DOI 10.17953/aicrj.44.3.reviews

Reviews

Basket Diplomacy: Leadership, Alliance-Building, and Resilience among the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, 1884–1984. By Denise E. Bates. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2020. 354 pages. $65.00 cloth and electronic.

Basket Diplomacy offers an exceptionally well-researched and detailed account of the history of the Coushatta people of Louisiana. Substantially expanding the limited literature, Denise Bates seamlessly merges archival historical research and interviews with Coushatta tribal members. Bates's text contributes a significant examination of historical struggles relevant to Indigenous peoples throughout the southeast. Each chapter richly details the dominant issues of the late-1800s to the mid-1980s. Throughout the book, Bates describes the battle with the whims and inconsistencies of government policy changes. She contextualizes Coushatta history within the social, cultural, and historical context of Louisiana and the wider southeast. Bates shows how the Coushatta people advocated for themselves not only to survive extreme challenges but to become major actors on the Louisiana political and economic stage. In the process, Bates takes an insightful view towards cultural continuity and change, emphasizing creative ways the Coushatta people adapted while maintaining cultural integrity. Her account of the Coushatta church, for example, foregrounds Coushatta views on Christianity and the central role the church played in their community to bring people together and preserve the Koasati language.

The author provides a brief overview of Coushatta involvement in the Creek Confederacy and their early migrations to Louisiana, providing ample resources for additional research. Here her text complements Charles Hudson's extensive work on the southeast and accounts Ethridge and Shuck-Hall's edited volume, *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South* (2009). The book then follows the Coushatta people to their early settlement in Louisiana, where they petitioned for and acquired privately held homesteads. Their efforts towards land ownership would later resurface as they struggle with the federal government over recognition. On issues of race and politics in the federal recognition process, Bates's work resonates with that of other scholars, such as Brian Klopotek's *Recognition Odysseys: Indigeneity, Race, and Federal Tribal Recognition Policy in Three Louisiana Indian Communities* (2011).

As Bates's account continues through the early-twentieth century, building on previous literature such as Nicholas Peroff's *Menominee Drums: Tribal Termination and Restoration, 1954–1974* (1982) and Donald Fixico's *Termination and Relocation: Federal Indian Policy, 1955–1960* (1986), she describes the Coushatta people's efforts to obtain federal services to address poverty, health care, education, and more. Yet under the termination policies of the 1950s, the federal government discontinued their services, as they did with other tribes like the Menominee and Alabama-Coushatta,

Downloaded from http://meridian.allenpress.com/aicrj/article-pdf/44/3/91/2864733/i0161-6463-44-3-91.pdf by University of California user on 09 July 2021

exacerbating the challenges the Coushatta faced. Tribal leaders navigated the war on poverty in the 1960s, and sought first state, and then federal recognition, as well as reservation land to place in federal trust. They initiated revenue-generating strategies that began as a store for pine needle and cane baskets and developed into a more extensive tourist enterprise. Women basketmakers enabled leaders like Ernest Sickey to gift baskets that helped create and solidify alliances. Their economic development efforts would benefit the entire area, eventually culminating in the largest land-based casino in Louisiana. Bates's text makes apparent the initiative, resourcefulness, and hard work of tribal leaders like Ernest Sickey, Solomon Battise, Jackson Langley, and Jeff Abbey. With others, they built relationships with government officials and regional allies, worked with intertribal organizations, and collaborated with anthropologists, linguists, and other scholars.

Bates focuses on their "strength-based" leadership, in line with other works like Kenny and Fraser's *Living Indigenous Leadership: Native Narratives on Building Strong Communities* (2012) and Gipp et al.'s *American Indian Stories of Success: New Visions of Leadership in Indian Country* (2015). While Bates's account focuses on male leaders, her emphasis on the importance of baskets brings attention to women and suggests further directions for future research into Coushatta women's histories, lives, and perspectives. Early on, women supported their families by trading baskets for food and supplies. Bates connects Coushatta basketmakers to wider trends in nineteenth century markets for Indigenous art and cultural tourism, as discussed, for instance, in Molly Mullin's *Culture in the Marketplace: Gender, Art, and Value in the American Southwest* (2001) and Meyer and Royer's edited volume, *Selling the Indian: Commercializing and Approaching American Indian Cultures* (2001). Bates points to the growing importance of baskets in the 1960s and 70s in attracting tourists, bringing wider attention to the Coushattas, and highlighting their cultural survival and identity. In the 1970s, in particular, women like Edna Lorena Abbott Langley, Rosabel Sylestine, and Marian John gained widespread notice for the Coushattas via traveling basket exhibits sponsored by the Department of Interior's Indian Arts and Crafts Division. As Bates says, "The Coushatta harnessed art to promote social and economic change" and to educate a wider public (181).

Bates describes how the Coushatta people redefined narratives about them in the popular media to subvert stereotypes and build wider awareness about Coushatta history and culture, sovereignty, and federal recognition. She also shows how they reshaped their relationships with scholars and researchers from intrusive to more equitable and collaborative. For example, Bates describes Hiram Gregory's efforts to teach ethical and accountable research methods to his students and act as an advocate for Louisiana Indigenous peoples by testifying in court cases and assisting with grants and federal recognition petitions. Bates fits these specific details into the broader shifts of the 1970s towards more positive relationships between southern tribes and academics, as Theda Perdue describes, for example, in her interview with Greg O'Brien (*The Native South: New Histories and Enduring Legacies*, 2017).

While Bates' account ends in the 1980s, David Sickey's epilogue takes us to the present. As Coushatta tribal chair, Sickey notes that Bates achieves a model for ethical

Downloaded from http://meridian.allenpress.com/aicrj/article-pdf/44/3/91/2864733/i0161-6463-44-3-91.pdf by University of California user on 09 July 2021

and accountable scholarly collaboration with Native communities. *Basket Diplomacy* complements accounts of earlier eras and sets a foundation on which accounts of more recent times may build. Bates's work accompanies the literature on Indigenous relationships with state and federal governments, the federal recognition process, and Indigenous leadership and activism amidst oppressive racial hierarchies, as in the Jim Crow era. This book is relevant to anyone studying or researching southeastern groups who have had to navigate similar historical circumstances such as the Choctaw, Chitimacha, Houma, Tunica-Biloxi, and Seminole. Her account complements texts such as Katherine Osburn's *Choctaw Resurgence in Mississippi: Race, Class and Nation Building in the Jim Crow South, 1830–1977* (2008). Enriched with previously unpublished photographs that amplify her sensitive, three-dimensional, and humanizing portrait of Coushatta people, Bates's work is a worthy successor to that of scholars such as Theda Perdue, Clara Sue Kidwell, Anthony J. Paredes, and Donald Fixico.

Stephanie May de Montigny
University of Wisconsin Oshkosh

The Colonial Compromise: The Threat of the Gospel to the Indigenous Worldview. Edited by Miguel A. De La Torre. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books/Fortress Academic, 2021. 196 pages. $95.00 cloth; $45.00 electronic.

Like many other scholars of Indigenous religions, I was first introduced to George Tinker's work in graduate school. I read *Missionary Conquest* (1993), urged by my advisor, and included some of Tinker's quotations, terminology, and ideas in my thesis. His definition of "colonization" and use of "cultural genocide" stood out to me as particularly powerful. I was reminded of the power of these words again while reading *The Colonial Compromise*, a collection of essays celebrating the major scholarly contributions of George E. Tinker. In a theme pursued by many of the contributors to this volume, much of the book stresses the significance of language, the history of important concepts, and the usefulness of certain terms.

Edward P. Antonio is interested in investigating and interrogating some of the key concepts found within the title and subtitle of the book, specifically *compromise*, *threat*, and *gospel*. The premise of this first chapter is that compromise and threat acted as the means through which Christianity and colonialism "operated in the encounter between Indigenous peoples and Europeans" (5). In support of his claim that Indigenous compromises were how Indigenous peoples rejected European colonial power, Antonio argues that analyzing these terms is important because colonialism works through these concepts, these categories are morally loaded terms, and the terms have "conceptual dimensions that call for theoretical analysis" (5). In a similar vein, Ward Churchill's chapter focuses on the meaning of the word *genocide* and its relationship to colonialism. Unlike Antonio, however, Churchill is concerned with the importance of proper naming and never mentions the gospel or Christianity. Although

Downloaded from http://meridian.allenpress.com/aicrj/article-pdf/44/3/91/2864733/i0161-6463-44-3-91.pdf by University of California user on 09 July 2021

much of this chapter focuses on his own work on the topic, his discussion of the meaning of genocide does relate back to Tinker's *Missionary Conquest*.

Mark D. Freeland's chapter engages well with both the issue of language and the trajectory of Tinker's work, examining the use of language and translation as a colonizing tool of missionaries. In an important question that drives much of the chapter, Freeland asks if it is "possible for an American Indian person to participate in Christian thought and action without causing harm to their American Indian self, identity, and community" (88). Additionally, Freeland critically analyzes and defines worldview, prayer, and kinship using Anishinaabemowin, the language of the Anishinaabe people, to demonstrate how Christian concepts are not translatable into Indigenous languages and contexts. Some linguistic points are repeated or similar points within Tinker's work are emphasized. Steven T. Newcomb's chapter "On the Use of the Bible for Mental Colonization" reiterates the importance of engaging with the language of genocide mentioned previously in Churchill's chapter, although it differs in his specific engagement with the gospel as a threat to the Indigenous worldview.

Tinker himself addresses why any conformity or assimilation to the Christian Gospel is destructive to the Indigenous worldview in the last chapter, emphasizing that even the "liberal colonizer missionary" is intent on replacing Indigenous culture and worldview with a Euro-Christian worldview (137) and implying that even the "nice Christian" is still an insidious agent of Indigenous extermination. Tinker's emphasis on language as a tool of decolonization would have been helpful in framing the chapters which delve into the particulars of terminology (140–41). Tinker emphasizes that he is not just concerned with religion, but with how cultural and political compromises also impacted the Indigenous worldview (147). His articulation that these other elements are all intertwined would have clarified Churchill's chapter, which never mentions religion. His overall argument is that Euro-Christian thinking has largely replaced Indigenous ways of thinking, which is eroding the community-centered focus of Indigenous peoples (148, 150).

The book's structure is disjointed because some contributors address the topics highlighted in the title or subtitle of the book, while other contributors focused on celebrating Tinker's scholarly career. Both brief sections mostly consist of praise for, biographical highlights of, and personal recollections of George E. Tinker and his influence. Editing would have improved this volume. Grammatical errors occur in nearly every chapter, with some chapters relying too heavily on lengthy quotations and citations.The blurb, preface, and introduction suggest that this book is a tribute to the scholarly works of George E. Tinker and do not address the book's structure, themes, goals, or arguments, such as the threat of the gospel to the Indigenous worldview, nor do they introduce or summarize the chapters or contributors.

Nonetheless, the concluding chapter brings everything together through George E. Tinker's personal journey wrestling with the themes addressed in this book. Indeed, this demonstrates that this chapter should have been the first chapter or the introduction. Pointing out the questions at its heart, Tinker importantly emphasizes his view that compromise changed Indigenous languages and relationships and identifies these changes to Indigenous culture as genocidal. Knowing that Tinker intended genocide

Downloaded from http://meridian.allenpress.com/aicrj/article-pdf/44/3/91/2864733/i0161-6463-44-3-91.pdf by University of California user on 09 July 2021

to be a key component of this venture would have provided the reader direction and understanding of what is to come.

Some similar works are mentioned on multiple occasions, such as Tinker's *Missionary Conquest* (1993) and Newcomb's *Pagans in the Promised Land* (2008). In an extensive bibliography, however, one work emerged as especially worthy of comparative coupling with that of Tinker: Tzvetan Todorov's *The Conquest of America* (1984), which is equally provocative and makes similar claims about the history of colonialism. De La Torre's chapter using Tinker's reassessment of the lives of prominent Christian missionaries to reexamine the life of José Martí would pair particularly well with Todorov's work on Las Casas.

Jason Sprague
University of Michigan-Dearborn

A Diné History of Navajoland. By Klara Kelley and Harris Francis. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2019. $35 paper; $120 electronic.

—*Do it yourself, do it the Diné way* (9).

Recognized scholars researching and publishing important studies about Navajo history and culture, authors Klara Kelley (Euro-American) and Harris Francis (Navajo) have served as significant cultural resources consultants for several Navajo Nation government programs, and for more than three decades have worked on historical preservation projects in all of Navajoland's 110 chapters (communities and local governance units). *A Diné History of Navajoland* continues their notable contributions to understanding Navajo perspectives on the past and present while emphasizing Navajo political and cultural sovereignty. Based on Navajo oral traditions, ceremonies, and more than a hundred ethnographic interviews, each of this book's eleven chapters are extremely noteworthy. The authors successfully demonstrate that traditional oral history is living history—empowering—and rather than based on untrue narratives, such as myths, oral history seeks harmony. Authors of Native American history and culture should always consult and include oral history among written historical sources.

Kelley and Francis make it abundantly clear that the Navajo are not helpless victims and for many centuries have resisted and survived numerous policies and actions designed to destroy their ways of life. Navajo political and cultural sovereignty is self-determination in its truest sense and rejects federal Indian sovereignty laws. The very idea of defining Indigenous peoples' sovereignty based on the dominant culture's definition of dependent sovereign nations is totally unacceptable. Indeed, the Navajo word for sovereignty is "rainbow": the rainbow image surrounds many ceremonial sand paintings of powerful deity icons, the land, and other important items.

The authors critically examine how Navajos came to be and who they are. Rejecting late arrival theories by anthropologists and others, traditional stories successfully

Downloaded from http://meridian.allenpress.com/aicrj/article-pdf/44/3/91/2864733/i0161-6463-44-3-91.pdf by University of California user on 09 July 2021

document the ancestral presence of the Navajo in their Southwest homeland, as well as Navajo knowledge of pre-Columbian trade routes and sacred landscapes mentioned in their oral history. The special bond between the Navajo and their relationship to the land are major themes in chapters 1 through 4, covering the pre-Columbian era, and continue in chapters 5 through 11, when the Navajo faced numerous assaults on their political and cultural sovereignty from non-Navajo aggressors. Contact with dominant cultures resulted in warfare, loss of land, questionable policies regarding the building of railroads and operating mines on Navajo land, and political, economic, and social policies to assimilate them into an alien culture. In spite of all these attacks on their ways of life, the Navajo continued to rely on their beliefs and ceremonies to survive.

This reviewer was fascinated by the details regarding coal-mining operations in Navajoland. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, Navajo men and some women worked in coal mines, especially in the Gallup region. Most Navajo women took care of the livestock and farming duties while their husbands worked in the mines. Company towns provided a merchandise store, a school, and a church. Miners were paid partly in cash and in script or tokens. Special ceremonies were held to protect miners and to atone for the desecration of the land, including some forms of Blessingway. Indeed, some elders believe that coal mining desecrates the liver and blood of mother Earth. The authors' interviews with Navajo miners provide valuable and thought-provoking information, especially how dangerous the work could be.

Again, Kelley and Francis stress that oral history, and not just written sources, is essential to any study of Native Americans. The authors hope that *A Diné History of Navajoland* will be read by young Navajos so that they can become more aware of and fully appreciate the importance of oral traditional stories, ceremonies, and their special relationship to the land and political and cultural sovereignty. The book contains more than forty relevant illustrations, such as trade route maps, cliff dwellings, and Navajos working the land, as well as many wonderful interviews from elders, chanters, and Navajo men and women associated with topics discussed that readers will thoroughly enjoy. Other Indian nations should use Kelley and Francis' approach as a model to write their own history based on oral traditions and interviews. Both general and serious readers of Native American history and culture should have this formative work on their bookshelves.

Raymond Wilson, emeritus
Fort Hays State University

Eatenonha: Native Roots of American Democracy. By Georges Sioui. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019. 182 pages. $34.95 cloth; electronic.

As described on the cover, this is not a work of history, per se, but rather Georges Sioui's selection of facts and opinions woven into a personal memoir, "a unique interweaving of self, family, First Nation and Indigenous peoples of the Americas and elsewhere." Much of *Eatenonha* is in the first person. The subtitle, "Native Roots of

Downloaded from http://meridian.allenpress.com/aicrj/article-pdf/44/3/91/2864733/i0161-6463-44-3-91.pdf by University of California user on 09 July 2021

Modern Democracy," sets up the Wendat (Wyandot, Huron) as the seat of traditional government that is widely called a "counselor democracy." That's a large, rather chauvinistic assertion to support. While the Wendat may have been good practictioners of democracy, it is not very likely that they invented it.

Sioui argues that knowing the true role of the Wendat and "our new understanding of the Aboriginal geopolitics of the Northeast makes us see Canada as the true originator and potentially the international seat, of the discourse on modern democracy" (viii). That is, the author writes, "a true democracy . . . where all beings of all natures are equally valued and respected . . . [in] a feminine order" (ix). "Eatenonha," as defined by Sioui, is Mother Earth, a spiritual utopia without parallel. By turns, the author is very patriotic about the Indigenous, ancient side of "Canada," but also condemning of the intruders' "Canada" of church and state, with "the new, card-carrying Indians/and their phoney leaders, /well backed up by/ Church and State" (49).

The Edinburgh Companion to the History of Democracy, edited by Benjamin Isakhan and Stephen Stockwell (2010), surveys much of the world for democratic precedents and comes up with quite a list. Frederick Engels asserted that counselor democracy was a full-blown stage in human evolution. He valued the Haudenosaunee as a contemporary model for what many peoples had experienced. Isakhan and Stockwell compiled a worldwide survey of historical democratic practice in the Eastern hemisphere. Ancient societies that grew from popular roots each had their own individual development and are developed with a detailed essay. These include Phoenicia, prehistorical Mesopotamia, ancient India, ancient China, early Greece and Sparta, early Rome, Islamic precedents, Venice, the Nordic countries (including Iceland), the Magna Carta and the English Parliament, the Swiss cantons, Indigenous Americans, European immigrants to the east coast of the United States (desires they brought from Europe as shaped by contact with Indigenous peoples), the French Revolution, Africa (the colonial era all but "erased centuries of tribal and village-based governments"), and Australasia.

Even this list may be incomplete. It contains no groups of people north of about 50 degrees north latitude. What of the Inuit, or the ancestors of today's Alaskan Eskimos (a name that most of them still prefer), or a huge range encircling half the North Pole in Russia who have struggled to protect their polities, economies, and other cultural attributes from Russification? Counselor democracy has been (and in some cases still is) used by many Indigenous peoples in North America and the world. The Cherokees have had such a government, as do the Lakota and other peoples of what today is called the United States High Plains, and there were others. In more recent times, the heritage of tribal democracy has been developed in many countries, including Finland's foreign ministry, which published an issue of non-European concepts of democracy from Africa, Asia, and Native America in the April 2009 issue of *Kumppani*; and books by Barbara Alice Mann, Joy Porter, Thomas Wagner (Germany), and J. T. Sanders (Russia).

As the purported seat of modern democracy, the Wendat have quite a bit of competition, beyond the conduit that the Haudenosaunee built through Benjamin Franklin that helped to shape events on the United States' Eastern seaboard. The

Downloaded from http://meridian.allenpress.com/aicrj/article-pdf/44/3/91/2864733/i0161-6463-44-3-91.pdf by University of California user on 09 July 2021

Haudenosaunee are credited with influencing their colonists with "constitutional notions": "A number of political theorists have argued that the United States have [*sic*] conceived their own constitutional notions, along with their own particular expansionist mission, from the model that, with some reason, they purport to have learned from the Hodenosaunee" (120). Sioui then questions why Canadian Indigenous peoples have been excluded from such an inquiry. Sioui goes out of his way to demean and dismiss the Haudenosaunee: "the Five Nations (Iroquois) Confederacy, in Aboriginal times, only occupied a place of marginal importance. It was not able to, nor did it have a will to, threaten or disrupt the political order established in the land." For Sioui, the Haudenosaunee were latecomers propped up by the well-endowed Dutch and their claim to have influenced the birth of democracy is fake.

In Sioui's opinion, the actual architects of "'a commonwealth of nations' based on peace, trade, and reciprocity. . . . The geopolitical centre of this vast commercial and social network was the Wendat Confederacy," whereas the Haudenosaunee were "our close kin and our traditional enemies" (55). Sioui writes that the Haudenosaunee "grew by adoption and adroit diplomacy," yet asserts that alliance with the French cost the Wendat their superior numbers and trade network: "the French "quickly grafted themselves onto us and our vast commonwealth of Native nations" (55). *Eatenonha: Native Roots of American Democracy* is a wonderful story that represents what many of the Wendat (Wyandot, Huron) would believe. Mixing prose and occasional poetry, in places this volume resembles a collection of speeches and as such, suffers occasionally from contradictory, error-prone editing. It also has no index, a problem for fact-checking academics and some general readers. Bruce Trigger's works are still the gold standard.

Bruce E. Johansen, emeritus
University of Nebraska at Omaha

The Radiant Lives of Animals. By Linda Hogan. Boston: Beacon Press, 2020. 148 pages. $19.95 cloth.

In part, author Linda Hogan declares the thesis of *The Radiant Lives of Animals* by placing it in the context of news stories about the many animals around the world who are being slaughtered and whose species are threatened with extinction. When she hears such reports, she writes in the opening chapter, "I am reminded.... Re-minded. Exactly what so many of us need to be. We need to have changed minds, to look at new ways of thinking about our shared world" (7). With this in view, Hogan sets out to describe her encounters with many individual animals, wild and domestic, of many different species, especially those native to the area of her cabin home in the foothills of the Colorado Rockies. This is not Hogan's first re-minder concerning the lives and well-being of nonhuman animals. In her novel *Power* (1998), quoted in *Radiant Lives*, she traces the state and fate of the Florida panther in the complex context of Indigenous understanding and responsibility in contrast to non-Indigenous Floridian laws and attitudes.

Downloaded from http://meridian.allenpress.com/aicrj/article-pdf/44/3/91/2864733/i0161-6463-44-3-91.pdf by University of California user on 09 July 2021

Hogan's work repeatedly raises how we humans can respect Indigenous traditions concerning nonhuman animals and the natural world at the same time as we seek to preserve and protect endangered species. A 2009 novel, *People of the Whale*, undertook an analogous investigation of the grey whale, historically and recently hunted by the Makah Indians of northwestern Washington State, which was preceded by the coauthored nonfiction work *Sightings: The Grey Whale's Mysterious Journey* (2002), which followed whales as they migrate from Baja to the waters off the west coast of Canada. *Radiant Lives* also recalls Hogan's book *Dwellings: A Spiritual History of the Living World* (1995), in which she includes chapters about bats, wolves, and snakes, for example.

If those earlier works introduce and explore such issues, *The Radiant Lives of Animals* revisits them, often very specifically, coming face-to-face with many of her neighbor animals as individuals. If part of re-minding is learning to care, "part of caring is observation" (84), and Hogan shares deliberate observations of, among others, fox, mountain lions, wolves, bears, wapitis, bats, crows, king birds, ants, as well as domestic horses and her cat. Along the way, she acknowledges more than once that she, too, "is one of the animals" (71).

In addition to the several chapters describing encounters with different animals, the book includes accounts of the author's personal life. The reader learns, for example, that she has overcome a serious riding injury and adopted a horse and wild burro. It also includes some of Hogan's poetry, as well as references to Chickasaw and many other tribal traditions. Such mixed-genre accounts are in the tradition of such Native writers as N. Scott Momaday (Kiowa) with his book *The Way to Rainy Mountain* (1969), history and story and poetry combined with his father's ink drawings; and as Leslie Marmon Silko (Laguna Pueblo) with her book *Storyteller* (1981), incorporating poems and stories along with her father's photographs. Linking all is the desire to remind, remember: "I don't want to lose whatever is natural in my own self, if only it is observations of butterflies or any of my own small actions of caretaking the earth" (69).

Writing of horses and buffalo, implying that they coevolved, Hogan does not make clear that the horses she refers to are newcomers to the Americas. But with this possibly intentional confusion, she includes this figurative passage: "Even the buffalo were enchanted by the wild horses running across the earth in their new freedom, as if remembering they shared a muscular, powerful presence together in the dark caves long ago when humans were merely stick figures" (60). Perhaps poetic license grants her the freedom to remain a bit vague about how long horses and buffalo roamed the American West together. Hogan's account of a rattle-less rattlesnake that bites and causes the death of her cat offers a somewhat problematic "researched" theory that "losing their rattles gave them the chance to remain in hiding and escape hunters" (125). Without completely acknowledging the extreme improbability of such rapid adaptation, she also offers an unlikely explanation from her graduate student granddaughter: because of scarcity of potential mates, rattlesnakes breed with bull snakes and so do not develop rattles. Whatever the actual explanation for a rattlesnake without rattles, these remain quite unsatisfactory.

Downloaded from http://meridian.allenpress.com/aicrj/article-pdf/44/3/91/2864733/i0161-6463-44-3-91.pdf by University of California user on 09 July 2021

The book includes references to contemporary politics, climate change, and endangered species, but it adroitly avoids a specificity that might lock it in the moment of its writing. Hogan takes a rather nostalgic look at a past of whose existence there is no evidence given: "I have watched us fall from what they call grace, falling from what seemed a country of some kindness into this opposite place where water was once protected for our children to drink, but is now toxic, a world where some words could be trusted, and I see us falling from a country that once seemed safe and mostly of honest intent, no weapon carried" (98). The narrator's lament becomes more pointed in the contexts of human exploitation and slaughter of other animals. As a result, she laments, "we are also losing parts of the soul of the world" (127). But Hogan also looks at ways to regain that soul. Honoring and protecting wolves, for instance, ensures the health of the forest.

The book's final chapter is fully hopeful, moving beyond the near-despair suggested in notions of the loss of the soul. Here Hogan recounts walking to feed her horse on a shoveled pathway from barn to corral bounded on either side by deep-piled snow. Trapped on the path, she comes face to face with a 900-pound, large-antlered bull wapiti. She ends up feeding the elk also, and she and the wild animal learn to coexist: "On the path, the elk and I meet one another in a new place" (143). In that new place, both literal and figurative, she overcomes her fear of the elk; she and the wild animal come to a mutual acknowledgment of difference. In this way the book comes full circle—through observation, patience, respect, the author demonstrates a personal re-minding.

Lee Schweninger
University of North Carolina Wilmington

Seen but Not Seen: Influential Canadians and the First Nations from the 1840s to Today. By Donald B. Smith. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020. 451 pages. $85 cloth; $32.95 paper.

Donald B. Smith, emeritus professor of history at the University of Calgary, provides fascinating biographical portraits of sixteen non-Indigenous individuals from different professions and examines how each influenced Canadian perceptions of Indigenous peoples. Well known as the author of previous biographies of Mississauga Chief Peter Jones and the mysterious Buffalo Child Long Lance, Smith draws on knowledge gained in a half-century of archival research and field work to provide readers of *Seen but Not Seen* with the reasons for Ottawa's many failures in regard to Indigenous peoples. Although geared for Canadian scholars, historians of Native Americans in the United States will find Smith's excellent work quite illuminating, as much has parallels south of the international boundary line.

The book explains why Canadians did not awaken to recognize the worth of Indigenous peoples, their nations, and their cultures until 1969. In that year, a time when termination policies were waning in the United States, First Nations in Canada

Downloaded from http://meridian.allenpress.com/aicrj/article-pdf/44/3/91/2864733/i0161-6463-44-3-91.pdf by University of California user on 09 July 2021

faced their own termination threat. They overwhelmingly rejected the Canadian government's infamous "White Paper" calling for the termination of legal rights for "Status Indians," the abolition of treaty rights and the end of the separate reserve system, and the dismantling of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Although the planned policy was ultimately rejected, it ignited a powerful and persistent movement of resistance within First Nation communities.

Chapter 1 concerns Canada's first Prime Minister after Confederation in 1867. John A. Macdonald set the national policy agenda on Indigenous peoples although he never traveled west of southern Ontario before 1886. Macdonald believed that the "First Nations were culturally, not biologically inferior and that Christianity and a European education would eliminate the cultural inferiority" (38). Through the Gradual Enfranchisement Act, in 1869 he pushed for elected governance in place of councils of hereditary chiefs. The following year Macdonald overturned an 1836 treaty that guaranteed Indigenous ownership of lands at Manitoulin Island. As superintendent of Indian Affairs (1878–1887), Macdonald backed a policy that required passes for Indigenous peoples to leave their reserves. He supported educating Indigenous girls, yet worked hand-in-hand with religious groups to promote the establishment of residential schools and then allowed the clergy to have a free hand in administering these institutions. Over the past three decades, as the size and scope of the tragedies continue to be revealed, the government's lack of oversight has finally come home to roost. Smith also points out that Macdonald's policies in the North West in 1885 were "totally reprehensible, and his approval of the execution of Louis Riel, a colossal error" (31).

In chapter 2, the author examines the life of John Chantler McDougall, a Methodist minister who grew up in two worlds. McDougall, who spoke both Cree and Ojibwe, defended Indian hunting rights and championed Native participation in the Calgary Stampede. Since he believed that Indigenous peoples had been damaged beyond repair and could not retain their culture much longer, McDougall advocated assimilation. The subject of the next chapter is George M. Grant, who headed Queens University when the prominent linguist Silas Rand was honored. Despite Rand's call for Mi'kmaq land rights to be recognized, both he and Grant believed that Indigenous people would inevitably be absorbed into Canadian society. The focus of chapter 4 is the trial judge in a mid-1880s case that involved disputed land situated between Manitoba and Ontario, John A. Boyd. Boyd had no contact with Indigenous peoples. In his decision, Boyd enunciated the so-called "Doctrine of Discovery" and insisted that Indian ownership did not exist simply by merely occupying the land, roaming over it, or supporting themselves on it. In that her views on assimilation were expressed as recently as the mid-twentieth century, Smith's inclusion of Kathleen Coburn, a widely published professor of English literature with friends among the Ojibwe, seems chronologically out of place here.

In chapter 5, Smith then turns to a much-despised official who rose from bookkeeper to head the Department of Indian Affairs from 1913 to 1932: Duncan Campbell Scott. Previous ethnohistorians have focused on Scott's efforts to overthrow the traditional Council of Chiefs at the Six Nations Reserve, or his persecution of the Cayuga chief Deskaheh for his efforts to bring international condemnation of

Downloaded from http://meridian.allenpress.com/aicrj/article-pdf/44/3/91/2864733/i0161-6463-44-3-91.pdf by University of California user on 09 July 2021

Canada's treatment of Indigenous peoples before the League of Nations. This chapter concerns other aspects of his career: Scott believed in forcing "Status Indians" to accept enfranchisement, starting with the Wendat/Hurons, who he inaccurately judged as being no longer different from than their Canadian white neighbors. The author is especially insightful in in his treatment of this bureaucrat's confrontation with Fred Loft, a prominent Mohawk from the Six Nations Reserve and founder of the League of Indians of Canada. Although Loft favored enfranchisement, Scott could not tolerate an Indigenous person in a leadership position, labeled him a dangerous subversive and put him under surveillance, and even tried to remove him from the Mohawk rolls. Scott also suppressed the potlatch in British Columbia, favored a law making it illegal for Plains Indians to participate in ceremonies off their reserves, and supported an amendment to the Indian Act making it illegal for Indians to solicit funds in their efforts to bring claims against the Canadian government.

In the following chapter, Smith heaps praise on Toronto-born Paul A. W. Wallace, who, like his famous anthropologist son Anthony, saw Native Americans as transnational peoples. Wallace contributed significantly to our knowledge of the Delaware and Haudenosaunee past, but also promoted others' writings on Indigenous peoples while serving as long-time editor of the journal *Pennsylvania History* and as a historian at the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. At first an instructor of English at a small Pennsylvania college, Wallace began to receive accolades for his biography of Conrad Weiser. Working closely with Indigenous people on the Six Nations Reserve, Wallace set out to gain firsthand knowledge from Haudenosaunee there, resulting in his beautifully written book *The White Roots of Peace*. According to Smith, Wallace's writings "created a balance to the literature on Indian savagery" that characterized most of the writings at the time (172).

Abbé Lionel Groulx, the most famous French-Canadian historian of the mid-twentieth century, used racist language and continued to perpetuate stereotypes in his many writings through 1960, as Smith points out in chapter 7. In contrast, we hear of a remarkable French Canadian, Jacques Rousseau, cofounder of the Jardin Botanique and head of the history branch of the National Museum of Man. In his writings, speeches, and documentaries, Rousseau pointed out injustices faced by Indigenous peoples. At the beginning of chapter 8, the focus is on Franz Boas and his many Columbia University students, but the author forgoes criticism, merely stressing the cultural relativist approaches of this cohort of anthropologists. Smith then treats Emily Carr, a Paris-trained artist who promoted West Coast Indian art, but avoided speaking up about Indigenous land claims and saw the inevitability of their absorption into Canadian society. The chapter ends with a non-Indian woman, Maisie Hurley, who nonetheless was the publisher of *Native Voice* and the first woman to be admitted to the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia. Hurley fought against British Columbia's attempts to confiscate reserve lands, reported on racist treatment towards Indigenous peoples, and fought for their eligibility for social security benefits.

Four portraits conclude Smith's book: Buffalo Child Long Lance, a non-enrolled multiracial person from the United States who became a lecturer, writer, and movie star addressing the public at large on Native concerns; John Laurie, a teacher and secretary

Downloaded from http://meridian.allenpress.com/aicrj/article-pdf/44/3/91/2864733/i0161-6463-44-3-91.pdf by University of California user on 09 July 2021

of the Indian Association of Canada who fought for improved education, health, and social services; Hugh Dempsey, the archivist and noted author at the Glenbow Institute in Calgary, editor of *Alberta History,* and expert on Treaty Seven of 1877 concerning Indigenous lands in southern Alberta; and Harold Cardinal, the famous Cree activist who in 1969 wrote an explosive critique of Canadian Indian policy, *The Unjust Society*. Concluding with a brief epilogue about the changes since 1969, Smith insists: "Indigenous issues are everywhere" and "non-Indigenous Canadians have changed direction, leaving indifference behind, and they are now attempting to establish an equitable and mutually beneficial relationship with the First Nations, to achieve reconciliation" (271–272). Let's hope so. Canadians failed to understand and appreciate the world of the First Nations. The author has provided a most valuable study of why.

Laurence M. Hauptman, emeritus
State University of New York, New Paltz

Storying Violence: Unravelling Colonial Narratives in the Stanley Trial. By Gina Starblanket and Dallas Hunt. Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring Publishing, 2020. 139 pages. $15.00 paper.

On August 9, 2016, Cree youth Colton Boushie was fatally shot by Gerald Stanley, who was found not guilty of any crime at trial. Historicizing Stanley's defense, the apparatus of the law, and the interaction that took place between the Stanley family and the Indigenous youth who were present that day, in *Storying Violence: Unravelling Colonial Narratives in the Stanley Trial,* Gina Starblanket and Dallas Hunt demonstrate how the trial's context produced its outcome and establishes the trial itself as evidence of a larger context of Canada's existing structural racism by demonstrating how systemic racism operates. This analysis results in a political and cultural framework that permeates legal institutions, described as "settler reason," which Colten Boushie, his family, and the Stanley family all experienced in different ways. The volume's analytic process, which Starblanket and Hunt term *storying*, constitutes a reversal of the flattening that occurs in the contexts of authority and knowledge generation. Storying puts ideas in relation with each other and encourages discourse in more expansive ways than are possible within settler epistemology. The text explicitly and implicitly mounts critiques of the legal apparatus in Canada and makes suggestions for ways to advocate for just and equitable change.

The Canadian legal system is densely laden with operational practices that structure the behaviors of people who are engaged with it, as well as the outcomes for their lives. Starblanket and Hunt show how the built and sociocultural environments both impact ways that individuals behave and how behaviors are circumscribed by the cultural norms that structure physical embodiments of the concept of respect. Starblanket and Hunt draw attention to how the narratives of the Stanley trial position the youth involved as intruding thieves who are violent and aggressive, including

Downloaded from http://meridian.allenpress.com/aicrj/article-pdf/44/3/91/2864733/i0161-6463-44-3-91.pdf by University of California user on 09 July 2021

Colten Boushie, who lost his life during the interactions with the Stanleys, while the defendant is positioned within family, responsible, and as responding to a situation "forced" upon him. All of this was possible without any need for the defense to ascribe values to the youths' race explicitly because those values were already included in normative cultural understandings. The expression of justice within this setting is constructed to align with values and beliefs associated with the Canadian prairies. The normative apparatus of institutions in Canada is rooted in settler logics, the corollary of the past, and a product of the society built through the permissions ascribed by colonial violence. The operationalization of these concepts within structures is therefore inherently exclusionary to Indigenous people; for Indigenous people, interacting with western structures can be opaque, harmful, and even deadly.

Drawing on theoretical concepts of representation and framing, Starblanket and Hunt term the common knowledge generated on the western prairies as "settler reason." They show that the structures of contemporary justice (and by implication, other settler institutions) operate not only from particular assumptions, but also reify the same assumptions through their ongoing use. They contend (as do scholars like Michel-Rolph Trouillot, Tiffany Lethabo King, and Larajane Smith) that pastness is not past, but rather the past constitutes the present. Without targeted intervention, the narratives created are enduring, and the institutions that arise from particular knowledge contexts only reflect the curated and selected history that entered the record. Starblanket and Hunt argue that it is this context that makes race a central figure in the Stanley trial. Dominant narratives (including that of settler superiority) preclude awareness of the harms inflicted on Indigenous people though operationalization of settler epistemology. Storying, as employed by Starblanket and Hunt, painstakingly and patiently demonstrates how settler logics operate, how they harm Indigenous people, and how they generate structural racism though institutionalized forms.

In their analysis of treaty, Starblanket and Hunt follow the reasoning that it is impossible to know what exists outside of colonialism, because it is a permeating structure that has underpinned the boundaries of what it is possible to think and to know. They suggest that because treaties had value and use before their use with colonizers and were a means of creating kinship, treaties continue to hold meaning for Indigenous people. While this interpretation differs significantly from what was written on the numbered treaties, Starblanket and Hunt feel it is within the scope of intention for the Indigenous signatories and that it remains a potentially useful perspective for their interpretation and activation, but find limitations on the applicability of Indigenous methodology in the current context due to the pervasive structuring impacts of coloniality, despite the potential usefulness of the relationality inherent in Indigenous conceptions of treaty.

Another approach for change within *Storying Violence* is implied by the devastating assertion in their section title, "the system isn't broken, it was built this way." The authors believe that justice for Indigenous people is not possible in the same way that it is for settlers. Indigenous people are denied the forms of justice that are allocated to settlers, and which are apparently promised to all Canadians through statutes and laws such as the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The implied intervention

Downloaded from http://meridian.allenpress.com/aicrj/article-pdf/44/3/91/2864733/i0161-6463-44-3-91.pdf by University of California user on 09 July 2021

is a complete dismantling of the justice system in order to establish a more useful and equitable institution. Many Indigenous scholars advocate similar approaches for all manner of institutions (Billy-Ray Belcourt, Daniel Heath Justice, and Eve Tuck, for example) and, like Starblanket and Hunt, point out that current systems function exactly as they are intended—to exclude Indigenous people.

The process of storying demonstrates how contemporary prairie institutions have been shaped by historic, cultural, geographic, and economic forces. These conditions have shaped Indigenous and settler relations and cemented them into the structural fabric of the legal environment in which Stanley acted and then was tried. The text concludes with appeals to kinship, suggesting that the responsibility to dismantle systemic racism and resist the flattening of knowledge into western institutions is expansive, as is the potential for better outcomes.

Amanda Foote
University of Calgary

These People Have Always Been a Republic: Indigenous Electorates in the U.S.–Mexico Borderlands, 1598–1912. By Maurice S. Crandall. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019. 372 pages. $90.00 cloth; $29.95 paper; $22.99 electronic.

Native Americans' participation in civil government and their engagement with voter franchise is not simply a modern American story. Covering centuries in his ambitious study, Maurice Crandall examines how Indigenous peoples of the American Southwest and northern Mexico have conducted themselves in representative government from precontact to the contemporary moment. The author offers to corral a "confluence of stories" from various Indigenous peoples and shape it into a cogent history of Native sovereignty and political participation through a succession of colonial regimes in the Southwest (1). Crandall succeeds in this daunting task, analyzing through the lens of citizenship and voting rights how four groups—the Pueblos, Yaquis, Hopis, and Tohono O'odhams—navigated the changing political expectations and opportunities within Spanish, Mexican, and United States administrations.

The book's three sections on the Spanish, Mexican, and American periods of colonization focus on the experiences of these four Indigenous peoples. Crandall further distinguishes between his examinations of Pueblo developments in New Mexico and the experiences of the Yaquis, Hopis, and collective O'odham peoples of the Sonoran-Arizona borderland. A study this broad, covering multiple groups across a range of territory and an eventual international border, necessarily requires hopping between peoples, sites, and eras. While at times this threatens to disorient readers not steeped in the history and peoples of the Southwest, Crandall outlines his study in lucid terms and provides signposts to keep his audience on track. The book also features a series of maps that makes it easier to reorient between geographic zones and time periods.

Crandall's book is manifestly relevant to scholars of the Southwest borderlands and the specific Indigenous peoples he studies, but it also holds value for a wider

Downloaded from http://meridian.allenpress.com/aicrj/article-pdf/44/3/91/2864733/i0161-6463-44-3-91.pdf by University of California user on 09 July 2021

audience of historians, legal scholars, and those in Native and Indigenous studies more broadly. Crandall's investigation allows important insight into how Spanish efforts to create Indigenous republics and incorporate Native peoples mapped onto the primary Spanish objective in the borderlands of New Mexico and Pimería Alta—to create taxpaying Indigenous subjects. But he also shows how Native peoples in the region met these colonizing efforts with a variety of responses. Puebloans, already sedentary agrarians with precontact antecedents to republican governance, adopted certain aspects of electoral representation to steer Spanish colonial policy in New Mexico. Hopis violently resisted such structures and may have eliminated members of their community who adopted certain Spanish modes of governance. The Yaquis accepted some Spanish civil government but only to maintain their political autonomy within Sonora. The O'odhams countenanced Spanish missionary activities, but neither directly engaged with Spanish colonial government the way neighboring groups did, nor did they form separate, sovereign República de Indios.

Crandall's examination of the Mexican era likewise presents some significant and surprising historical revelations. It remains an important detail that the Mexican state extended citizenship to Native peoples so early in its national history. Crandall presents this period between 1821–1846 as one of both ambiguity and possibility for Native peoples in the body politic. For instance, in the Río Arriba Rebellion of 1837, Hispano and Indigenous New Mexicans briefly established a multiethnic Cantón and placed José Gonzales—a *genízaro*—at the head of government. But there was also chronic underfunding to support or engage with Native groups in the northern hinterlands and in general, the Mexican state left groups like Hopis and O'odhams to their own devices.

When the United States began advancing claims of suzerainty over the Indigenous peoples of the region in the nineteenth century, the old maxim that excluded Indians from American political society came under fire as Anglo officials debated the status of Pueblos within the territorial government of New Mexico. Further complicating this question of Indigenous citizenship in the United States, Article VIII of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ended the US–Mexico War, stipulated that Mexican citizens within ceded territory would become de facto US citizens. At least on paper, this included the Native peoples of the Southwest who had received citizenship recognition from Mexico during the independence movement. Crandall's chapters on the American period show how at the territorial and state level, legal suits during the nineteenth and early twentieth century sought to limit the franchise of Native peoples in Arizona and New Mexico. But he also shows how Indigenous groups at times rejected the franchise "in favor of protecting citizenship" and autonomy within their distinct political communities (220). Native peoples and non-Indigenous advocates saw the acceptance of voting privileges under US auspices as a threat to retaining separate Indigenous sovereignty and collective land rights.

The upshot of this long and complex history through three colonizing regimes is to demonstrate that rather than clear patterns, Native peoples in the region engaged with the political process of franchise and representation in strikingly different ways. Sometimes this included armed resistance, as in the case of the Yaqui Revolt of 1740,

Downloaded from http://meridian.allenpress.com/aicrj/article-pdf/44/3/91/2864733/i0161-6463-44-3-91.pdf by University of California user on 09 July 2021

when Native peoples rose up specifically to protect the integrity of an Indigenous electoral system at the local level, free from Jesuit intervention. At other times, it meant forgoing voting rights in order to protect the collective sovereignty and separate identity of Indigenous governance, apart from the American settler state. The one constant in all these actions was that Native peoples strategically adopted, rejected, and modified political structures of the colonizing regimes to best protect their sovereignty.

This work, apart from its significance to the history of voter franchise in North America, also augments a growing body of scholarship about Native peoples' experiences with citizenship across a continent. Alongside studies like Audra Simpson's *Mohawk Interruptus* (2014) or the ongoing work of scholar Holly Guise on Alaska's Native peoples, Crandall's book illuminates the deeper and more varied history of Indigenous peoples' engagement with colonizing polities and their civil governments. Rather than one upward arc of progress towards citizenship, franchise, and equal rights, Crandall shows how over the course of three colonial regimes, Native peoples in the Southwest have navigated the promises and pitfalls of voting with the goal of maintaining their sovereignty above all else. This historicizes the struggle for Indigenous sovereignty and democratic forms of participatory government in deeper time.

Crandall also brings a warranted personal perspective to the project as a member of the Yavapai-Apache Nation. Bookending his far-ranging study with insights from his own family history helps to situate Native peoples' experiences with civil government in the Southwest in both the present and the past. This is a fittingly circular, rather than linear, way to structure a book that shows how Indigenous groups strove to maintain sovereignty and community participation for centuries and will continue to do so well into the future.

John William Nelson
Texas Tech University

Unsettling Native Histories on the Northwest Coast. Edited by Kathryn Bunn-Marcuse and Aldona Jonaitis. Seattle: Bill Holm Center for the Study of Northwest Coast Native Art in association with University of Washington Press. 2020. 334 pages. $39.95 cloth; $39.95 electronic.

Given that the apprehension of Northwest Coast Native art is an ever-evolving process, these essays provide readers with an urgently required snapshot of dynamic contemporary strategies. The current and recent projects described here grow in tandem with efforts toward the decolonization of museums, changing methodologies in scholarship, and the production of new artworks that self-consciously foreground Indigenous authority and cultural perspectives. These developments have taken shape in a field that, for some time, has been in the process of coming to terms with colonial histories, the ongoing occupation of Indigenous lands, and the need to acknowledge asymmetrical power relationships between Native and non-Native peoples. *Unsettling Native Histories* is structured in four sections, introduced by Bunn-Marcuse's overview

Downloaded from http://meridian.allenpress.com/aicrj/article-pdf/44/3/91/2864733/i0161-6463-44-3-91.pdf by University of California user on 09 July 2021

and concluded by Aldona Jonaitis's history of the influential scholarship and events that have brought us to this moment in the field. Catagorized as "cultural heritage protection: questions of rights and authority," "women's work: stories, art, and power," "changing museums," and "beyond art," some overlap in the themes and content of these essays undoubtedly made the parsing of sections a challenge.

The particularly meaningful nature of visual recycling on the Northwest Coast, where prerogatives related to specific histories and their embodiment in works of art has long been strategically deployed in displays of sovereignty, is central to the discussion in Part I. The two essays on the subject of replication in Northwest Coast Native art that begin and conclude this section highlight key differences among projects motivated by Indigenous concerns, as opposed to those affected by the interests of outsiders. Emily L. Moore's "The Seward Shame Pole: A Tlingit Monument to the Alaska Purchase" chronicles the history of a pole first carved in the nineteenth century by the Taant'a kwáan Tlingit of Tongass Village. It was produced as an attempted corrective to the affronts of William H. Seward, then US secretary of state who, as is well-known, was a key figure in the 1867 purchase of Alaska from Russia as just one part of the voracious series of land acquisitions considered the "manifest destiny" of the United States. When Chief Ebbets of the Teikweidí Brown Bear clan had hosted a lavish potlatch for Seward in 1869, he effectively was applying a tried-and-true Tlingit methodology for honoring allies and attempting to initiate complex and binding relationships fraught with mutual obligation. Not so for Seward, who had no motive to insert himself in the reciprocities inherent in the potlatch system. Moore chronicles the replication of two more versions of the pole which were meant as counternarratives to then-current non-Indigenous understandings of the Alaska purchase, one by Charles Brown under the aegis of the Civilian Conservation Corps in 1941, and another by Stephen Jackson in 2017, commissioned by the city of Saxman.

Janet Catherine Berlo and Aldona Jonaitis discuss the problematics of appropriation of Northwest Coast styles, imagery, media, and methodologies by non-Natives in "From 'Artifakes' to 'Surrogates': The Replication of Northwest Coast Carving by Non-Natives." Notably, Berlo and Jonaitis resist any oversimplification of these examples as fundamentally legitimate or illegitimate, contextualized, and made meaningful by the historical circumstances of their production. Examples run the gamut, from those made by artists who have had deep ties and have made significant contributions to Northwest Coast Native cultures, to the less-ambiguous status of Northwest Coast-style knock-offs made overseas for the art or souvenir markets.

The second section, "Women's Work," begins with "Stl'inll–Those with Clever Hands: Presenting Female Indigenous Art and Scholarship," by Haida curator Jisgang Nika Collison. Collison describes colonial processes that changed the perception of traditional female Haida roles, even encouraging some historical shifts in women's experiences after contact, conditioned by codifications that originated in non-Native culture. She updates our understanding of women in the potlatch system and also provides descriptions of her own curatorial projects that have drawn attention to women's art on Haida Gwaii.

Downloaded from http://meridian.allenpress.com/aicrj/article-pdf/44/3/91/2864733/i0161-6463-44-3-91.pdf by University of California user on 09 July 2021

Part III documents recent efforts to redefine museums as cultural resources for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous purposes as additional locations for the expression and production of Northwest Coast artistic, cultural, and ceremonial practices. "Woosh.Jee.Een, Pulling Together: Repatriation's Healing Tide," by Lucy Fowler Williams with contributions by Robert Starbard, describes an admirable repatriation history, concerning the collaboration of the Tlingit T'akdeintaan clan of Hoonah, Alaska with the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. As a result of the shared concerns of both Tlingit activists and museum staff, items now called the Mt. Fairweather Snail House collection (acquired in 1924 by Louis Shotridge), were returned including the important Rock of Lituya robe. This collaborative work exceeded the requirements of NAGPRA legislation in a contemporary, living ceremonial context.

"Beyond Art" includes stories of recent art production that result from unique contemporary circumstances and instances of cultural exchange. "Soft Robes of Thundering Power: Mountain Goat Fiber Textiles" is an extraordinary report by artist Evelyn Vanderhoop who has marshaled museum and archival resources for the production of outstanding works of art, outlining methodologies potentially of use for others. In "Sayach'apis and the Naani (Grizzly Bear) Crest," Denise Nicole Green tells the story of Nuu-chah-nulth Chief Sayach'apis (Walter Thomas) who survived an encounter with a grizzly bear. This resulted in the recent production of a new crest or emblem associated with identity and prerogative, a counterpoint to the more frequent artistic citation of episodes that originated in antiquity. In 2010 this crest was publicly validated at a cleansing potlatch, or Yaxmalthit.

Aldona Jonaitis' conclusion poses key questions, currently the subject of much debate, about the legitimacy and usefulness of non-Native scholarship in the fields of Native American and First Nations art and culture, as well as provides context and lineage for all of these processes and projects, decades in the making. She cites a historical shift from Indigenous "subject" to increasing participation in history-making partnerships, which is now progressing to the ascendancy of Indigenous thought and authority—processes that Jonaitis has observed and navigated in the course of her own career. How will Indigenous priorities and self-determination change cultural representations in print, in museums, and in artworks going forward? Perhaps some representations may not be available to or, even readily understood by, all audiences. Artistic production and the dissemination of information may, in fact, become a matter of strategic outreach. As has always been the case, Northwest Coast art advances the prerogative and sovereignty of those who are legitimately authorized to create, interpret, and display it.

Judith Ostrowitz
Independent scholar

Downloaded from http://meridian.allenpress.com/aicrj/article-pdf/44/3/91/2864733/i0161-6463-44-3-91.pdf by University of California user on 09 July 2021

Writing Their Bodies: Restoring Rhetorical Relations at the Carlisle Indian School. By Sarah Klotz. Logan: Utah State University Press, 2021. 150 pages. $22.95 paper.

What premises and assumptions underlie English language learning in the United States? For Sarah Klotz, who identifies as a "scholar engaged in the teaching of writing," some records from the country's first, and perhaps foremost, off-reservation boarding school present a disturbing answer (5). In *Writing Their Bodies*, Klotz exposes literacy as not only a key tool of the assimilation program, but also a powerful weapon of colonial violence. In this work, letters authored by students, parents, and Carlisle's infamous superintendent, Colonel Richard Henry Pratt, as well as student sketchbooks and school periodicals, reveal the genocidal logic behind the supplanting of Western rhetoric for Indigenous modes of expression. Academic literature dedicated to the consequences of this project is legion, as is literature on Indian boarding schools generally. Indeed, Carlisle in particular has received extended and extensive scholarly attention for several decades. Klotz is keenly aware of her intellectual genealogy, which she traces directly in her writing: influential boarding school historians, such as David Wallace Adams, Brenda J. Child, and K. Tsianina Lomawaima, are credited throughout, together with key literary theorists like Gerald Vizenor and Scott Richard Lyons.

The distinguishing feature of Klotz's analysis is what she terms "rhetoric of relations," defined as "multimodal" and "embodied" forms of communication developed to "resist and repurpose alphabetic literacy" (5). In that this term compels us to expand our understanding of rhetoric beyond the written word, *Writing Their Bodies* is a story of Native resistance, one that can only be told by translating the extratextual evidence found in the drawings and writings of Carlisle students and parents. In the first chapter, "Plains Pictography and Embodied Resistance at Fort Marion," this entails Klotz's close reading of sketches made by one of Pratt's earliest "students," Etahdleuh Doanmoe, who had been one of the seventy-two Native prisoners held at Fort Marion, where the allegedly rehabilitative curriculum there had inspired that of Carlisle.

Doanmoe documented his experiences in captivity and beyond in a series of sketches that Pratt later compiled and published under the title *A Kiowa's Odyssey*. Klotz's reading isolates two sketches from Doanmoe's collection, both of which pertain to a suicide attempt on the journey to Fort Marion made by a fellow prisoner, Lean Bear. In Klotz's analysis, Doanmoe's sketches aren't renderings drawn to help him make sense of his journey through a changing world. Rather, they're Kiowa-style pictographs produced to help make sense of the world to others, in particular Doanmoe's fellow captives and community back home. As the author forwards these sketches as evidence of an enduring "communicative system indigenous to the Southern plains," one in which a speaker uses "pictographs to recall and narrate key events" (43), possible notions of a Native-authored Greek epic are shattered.

Although the resilience of Kiowa expressivity amidst oppression has been addressed by others—including Janet Berlo, cited here, and Jenny Tone-Pah-Hote more recently—Klotz pushes us to think again, expansively. Why did Doanmoe choose to sketch Lean Bear's suicide attempt? What does Lean Bear's body signify

Downloaded from http://meridian.allenpress.com/aicrj/article-pdf/44/3/91/2864733/i0161-6463-44-3-91.pdf by University of California user on 09 July 2021

in Doanmoe's drawing and what is it meant to signify to Native viewers? For Klotz, the significance of Lean Bear's body on the page reflects the value that he ascribed to his body in life: shackled and carried thousands of miles away from his tribe, the Cheyenne chief used his body, one of the few things left to him, to resist. Klotz applies the conventions of Plains ledger art to argue that because Lean Bear's prone body is positioned on the *left* side of Doanmoe's sketch, his attempted suicide is treated as the courageous act of a warrior. In simpler, starker terms, Indigenous suicide in the context of captivity is read and presented as a heroic victory. Given Lean Bear's motivations and their translation to Doanmoe's page, Klotz encourages us to read Lean Bear's self-wounding as "embodied" rhetoric, a move that enables us to recognize and acknowledge messages of resistance or otherwise communicated through bodies and not just words.

Klotz carries this thread into the book's remaining chapters, where she identifies moments of embodied communication at Carlisle during its earliest years. Examples include the use of Plains Sign Talk between Plains and non-Plains students, as well as other instances of self-harm and suicide. The latter, of course, is a troubling history whose consequences continue to resound in Native communities today, but in many ways that is precisely Klotz's point: the self-inflicted deaths of Carlisle students are full of meaning, not the least of which is the refusal to comply. Expanding the definition of rhetoric to include embodied communication ensures that the meaning of these students' deaths remains legible. By adopting a "rhetoric of relations," the body of student Ernest White Thunder, the subject of chapter 3, "continues to represent an injustice the colonial government cannot erase" and an act of resistance we cannot misread (72).

Although the relevance of Klotz's work to the field of American Indian and Indigenous studies is clear, her primary audience seems to be located elsewhere: rhetoric and composition, perhaps, or English literature more broadly. Indeed, Klotz reserves some of her sharpest critiques for literacy studies, though the best of these are relegated to the footnotes. It's here, for instance, that she thunders, "Despite correctives offered by New Literacy Studies . . . our field still needs to account for centuries of colonial mythology passing as literacy scholarship" (127). She goes on to condemn the minimization of decolonizing scholarship as a subfield or "special interest" in the "still Western-centric" areas of literacy and rhetoric. Locating these important critiques front and center would have brought greater force to this powerful book.

Marissa Carmi
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Downloaded from http://meridian.allenpress.com/aicrj/article-pdf/44/3/91/2864733/i0161-6463-44-3-91.pdf by University of California user on 09 July 2021