonstrates that although the vast majority of the films of this period reinforced the narrative that Indians were “gone” or “vanishing,” the films employed Native American actors and actresses to portray this seemingly vanishing people. Her work is in conversation with Kiara Vigil's *Indigenous Intellectuals*

and Lucy Maddox's *Citizen Indians*, in that they all argue that Native American participation in the American economy shows agency and resistance to policies and narratives that sought to assimilate them or told the American public that "Indians" no longer existed. This text also speaks to the work of Phil Deloria's *Indians in Unexpected Places*. Yet, whereas Deloria was looking at Native American representation in places that seem anomalous, Black generatively reads popular representations with consideration of Native survival and presence. The films these Native men and women worked in depicted Indians as unchanged from how their relatives lived in the nineteenth century and characters whose only narrative purpose was as a mere obstacle in need of removing for the white hero or heroines to succeed. Yet Black argues that their very presence and participation in the making of these films marks their existence and occupation within the modern American economy, ultimately resisting the narrative of the vanishing Indian in these films.

Black states that "This is a book about work" and that her "ultimate aim is to ... put Indians at the center of this analysis not as images but as employees of film studios" (5, 10). Black focuses on Native American extras who worked in films during this period, giving the actual numbers recorded in studios' payroll archives to show the money earned. She also shows that these workers participated in this aspect of the "modern" Hollywood economy even if they were not in lead roles and only a very few achieved featured supporting roles. The Native American workers—whether as featured performers or extras—continued a tradition of Native American resistance to erasure by settler colonialism through their presence and participation in these films' production (both artistically and economically).

Black accomplishes her major goal of showing that Native Americans persisted in the face of the narrative and reality of erasure during this period in cinematic history. The Indian was an image Hollywood studios created and continually controlled, both through the narratives they approved for production as well as the amount of money they were willing to invest to get just the right look. She reveals that actual "Indians" stood behind Burt Lancaster or Jack Palance while they played a lead role in redface. Depicting Hollywood as dependent on these Native American workers to add a level of authenticity and credibility that audiences desired in Westerns of the mid-twentieth century, Black does especially well tracking the money Hollywood spent in its effort to create the ideal Indian. Hollywood depended on "real Indians," in order to generate cultural authenticity and historical accuracy. Black presents and contextualizes the dollar amounts of bronze paint applied to white actors to appear Native, rubber prosthetic noses, and additional amenities for Native American extras.

For a book all about visual work, it includes only three images. Unfortunately, of the three images, only one of them is of a Native American worker in Hollywood during 1941 to 1960; the cover photo is Jay Silverheels in his costume for the movie *Four Guns to the Border*. The other two images are of Rock Hudson in redface to show the prosthetic nose Black discusses in the fourth chapter—yet they are placed in the introduction. The fourth and fifth chapters in particular would benefit greatly from including more images. This lack is glaring when compared to similar books such as Michelle Raheja's *Reservation Reelism* or M. Elise Marubbio's *Killing the Indian*

Maiden. The images of the subjects in both of these works emphasize that their presence has been glossed over or in some cases completely ignored, as well as the actual costuming and/or makeup used to make the Indian readily apparent to the audience. Although Black is clear that the book does not employ visual analysis, the argument relies upon racist representations in the foreground of film scenes accompanied by actual Native labor in the background and images would assist in bringing those Native performers into the analytical foreground. Whether they be of white actors in redface or of the Native American workers themselves, Black could have provided more images to show both how the money invested created the Indian produced on screen and as more evidence of the work Native American actors and actresses did as employees of Hollywood studios.

This book is necessary reading to anyone interested in studying Native American visual representation, as the introduction gives a detailed account of works in the field with an emphasis on film studies. By revealing the level of commitment financially to go along with the ideology put forth in the films, she offers overlooked knowledge in discussions on Hollywood representations of Native Americans that often focuses on the performers and their performances that create the image. Black takes the reader behind the lens and into production to show how the studio helped to create the image as well. It is one thing to say these images depict racist stereotypes, but to show the amount of money invested in the creation and continuation of the stereotype helps shed further light on why these types of roles persist to this day, such as Johnny Depp's turn as Tonto in *Disney's The Lone Ranger*.

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Retelling Trickster in Naapi's Language. By Nimachia Howe. Louisville: University of Colorado Press, 2019. 161 pages. \$63.00 cloth; \$22.95 paper; \$18.95 electronic.

As a figure long occupying a place of great curiosity in the minds of those interested in Native culture and society, the Native American trickster has led to the production of numerous texts from academic disciplines such as anthropology, folklore, literature, and philosophy, as well as strong interest from popular culture. An unfortunate effect of this popularity has been information composed and disseminated about the trickster that obfuscates, rather than illuminates, the meaning, significance, and function of such figures in Native American cultures and storytelling traditions. While the causes for misunderstanding can often be traced to cultural and social barriers and the inability of scholars to overcome inherent linguistic barriers, it is also a function of the devastating effects of colonial violence and oppression that formed a context whereby Native stories, and the languages that sustain them, were diminished within a knowledge structure in which a culture's story archive resided in the living memories of the people.

These forces and circumstances speak to the historical reality of Native languages, spiritual practices and connections to land that were routinely suppressed, legally

separated, and disrupted via the dictates of administrators and teachers in the Indian boarding school system established in the late nineteenth century and in the actions of superintendents and Indian agents appointed to maintain order and authority over Native peoples. Members of a diverse array of Native nations and communities, who were politically transformed from free and independent peoples into the status of wards of the federal government in the wake of Indian removals and frontier warfare, became redefined as a monolithic entity through the relentless imposition of Western colonial knowledge over a period of more than 500 years.

The notion of the trickster figure as a more generalized entity, and one that has been emptied of specified cultural meaning, is among the primary concerns of Nimachia Howe's book, *Retelling Trickster in Naapi's Language*, through a focus on the Blackfoot/Blackfeet figuration of Naapi. While Howe details some of the traits and characteristics Naapi, who is often represented in the form of coyote, shares with other Plains Indian/Algonquin tricksters including "Nanabozho (Ojibwe), Wiskedjak (Cree, Algonquin), Iktomi (Lakota), Kokopelli (Hopi and Ancestral Pueblo), Manitou (Dene), and Glooskap (Wabanaki)," along with animal manifestations of Crane, Rabbit, and Coyote, the more urgent concern is the role Naapi plays within Blackfoot culture (4). In this more localized and culturally engaged context, Howe explores the meaning of Naapi's identity as Old Man, while considering his role and function as "a creator of the Blackfoot" (3). These facets of Naapi's identity, which delineate just two of many, help to establish a relationship with location and time that serves to "center stories' meaning" (5).

Thus, Howe's work appropriately joins a growing body of scholarship on Native storytelling and tricksters that offer more culturally responsive, socially embedded, and Indigenous-centric approaches. These include, for example, Keith Basso's *Wisdom Sits in Places* (1996), Greg Sarris' *Keeping Slug Woman Alive* (1993), Gus Palmer Jr.'s *Telling Stories the Kiowa Way* (2003), Margaret Noodin's *Bawaajimo: A Dialect of Dreams in Anishinaabe Language and Literature* (2014), and Christopher Teuton's *Cherokee Stories of the Turtle Island Liars' Club* (2016), as well as the more diffuse work of Lawrence C. Gross and the philosophic and literary explorations of the trickster and trickster hermeneutics deployed in the works of Gerald Vizenor. Where many of these studies seek to name and specify relevant stories, geographic settings, and narrative structures, analyzing them as vital literary and historical resources within their given cultural contexts, Howe proceeds in a more technical and systematic way through the construction of a detailed linguistic foundation. First seeking to clarify Naapi's importance within the Blackfoot/Blackfeet universe by showing "how" the people can "live well by using Naapi's mishaps and misadventures as negative examples" (6), Howe clarifies this essential function as a reflection of "ironic humor" in which we are able to see that "defining Naapi involves understanding how oppositional, interactive, and counterbalancing energies work" (7). Howe is careful to note that, in contrast to Western epistemology and imposed modes of thought, Naapi lies beyond binary categories and exists, rather, "as part of a creative matrix of universal energy (9). Once this basis has been established, Howe moves on to a detailed, and at times intellectually complex, linguistic analysis that includes an extended discussion of whispered and

silent vowels, all aimed at elucidating the abstract function of Naapi's image and presence within the context of Blackfoot/Blackfeet oral tradition, as well as the spiritual, philosophic, and epistemological "microcosms" that give it meaning in language (29).

Drawing out evocative connections regarding Naapi's role in the Blackfoot world, Howe addresses confusion that has developed around the conflation with the figure of the Sun (Naato'si), which translates as "white colored being" and "white man." This erroneous association became increasingly confused within the context of settler colonialism in the accounts of Naapi put forth in influential texts of writers from Robert Nathaniel Wilson and James Willard Schultz, and repeated by the likes of George Bird Grinnell, Walter McClintock and Clark Wissler (31). Howe asserts that such misunderstanding is yet another example of the many stemming from the effects of colonialism and the impositions of Indo-European language and knowledge, as well as Christian religious tradition. Naapi is seen as Old Man and creator, through the power of the Sun being as "the reigning force of the environment," but not in the merely physical sense but as a recognition of "their shared sacred energy" (35). This insight allows Howe to lead readers through the complex assortment of Naapi identities in which this sacred entity is shown to be, at once, "a phenomenon, a process, a cycle" (34), as well as a creator and a multiplicity (43). Additionally, Howe goes on to show Naapi as being encapsulated as an "animate being" that has personhood, although not a human being (46), while eschewing "the 'imaginary hyperbolic figure' imagined in some academics' minds," and asserting instead, "*Naapi is the totality*" (86). These traits and characteristics are similar to what one finds with other Algonquin trickster figures, while the resistance to a fixed manner of identification is in harmony with the indeterminability and resistance to a stable physical description that Vizenor associates with Naanabozho in *Narrative Chance: Postmodern Discourse on Native American Literatures* (1992). Here, he characterizes the Anishinaabe trickster as taking a multitude of physical forms, and simultaneously in a non-physical, transmotional sense as a "comic holotrope and a *sign* in a language game" (187).

As one can see from this brief outline, Howe is able to merge an impressive literary analysis with a methodical application of linguistics in the description of Blackfoot language. Offered as a supplement to this, Howe also includes an appendix of "selected Naapi stories" referred to throughout her text as a valuable resource for interested readers. From these details you can see that while there is much of interest to general readers and those interested in Blackfoot/Blackfeet oral tradition and storytelling, it will find its most interested readers among academics with a background in linguistics, folklore, and language preservation. In the final sentence, Howe states that she "hopes" that this book "can contribute to the continuation of the life of Trickster energy" and it is my estimation that the author has done an important service in ensuring the loss of Blackfoot knowledge and the meaning of the trickster does not become the fate of the Old Man known as Naapi.

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Settler City Limits: Indigenous Resurgence and Colonial Violence in the Urban Prairie West. Edited by Heather Dories, Robert Henry, David Hugill, Tyler McCreary, and Julie Tomiak. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2019. 224 pages. \$34.95 paper; \$31.00 electronic.

The contributors to the twelve chapters of *Settler City Limits: Indigenous Resurgence and Colonial Violence in the Urban Prairie West* take up large questions, and more, through a variety of studies across the western prairie lands of the present-day nation states of Canada and the United States. The collection presents a thorough, interdisciplinary examination of urban life for Indigenous Peoples across four parts: “Life and Death,” “Land and Politics,” “Policing and Social Control,” and “Contestation, Resistance, Solidarity.” With each successive chapter, the reader sees a collection of articles that tackle some of the biggest concerns in studies of urban Indigenous Peoples and communities. How do we understand indigeneity in city spaces deemed antithetical to Indigenous presence through processes of settler colonialism? How do non-Indigenous Peoples in urban spaces reaffirm ideological and physical exclusion in cities? What of processes of racialization which erase Indigenous sovereignty within the perceived confines of a city built on dispossessed lands? Most importantly, how do we see Indigenous resistance and resurgence within urban contexts?

In popular and public discourse, cities and Indigenous Peoples are positioned as mutually exclusive. Urban space is always already foreclosed to Indigenous bodies and collectivities due to supposed immutability of “Indian” existence within the modernity represented by cities. *Settler City Limits* takes up this foreclosure of urban space and argues that this perception is rooted in dispossession, racialization and criminalization, and cooptation of Indigenous histories and experiences. Contributors expose the fallacy of these beliefs in the first three parts of the volume in particular, taking on the cities of Winnipeg, Minneapolis, Rapid City, and Regina, among others. Conversing with the scholarly work of Coll Thrush, Susan Lobo, Donald Fixico and others, the authors of this volume articulate the continual deployment of the traditional/modern binary as a means to write into existence the “foreignness” of Indigenous bodies in cities.

For instance, in “Comparative Settler Colonial Urbanisms: Racism and the Making of Inner-City Winnipeg and Minneapolis, 1940–1975,” David Hugill assesses settler use of “deficiency” and “difference” in response to housing disparities to claim supposed Indigenous inability to assimilate into urban space; in so structuring the mechanisms of exclusion, Hugill speaks to other articles in the volume by Julie Tomiak, Nick Estes, and Michelle Stewart and Corey La Berge to provide a broad view across the book of how settler colonialism positions Indigenous inability to thrive in urban spaces as a fault of Indigenous character.

The authors demonstrate how situating Indigenous Peoples’ incompatibility with urbanism allows for the reframing of urban Indigenous communities as spaces of racialized criminality. In turn, such criminal spaces require policing and surveillance, which further seek the removal of Indigenous bodies from cities. This is most clear in Elizabeth Cook’s “Policing Racialized Spaces,” in which Cook examines

how “racialization processes can be experienced as spatial.” Both are entwined with the construct of crime which interpret Indigenous bodies as threats. By racializing Indigenous bodies, settler society places them in urban spaces that are deemed criminal, thereby also marking Indigenous Peoples as unwelcome within settler city limits. This is nowhere more evident than in Cook’s discussion of the “starlight tours” of Saskatoon, in which police routinely and forcibly drive Indigenous “criminal elements” to the outskirts of the city, leaving them to die or find a return, often in dangerous weather conditions.

Such police practices are representative of settler space-making which rely on Indigenous dispossession and elimination from cities, but this volume considers a number of other methods such as child removal (Stewart and La Berge), legal restructuring of treaty rights (Tomiak), and cooptation of Indigenous suffering that erase contemporary Indigenous resistance to such violences (Smith and Todd). Though a majority of this book’s theoretical concerns center on addressing settler colonialism and the ways it invests in cities, *Settler City Limits* also seeks to prioritize Indigenous resurgence and resistance to mechanisms of erasure, dispossession, and elimination. The editors make a distinction between resurgence and resistance. They define *resistance* as reaction to and engagement with the settler state. *Resurgence* is defined through framings of the term by Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, Jeff Corntassel, and Cheryl Bruce, centering on “everyday practices” of maintaining connections to homelands, continuing cultural practices, and in other ways, “moving away from” investment in “state affirmation and approval” (8).

For the authors of this collection, it is clear that Indigenous Peoples practice resurgence by doing away with the notion of city limits altogether. A number of contributions are reminiscent of, or directly recall, Renya Ramirez’s articulation of the city as “hub,” through which Indigenous Peoples maintain mobile social networks across urban and rural/reservation spaces. Through such networks in which city and reservation are not, in fact, disparate *and* separate, urban Indigenous communities assert urban space as Indigenous, not settler, and disrupt the notion of a bounded city juxtaposed against that which is rural and country. Contributors Nicholas Brown and Lindsey Claire Smith both examine such disruptions and boundary-blurring through studies of Montana and Tulsa, respectively. Similarly, Tyler McCreary’s conversation with Chris Andersen, Adam Gaudry, and Brenda MacDougall provides urban Métis perspectives on urbanism. Andersen, the editor of an equally valuable edited volume on urban Indigenous life, makes clear in this transcribed conversation that “it is very important to think of urban spaces as hubs rather than locales. People are both on the move into and out of these spaces” (155). Truly, this has been and continues to be the case for Indigenous Peoples, which directly upends settler perceptions of Indigeneity, forcing a reckoning with Indigenous survival and resurgence.

Settler City Limits is a useful collection that speaks across disciplines that might engage more with Indigenous studies. Its focus on the “urban prairie west” is primarily centered on Canadian cities, particularly Winnipeg, and yet through theorizations of settler space making, it maintains a wide relevance to ongoing international conversations on Indigenous urbanism. Though the majority of this collection could serve well

as stand-alone pieces, the strength of this volume is considering its wholeness, which speaks across disciplines, spaces, and histories. Contributors clearly assert that the notion of “city” is a physically and ideologically limited settler construct that reduces and obscures urban Indigenous presence and the many ways Indigenous Peoples articulate their belonging in and across the prairie west.

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Teaching Empire: Native Americans, Filipinos, and US Imperial Education, 1879–1918. By Elisabeth M. Eittreim. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2019. 328 pages. \$75.00 cloth; \$34.95 paper; \$34.95 electronic.

One official requirement remained to be fulfilled before a qualifying candidate could be formally accepted into national service. With right hand raised, they repeated verbatim the following oath:

I [*state your name*], do solemnly swear that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office on which I am about to enter: So help me God.

One’s immediate reaction might be to assume that what is being described was a recruit’s entry into a branch of the military. While that would be a plausible and accurate explanation, at the turn of the twentieth century this oath had multiple applications. It could pertain, for example, to those joining the United States Indian Service, or to those volunteering to teach in one of the dozens of American schools established in the Philippines. The latter enlisted a generation of idealistic civilian foot soldiers into what the United States government envisioned as a humanitarian mission to immerse the Filipino populace in American values and culture. That pioneering group of teachers was known as the “Thomasites” after the USAT *Thomas*, the troopship that carried them from the West Coast to their overseas duty stations.

As Elisabeth M. Eittreim makes clear in this provocative and engaging study, connections between what was being taught in the Philippines and Indian boarding school education are undeniable, with linkages to United States Army operations in the American West and the Pacific. In fact, the cadres of instructors in the two education programs often overlapped with crossover teachers serving in both capacities over the course of their careers; that is, in one or more of the schools in the Philippines and in an Indian boarding school, specifically the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania. Eittreim’s purpose is to provide readers with a micro-examination of both experiences, drawing out the commonalities, the challenges, the successes, and the failures,

deepening our understanding of those men and women who engaged in the empire-building service.

Teaching Empire explores Carlisle Indian School as exemplary of the Indian boarding school system, in addition to the lesser-known education program undertaken in the Philippines. The first off-reservation Indian boarding school in the United States was founded in 1879 by Carlisle's superintendent for a quarter-century, Army officer Richard Henry Pratt. Today, there is near-consensus that boarding schools such as Carlisle inflicted cultural violence and long-term harm on students and Indigenous communities. Carlisle forcibly sought to assimilate Native American youth into American society by means of a rigid curricular agenda that privileged and promoted American ideals and culture and excluded Indigenous lifeways, customs, traditions, and beliefs. Pratt coined the oft-repeated phrase, "kill the Indian, save the man."

The Philippines initiative debuted two decades after Carlisle's opening in 1901 and shared overlapping features with Indian boarding schools, particularly philosophy and approach. Embracing the concept of "benevolent assimilation," or the belief that the outreach would better the lives of those targeted, American policymakers authorized sending "hundreds of teachers across the Pacific to set up a modern school system amid a continuing rebellion launched by Filipinos." The federal objective was "to appease, and from its perspective, 'civilize' a 'backward' and largely reluctant people" (2, 3). American imperial ambitions factored prominently in this effort to remake the Philippines in an American image. Thomasites would dismantle the existing Catholic education system on the islands and replace it "with a secular, American-style public school system ... ostensibly easing the transfer from one imperial power to another and with the stated purpose of creating a citizenry who would eventually be deemed 'capable' of self-rule" (16).

Eittreim places the emphasis of *Teaching Empire* on educators, policies, and institutions and not students, tribes, or reservations. Her research into the two faculty cohorts reveals many similarities between them, although given the contrasts in the teaching stations (Carlisle was not Manila), unsurprisingly, the groups were not identical. Carlisle Indian School was operating on its home turf, and at bottom was a highly regimented military institution dominated by heavy discipline and constant surveillance, all of which took place outside the influences of families and tribes it perceived as "damaging." The schools in the Philippines, on the other hand, resembled more those in vogue in communities across the continental United States. Notably, they were locally rooted with parents positioned at the watchful center. There were other differences as well. Carlisle employed mostly single white women; the majority of teachers in the Philippines were male. Teachers in Pennsylvania were far removed from the Indian wars in the American West; those in the Philippines were deploying directly into a hot war zone.

In both sectors, however, the teaching load proved substantial. The job was all-consuming and required total commitment. Teachers literally lived their jobs around the clock, assuming roles that were at once intimate and parental. It was far from easy. Feelings of exhaustion and being overwhelmed permeated among teaching staff. Those in the Philippines confronted isolation, boredom, disease, famine, and natural hazards

such as hurricanes, typhoons, and floods. However, they exercised a greater degree of personal autonomy to engage in behaviors such as drinking, gambling, and promiscuity than those teaching in the highly regulated and religiously micromanaged Carlisle school. Many teachers in both settings took their roles seriously and believed fully in their mission, some amassing decades-long careers and forming positive and lasting relationships with the students they served. Nonetheless, educators in such projects of cultural domination, whether stationed at home or abroad, viewed the white race as superior and, accordingly, taught empire “from the bottom-up among peoples often resistant to imperial authority and within environments largely uncondusive to such ambition” (67).

Teaching Empire will appeal to students of the off-reservation boarding school movement as well as those seeking to deepen their knowledge of imperial education overseas. Together, those dual impulses provide valuable insight into the complex relationships that the United States government maintained with Indigenous Peoples and how America sought to use Western education and classrooms—despite the flaws, abuses, and misguided notions—as weapons of intervention based on an unflinching belief “in the power of schooling to effect profound change” (214).

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