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BLOOD AS NARRATIVE/NARRATIVE AS BLOOD:
CONSTRUCTING INDIGENOUS IDENTITY IN CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN
INDIAN AND NEW ZEALAND MAORI LITERATURES AND POLITICS

by
Chadwick Allen

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A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the
GRADUATE INTERDISCIPLINARY PROGRAM IN
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THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

1997
As members of the Final Examination Committee, we certify that we have read the dissertation prepared by Chadwick Allen entitled Blood as Narrative/Narrative as Blood: Constructing Indigenous Identity in Contemporary American Indian and New Zealand Maori Literatures and Politics and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Professor Barbara Babcock

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Professor Larry Dovers

Final approval and acceptance of this dissertation is contingent upon the candidate's submission of the final copy of the dissertation to the Graduate College.

I hereby certify that I have read this dissertation prepared under my direction and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement.

Dissertation Director Barbara Babcock
STATEMENT BY AUTHOR

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ABSTRACT

Following the end of World War II and the formation of the United Nations organization, indigenous minorities who had fought on behalf of First World nations—including record numbers of New Zealand Maori and American Indians—pursued their longstanding efforts to assert cultural and political distinctiveness from dominant settler populations with renewed vigor. In the first decades after the War, New Zealand Maori and American Indians worked largely within dominant discourses in their efforts to define viable contemporary indigenous identities. But by the late 1960s and early 1970s, both New Zealand and the United States felt the effects of an emerging indigenous "renaissance," marked by dramatic events of political and cultural activism and by unprecedented literary production. By the mid-1970s, New Zealand Maori and American Indians were part of an emerging international indigenous rights movement, signaled by the formation and first general assembly of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples (WCIP).

In "Blood As Narrative/Narrative As Blood," I chronicle these periods of indigenous minority activism and writing and investigate the wide range of tactics developed for asserting indigenous difference in literary and political activist texts produced by the WCIP, New Zealand Maori, and American Indians. Indigenous minority or "Fourth World" writers and activists have mobilized and revalued both indigenous and dominant discourses, including the pictographic discourse of plains Indian "winter counts" in the United States and the ritual discourse of the Maori
marae in New Zealand, as well as the discourse of treaties in both. These writers and activists have also created powerful tropes and emblematic figures for contemporary indigenous identity, including "blood memory," the ancient child, and the rebuilding of the ancestral house (whare tipuna). My readings of a wide range of poems, short stories, novels, essays, non-fiction works, representations of cultural and political activism, and works of literary, art history, political science, and cultural criticism lead to the development of critical approaches for reading indigenous minority literary and political activist texts that take into account the complex historical and cultural contexts of their production--local, national and, increasingly, global.
PREFACE

Learning to Read the Indigenous
in Contemporary Indigenous Texts

This project in comparative literary and cultural studies began nearly a decade ago. During 1987-1988, supported by a Sheldon Travelling Fellowship from Harvard University, I back-packed for ten months in New Zealand and Australia. Armed with my newly earned bachelor’s degree from Harvard’s interdisciplinary Program in the Comparative Study of Religion, I crossed the Pacific Ocean for the first time with the ambitious intention of learning more about what I called "contemporary indigenous spiritual practices." To what degree, I wanted to know, had New Zealand Maori and Australian Aboriginal peoples been able to maintain and to develop their traditional systems of belief and ritual when their social, political, and economic systems had been irreversibly altered by the foreign invasion and colonization of their lands and by the resulting shifts in demographics that had left them predominantly mixed-blood peoples and small or tiny percentages of New Zealand’s and Australia’s national populations? To what degree had they adopted the diverse Christian denominations that nineteenth- and twentieth-century British (and after them, American) missionaries had established in their communities? And to what degree had they created hybridized or syncretic belief and ritual systems that combined salient elements from traditional practices and Christianity? Further, I wanted to know if contemporary indigenous spiritual practices in New Zealand and Australia bore any resemblance to
the diverse and often complexly hybridized spiritual practices of contemporary American Indian peoples in the United States.

To the best of my ability at the time, I attempted to carry out that ambitious project by wandering around first New Zealand and then Australia, meeting all kinds of people, waiting quietly until I was invited into someone’s conversation or home or church or office, letting these first contacts then introduce me to their relatives and friends, and eventually, when I felt the time was right, asking my questions as politely as possible. In turn, I willingly answered the polite (and occasionally not-so-polite) questions of others. While it doesn’t sound very professional, this was my field methodology, so far as I had one: I never forced myself onto any person or into any place and I always waited for invitations. In New Zealand, I was invited to spend my first seven weeks living and learning at St. John’s, the Anglican Seminary located in Auckland; in Australia, I was invited to spend my first eight weeks at the University of New England, located in Armidale, New South Wales. In these places --transitional spaces for me because they were familiarly academic--I met teachers, researchers, and students from diverse backgrounds, some of my first significant "contacts." And, welcomed into their libraries, I started to read. It was in these academic libraries, and in the personal libraries of teachers and students who invited me into their offices, homes, or dormitory rooms, that my current project began even as I struggled to begin my original project in the comparative study of religion. I read widely and struck up conversations about what I read; I kept journals of my reading and of my conversations. Over those ten months, as I became familiar with
contemporary New Zealand Maori and Australian Aboriginal fiction, poetry, autobiography, drama, journalism, and political activist writing, I remembered the contemporary American Indian writing I had read. When I returned to the United States and entered a Master's degree program, I began to read American Indian literature more systematically—and differently. My experiences in New Zealand and Australia had taught me to ask different kinds of questions and to notice different kinds of strategies. I had learned to read for the "indigenous" in contemporary indigenous texts.

Such a reading strategy is not as obvious as it at first sounds. Allow me to explain by retelling a story that I first heard while traveling in Australia and later read about in the journal *Survival International*:

In 1985 a family of Pintubi people, two men, three women, two boys and two girls, emerged from the Great Sandy Desert to make their first contact with "modern Australia." The nine Pintubi are thought to have lived a traditional Aboriginal subsistence lifestyle until their walk out of the desert. Immediately the Anglo-Australian press labeled the Pintubi group the "lost tribe," mobilizing a familiar Australian racial stereotype that Aborigines are unreliable workers because, inevitably, they suddenly go on "walk-about" for no apparent reason and with no apparent destination. According to the stereotype, the landscape "calls" and Aborigines simply "go." Simultaneously, the label "lost tribe" invoked a certain biblical projection that implicitly lays claim to the Pintubi (and other indigenous tribal peoples) under a Judeo-Christian rubric, subsuming them in a non-Aboriginal
taxonomy. The label "lost tribe" effectively immobilized representations of the small Pintubi group in a dominant Western discourse outside Pintubi control or participation, transforming them, within that discourse, into natural artifacts--Australian possessions--that needed to be found, named, and catalogued. To the media's and perhaps to Australia's majority Anglo settler population's surprise, Aboriginal groups from around the Australian continent criticized the sensational descriptions of the Pintubi family as the most recent instance in a long history of discursive attempts by the British and their descendants to impose paternalistic colonial authority over the representation of indigenous identities. In an incisive public statement, the deputy principal of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies pointed out that, despite Anglo discourse, the Pintubi group, like other Aborigines, "had always known where they were."

The control of images and representation is central to the on-going (post)colonial political struggles of minority indigenous peoples living in First World nations--what has been called the "Fourth World." While the Australian situation falls outside the scope of the present study, which focuses primarily on New Zealand Maori and American Indian texts, the Pintubi example dramatically illustrates the bizarre condition faced by indigenous minorities in First World nations, who find their communities caught up in cycles of representations in which they are first "lost," then "found," and subsequently forgotten--until sufficiently re-lost in dominant Western discourses that systematically exclude their voices to be "newly discovered" once again. This condition is perhaps the defining feature of the discursive landscape
in which contemporary indigenous minority writers and activists must produce literary or political activist texts. To inscribe indigenous survivals in such landscape has required not only cultural tenacity and innovations, strategies of confrontation and withdrawal, but as well a remarkable discursive agility (almost always in an imposed tongue) and a keen sense of tribal humor.

In 1994, having completed my coursework in the Graduate Program in Comparative Cultural and Literary Studies at the University of Arizona and supported by an IIE Fulbright Fellowship, I returned to New Zealand to continue my studies of Maori language, culture, literature, and politics at the University of Auckland and to undertake original research that would contribute to my comparative project. One of the many issues I became interested in over the course of my year in New Zealand was the academic and public debate over what counts as "real" or "authentic" Maori culture in the contemporary Fourth World context. Today, most Maori live, work, and attend school with the majority Pakeha population; only an estimated ten percent of the total Maori population are fluent speakers of Maori language, although many more have some level of limited access; and Maori cultural traditions are regularly performed at "Maori concerts" staged for growing numbers of European, American, and Asian tourists. In early December 1994, after I had lived in Auckland and studied Maori language and culture at Auckland University for almost a year, I attended for the first time the Maori concert performed at Auckland's impressive War Memorial Museum. Until then I had avoided the museum performance because I feared it would be the least authentic, the most "touristy" of the many Maori concerts
performed regularly at New Zealand's major tourist stops. Certainly, I thought, it would not measure up to the performances I had seen by various Maori cultural groups who compete in regional and national Maori cultural competitions or the more spontaneous performances of waiata (songs), waiata-a-ringa (action songs), and haka (chants with actions) I had seen while attending Maori social and activist events.

Running late for the scheduled museum performance, I hurriedly bought my ticket and joined a large group of assembled European and Asian tourists, most of whom had arrived at the museum on commercial tour buses. The concert began in the museum's central exhibit hall, in front of a large carved whare nui (meeting house), surrounded by glass cases of the classic Maori artifacts for which the museum is renowned. The concert performers wore traditional costume: decorated flax piupiu (skirts) for both the men and the women, woven bodices decorated with taniko designs for the women, woven headbands, hei tiki (carved jade or bone pendants) worn around the neck, and simulated moko (facial tattoos). One of the European tourists standing near the front of our large group was selected as our official representative, so that we could perform our part of the powhiri (welcoming ceremony), which requires that manuhiri (guests) respond to the tangata whenua (hosts). After the initial greeting and ritual in the main part of the museum, the Maori performers led us down a long hall to a large, plain auditorium. We seated ourselves in rows of plastic chairs while the performers took their places on the bare stage for the rest of the performance.

During the performance, one of the performers regularly stood to the side of
the group and explained the names of the different types of songs, chants, and actions performed by the rest of the troupe; sometimes she translated the Maori lyrics into English. She also taught the tourist audience how to say "kia ora" in positive response to individual numbers, rather than clap their approval. At one point, the women of the troupe came off the stage to demonstrate how to properly twirl a poi (a set of flax pom-poms on a string) and invited selected members of the audience to try their hand. Everyone seemed to be having a good time, whether or not they fully or even partially understood what was going on on stage.

Throughout the performance, our interpreter repeatedly referred to the "traditional Maori," by which she meant Maori before contact with Europeans. No mention was made of contemporary Maori living in Aotearoa/New Zealand today. As is common at tourist venues that display indigenous cultures in both New Zealand and the United States, no mention was made of the complex, often difficult but also often culturally rich lives lived by indigenous peoples in contemporary times.

When the concert was over, our interpreter said she hoped we all enjoyed our stay in New Zealand and asked that we file out of the auditorium. The other performers began to make their way toward the door, too, where, the interpreter told us, they would stand to shake hands with tourists as they exited. Suddenly, amid the bustle of moving chairs and the chatter of several European and Asian languages, a contemporary Maori present erupted into the performance of the "tourist" Maori past.

Unknown to me—or to very many of the other tourists, I imagine—a local Maori school group had been seated at the very back of the auditorium during the
performance. They had obviously arrived after the large group of European and Asian tourists. Now that the performance was over, their leader, a Maori man, stood to *whaikorero* (deliver a speech) in response to the performance. His group, about fifteen or twenty Maori adolescents and a Maori woman who was likely another teacher, arranged themselves behind him to stand in support. The Maori man’s voice rang out over the tourist din. In eloquent Maori, the man formally addressed the performers, acknowledging their effort, telling them how important it is for Maori young people, like those in his group, to have opportunities to see and hear these aspects of traditional Maori culture and to see and hear them performed so well.

The performers were caught off guard and at first they looked unsure what to do—this was not part of their carefully prepared script. But they quickly assessed the situation and lined up below the stage to listen politely to the man’s speech. The tourist audience was visibly confused. People continued to speak loudly and several tourists pushed their way past the Maori student group, trying to get to the door. Others openly expressed their discomfort. A young British boy who had sat near me during the performance complained loudly to his parents, "I wish they would just tell us *what* is going on!"

When the Maori man finished his speech, his group supported him by singing a *waiata* (song). One of the male members of the concert troupe then responded to the school group with a short speech in Maori; his group, now better organized, then performed a short *waiata* to support *their* speaker. Only now was the performance “over” for these participants. The troupe took its promised place by the door to
shake hands with tourists. Everyone filed out of the auditorium.

What was "going on" after the official performance of the Maori concert ended was a traditional exchange of korero--speech--and waiata--song--between groups of Maori. In other words, the active presence of the Maori school group and their teacher/leader had reframed the Maori concert, shifting its focus from a primarily "tourist" performance to a significantly "Maori" performance as well, serving distinctly Maori purposes. Suddenly, much more was at stake than simply welcoming foreign visitors, teaching cultural outsiders, or earning a few tourist dollars.

My experience at the Auckland War Memorial Museum reminded me that easy dichotomies drawn between "real" indigenous culture produced by indigenous peoples for their own communities and "fake" indigenous culture produced and/or performed for non-indigenous "tourists" rarely hold in the Fourth World context of indigenous minorities living in First World nations. Fourth World tourism often centers around the re-creation or re-enactment of aspects of a pre-contact indigenous past: performances of song, chant, story-telling and dance traditions, for instance, or demonstrations of traditional carving and weaving techniques. In academic discussions of these performances and demonstrations, inevitably the "tourist" versions of indigenous culture are judged necessarily less authentic and are often reviled as potentially threatening to the survival of "real" indigenous cultures. It may well be that as a general observation the scenario holds true that tourism threatens "traditional" cultures to a certain degree: certainly it affects them in significant ways. But my experience in New Zealand--as well as my similar experiences among
American Indians in situations as diverse as Arizona, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and St. Louis, Missouri—suggests that the scenario may not hold in all instances. At least under certain conditions, the contemporary needs of "real" Fourth World indigenous cultures—the cultures lived by indigenous peoples in First World nations—can in fact be met even in the performance of the "tourist" past. This is so, I think, because there is often more than one text at play in such performances, and often more than one audience ready to "read" the indigenous in a contemporary indigenous text.

I have tried to keep this vital observation in mind as I selected and analyzed texts for the present study, which compares how New Zealand Maori and American Indian writers and activists have constructed "indigenous" identity in a wide range of literary and political activist texts in a post-World War II era of dramatic and often rapid economic, social, demographic, and political changes. One narrative strategy shared by both New Zealand Maori and American Indian writers is the unexpected rupturing and revaluing of dominant versions of indigenous history. The importance of telling indigenous history from indigenous points of view—often for the first time—becomes obvious in Chapter One, which places contemporary American Indian and New Zealand Maori texts in an international context. In Chapter One I chronicle the formation of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples (WCIP) in 1975 and the development of the WCIP's founding document, a "Solemn Declaration" of global indigenous—or "Fourth World"—identity. My rhetorical analysis of the draft and final versions of the Solemn Declaration, the first study of this document, points out the pivotal role of narrative tactics, including the fashioning of a globally significant
Indigenous history (with a capital I) in the assertion of contemporary indigenous identities (with a small I).

Chapter Two investigates the primary site for Maori publication in the first decades after World War II, the government-sponsored journal *Te Ao Hou/The New World* (1952-1975). I demonstrate how short stories, poems, and essays produced by Maori writers were able to invite potentially counter-hegemonic readings despite the Department of Maori Affairs' attempts to use the journal to promote Maori assimilation. Based on research conducted at Auckland University and in the New Zealand National Archives, Chapter Two represents the first systematic study of *Te Ao Hou* and of the specific textual strategies developed by Maori writers before the 1970s, including the mobilization of Maori language in primarily English language texts and the production of fully bi-lingual texts.

Chapter Three then explores the strategies of a wide range of literary and activist texts produced during the period of the "Maori renaissance," which I trace to about 1970. I focus in particular on three emblematic figures developed after 1970 for solving the "problem" of defining a contemporary Maori identity: 1) the significant relationship between grandparent and grandchild, which figures a potential relationship between ancestors and contemporary Maori; 2) the return of *taonga* (prized possessions), which figures the continuing relevance of the Treaty of Waitangi and its promises for contemporary Maori; and 3) the rebuilding of the *whare tipuna* (ancestral house), which figures the socially, politically, and spiritually important act of rebuilding a viable contemporary Maori self as well as a viable contemporary
Maori community. I then challenge the pejorative assessments of Maori writing in this period made by Pakeha New Zealand critics. So-called "radical" strategies of stylistic and linguistic heterogeneity in the works of Witi Ihimaera, Patricia Grace, Keri Hulme, Apirana Taylor and others, I argue, are precisely the strategies available to contemporary Maori working in English or primarily in English for translating Maori values, experiences, and aesthetics into literary texts and activist events of ethno-drama.

In Chapter Four I begin my comparative project by looking at the evolution of American Indian writing in the early decades after World War II. In particular, I investigate texts produced by Ruth Muskrat Bronson, Ella Cara Deloria, D'Arcy McNickle, and delegates to the 1961 American Indian Chicago Conference. These texts demonstrate how, during a period when both Indians and non-Indians alike considered American Indian assimilation inevitable, American Indian writers attempted to balance arguments for a basic similarity between American Indians and other American citizens with representations of a distinctive American Indian past. Based on such representations, American Indian writers and activists in this period were able to argue for at least some level of Indian self-determination. Moreover, some of these writers mobilized representations of a distinctive American Indian past as a strategy for interrupting dominant discourses.

Chapter Five focuses on strategies developed during the period of the "American Indian renaissance," which I trace to about 1964, by a wide range of activists and writers, including "Indians of All Tribes." Vine Deloria, Jr., Dallas
Chief Eagle, James Welch, Leslie Silko, Joy Harjo, N. Scott Momaday, and Gerald Vizenor. In particular I explore four major strategies developed after 1964 to counter American Indian transparency and misrepresentation: 1) the innovation of the indigenous discourse of plains Indian pictographic writing so that "winter counts" and picture calendars bear the weight of narrative history; 2) the mobilization and revaluing of the dominant discourse of treaties; 3) the development of "blood memory" as a trope for indigenous identity and as a process for American Indian textual production; and 4) the deployment of "trickster discourse" to defuse the controversy generated by blood memory. All four strategies, I argue, work to reinstate an indigenous presence into America's triumphantly settler present.

My concluding chapter develops the theoretical implications of this comparative project. I discuss the advantages and limitations of cross-disciplinary and comparative approaches to indigenous minority literatures and the development in recent years of "indigenous theory" by American Indian and Maori scholars, including Gerald Vizenor and Greg Sarris in the United States and Hirini Melbourne and Sidney Moko Mead in New Zealand. I also consider the usefulness of political theory developed in response to global indigenous (Fourth World) activist movements, and the applicability of post-colonial literary and cultural criticism. Reading strategies generated from both the intersections and the discrepancies between these critical approaches help illuminate how contemporary indigenous minority texts work to interrupt--and potentially disrupt--the performance of a monocultural national present in the United States and New Zealand.
As an appendix, I include an Integrated Time Line, which covers the years from World War II to 1980. I list national and international government actions, political activism, and publications relevant to American Indians, New Zealand Maori, and other Fourth World peoples. It is my hope that this appendix will help readers navigate what can seem a confusing international Fourth World situation. It is also my hope that this appendix will help readers remember that, however ironic, conjunctions and coalitions among indigenous minority peoples during this period were made possible by a world war and its aftermaths.
A Note on Maori Language

Except where I felt it would be useful for emphasis or clarity, throughout the manuscript I have chosen not to draw attention to Maori words, phrases, or passages with italics. My decision to give Maori language the same status as English in my text follows the typical practice of contemporary authors in New Zealand. For simplicity, I have chosen not to mark long vowels in Maori with either a macron (e.g., pākehā) or by doubling the vowel (e.g., paakehaa), except when vowel markings are part of a quotation. Contemporary writers in New Zealand are divided over which system works best, and some Maori writers prefer no vowel markings at all.

The Maori language was developed into a writing system by early British missionaries. The written language consists of eight consonants (h, k, m, n, p, r, t, and w), two digraphs (ng and wh), and five vowels (a, e, i, o, u), each of which can be short or long. The consonants are pronounced similarly to their English counterparts, except that the r is slightly rolled. Ng is pronounced as in singer (but not as in finger). Wh is pronounced either as in whale or, more commonly in contemporary Maori speech, as a soft f. The vowels are pronounced as follows:

- short a like u in "nut"  
- short e like e in "peck"  
- short i like i in "pit"  
- short o like o in "colt"  
- short u like u in "put"  
- long a like a in "Chicago"  
- long e like ai in "pair"  
- long i like ee in "peep"  
- long o like o in "orb"  
- long u like oo in "moon"

In Maori diphthongs, each vowel is sounded but usually glided over without a break.
Notes

1. The story of the Pintubi is reported in *Survival International News* 8 (1985).

2. Many indigenous minority peoples, including many American Indians and New Zealand Maori, question the appropriateness of the "post" in the term post-colonial for accurately describing the state of their contemporary cultural and political situations. See my discussion in the final chapter.

CHAPTER ONE

Blood as Narrative/Narrative as Blood:

Declaring a Fourth World

I am suggesting to you that there has to be a Fourth World in order for mankind to survive. I am suggesting to you that we have to develop a political mechanism, an economic mechanism and perhaps a cultural mechanism to establish for ourselves as people, world people[,] a framework of survival and equality, dignity and pride for all our people and I suggest this is the principal purpose, reason, objective of why we decided to try to form, and I want to put a lot of emphasis on trying, to form a relationship between all indigenous minorities of the world. This is our principal objective.

--George Manuel (Shuswap), World Council of Indigenous Peoples, Policy Board meeting, Copenhagen, 1975

Resistance by indigenous peoples to colonial and settler domination has been well documented at local and national levels since the beginnings of European conquest, colonization, and settlement. Collective indigenous resistance and political action on a global scale, however, is a more recent and more limited phenomenon. Since the 1970s and particularly since the first general assembly of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples (WCIP) held in Port Alberni, Vancouver, in 1975, there has been a growing international awareness, specifically, of the common interests of the "doubly marginalized" indigenous minorities living in First World nations, including
First Nations peoples in Canada, Sami in the Scandinavian countries, Aboriginal peoples in Australia, American Indians, Eskimo and Hawaiians in the United States, and Maori in New Zealand. Even so, despite progress in specific countries and greater access to information and international alliances, international activism has had but limited practical effects for these indigenous minorities. The United Nations may have designated 1993 as The Year for the World’s Indigenous People, but no organization has emerged in the twenty years since the formation of the WCIP to muster significant international sympathy for indigenous causes in First World nations or to influence particular First World national policies at or anywhere near the levels of concerted opinion and political pressure brought to bear, for example, in the 1980s against South Africa’s system of Apartheid.

That said, my concern in this chapter is to chronicle the development of the WCIP’s 1975 definition of the "Fourth World"—a generalizing term for indigenous minority peoples—and to examine the definition’s rhetorical devices as a strategic assertion of collective indigenous identity. I limit the scope of my analysis to this particular document in order to explore in detail the foundational discourse of international indigenous minority activism. In forging its definition of Indigenous Peoples as a narrative rather than as a list of "objective" criteria, I argue, the WCIP began a project of post-colonial literature and auto-ethnography that both engages and attempts to counter the First World’s dominant discourses of master narrative and ethnic taxonomy. Considered in this context, the WCIP’s narrative definition can be read as a symbolic attempt at collective repossession, in which delegates representing
various indigenous minority peoples come together in order to erect communal signs of their individual cultural and political sovereignties, assert the legitimacy of their versions of history and law, declare title to their lands and to themselves, and create a public record of these significant actions in a form and through a forum—though highly syncretic and hybridized—that can be recognized not only by themselves and their home communities, but as well by the contemporary "concert of nations" whom they endeavor to persuade.

Another way of stating the WCIP's attempt at repossession is to engage Michel de Certeau's model of "tactics": the provisional, opportunistic, and creative maneuvers that enable disenfranchised peoples like indigenous minorities to realize practical kinds of power. In the forum of the WCIP, delegates from diverse indigenous communities imitate the practices and infiltrate the space of the dominant internationalist discourse of the United Nations organization. There they invent a collective and collaborative subject, "Indigenous Peoples," and a narrative of this invented subject's history. Like the goals of the UN's member nations, moreover, the goals of the WCIP are in the end not global in their scope but local. The formation of an international coalition and the creation of a narrative of international identity are tactical maneuvers designed to redirect power relations in delegates' local and national contexts, to rewrite local and national narratives of power. Inevitably, in assessing the effectiveness of these tactics, my analysis of the WCIP's founding document leads to a consideration of the complex and politically-charged distinction that must be drawn between a strategically collectivist vision of the Fourth World and
a limiting and ultimately debilitating *essentialist* vision of diverse indigenous peoples.

The history of the WCIP's narrative definition of Fourth World identity is located in the diverse histories of specific indigenous groups in First World nations. Within their local and national contexts, these groups have developed powerful oral, written, and political activist traditions of anti-colonial and self-determinationist discourses. In the United States, for instance, American Indian protest writing dates back to the eighteenth century and the works of Samson Occom (Mohegan, 1723-1792), "the first Indian author to publish in English" (Ruoff 62). Protest against repressive government policies and anti-Indian public sentiment has been voiced consistently ever since. Even so, American Indian activist writing gained significant national and international attention only in the second half of the twentieth century, following World War II and the formation of the United Nations organization and in direct response to the federal government's initiation of termination and relocation policies in the mid-1950s. Examples of activist writing from this period include the "Declaration of Indian Purpose," created by delegates during the American Indian Chicago Conference held in 1961, and "'We Hold the Rock': Alcatraz Proclamation to the Great White Father and his People," created by the Indians of All Tribes during their nineteen-month occupation of Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay in 1969-1971. During the so-called American Indian renaissance of the 1960s and 1970s, in these and other written statements, American Indian activist organizations followed examples set by the Civil Rights, Black Power, anti-war, and emerging women's movements and attempted to present both historic and contemporary
grievances to a national, predominately non-Indian audience through a unified, pan-tribal, "Indian" voice. Often, that voice spoke in "declarations" and "proclamations" that appropriated the official public discourses through which dominant American culture had enacted and recorded the dispossession of American Indians. With the publication of *Custer Died For Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto* in 1969, Vine Deloria, Jr. (Sioux) emerged as perhaps the most important voice of North American Indian political and cultural critique. In the years leading up to the formation of the WCIP, Deloria published several additional works, including, in 1974, *Behind the Trail of Broken Treaties: An Indian Declaration of Independence*, whose title makes apparent Deloria's deliberate appropriation of one of the United States' foundational texts.

On the other side of the globe, a "Maori renaissance" developed during New Zealand's equally turbulent 1960s and 1970s, prompting Maori activist and scholar Ranginui Walker to name the latter decade "nga tau tohetohe," the years of anger. As in the United States, here, too, contemporary indigenous activists built upon a long tradition of oral and written protest literature to construct a coherent, pan-tribal "Maori" voice through which to critique and often oppose contemporary legislation, such as Parliament's 1967 Maori Affairs Amendment Act, which strengthened the colonial project of commodifying and alienating Maori land. Activist newsletters like *Te Hokioi* [Mysterious Night Bird], whose first issue in 1968 proclaimed that the journal would serve as "A Taiaha [traditional weapon] of Truth for the Spirit of Kotahitanga [Unity] Within the Maori Nation," and *MOOHR*, published by the Maori Organization on Human Rights, also beginning in 1968, publicized a wide range of
recent and ongoing Maori grievances (see Walker 1990:210-11). Referring explicitly to violations of the Treaty of Waitangi, New Zealand's founding document which had been signed in 1840 by the British Crown's representative and by some 500 Maori chiefs, and to violations of the United Nation's Universal Declaration of Human Rights, these journals engaged (and to a certain extent revived) dominant national and international discourses on race relations in order to further contemporary Maori causes.

In neighboring Australia, national public protest by Aboriginal groups dates back at least to 1938, when the Aborigines Progressive Association declared Australia's sesquicentenary celebrations of Cook's 1788 landing in Sydney Harbor a "Day of Mourning and Protest" and created a political manifesto titled "Aborigines Claim Citizenship Rights" (see Shoemaker 24). Working within this tradition, in 1971 the Aborigine Advancement League submitted a formal petition to the United Nations that protested "the genocide which the Government of Australia is practicing upon us" (rpt. in Moody 27) and asked the UN to "use its legal and moral powers for the vindication of our rights to the lands which we have traditionally occupied" (Moody 25).

Throughout these declarations, proclamations, manifestos, claims, and petitions, activists attempted to define contemporary indigenous identity—and the basic rights attendant to such an identity—within their respective local and national contexts. In Canada, the Native Alliance for Red Power, organized in British Columbia, created "An Eight Point Program" in 1969 to define contemporary indigenous identity
as "Red Power." The Program’s opening point serves well to summarize the indigenous activist sentiment that various groups at that time were expressing independently at home or in the international arena of the United Nations: "We will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny. Therefore, we want power to determine the destiny of our reservations and communities" (rpt. in Moody 34).

Over the years, a variety of generalizing labels have been affixed to these groups, some generated by indigenous peoples themselves, from the relatively politically neutral terms "domestic nations" or "nations within," to the more overtly politically radical terms "internal colonies" and "captive" or "occupied" nations (e.g., certain Maori publications designate New Zealand as "Occupied Aotearoa"). In Canada "First Nations" is the term currently preferred to generalize Indian and Inuit peoples. This term is notable for its historic memory coupled with its relative political neutrality: First Nations suggests both prior occupancy of territory and prior political organization (and thus self-determinacy) without overtly carrying accusations against Canada’s majority population of European settlers. In the international arena, the generalizing term "Fourth World" has come into common currency. Fourth World acknowledges "indigenous status"—claims of deep historic, cultural, and spiritual ties to specific land bases—as a legitimate rationale for collective political identity at local, national and, potentially, international levels. It thus distinguishes the particular historical contexts and contemporary concerns of indigenous minority peoples from those of the majority indigenous populations of developing "Third World" nations, as well as from those of the majority settler "First World"
populations who now occupy and control most of the traditional territories claimed by indigenous minorities.⁵

The latter distinction is especially pertinent to the project of defining a global Fourth World group identity or ethnicity, for it speaks to the perennial Fourth World struggle between "native" indigeneity and "settler" or "New World" indigeneity. Aboriginal inhabitants of First World nations have been forced to compete for indigenous status with European settlers and their descendants eager to construct new identities that separate them from European antecedents.⁶ Indigenous minority assertions of prior claims to land, resources, languages, and cultures—above all, of the right to maintain difference—threaten settlers' constructions of a "New World" and call into question settlers' attempts to assert cultural distinctiveness from Europe.⁷ It is this struggle, in part, which has motivated settlers' calls for all inhabitants of their nations to behave as "one people," to self-identify as part of dominant culture and to speak a dominant language. It is also this struggle which has motivated politically and militarily dominant settlers to legislatively invalidate claims of native status (e.g., through requirements of blood quantum or patrilineal descent, or through the granting/imposition of national citizenship).⁸ As settlers' projects for establishing cultural authenticity and national legitimacy have developed over time, often claims of native indigeneity have been simply ignored.

Imposing an "Objective" Optics

Scholarly definitions of "indigenous," "aboriginal" or "Fourth World" peoples
proffered over the last decade can be divided into two broad categories: those which
define indigenous peoples globally, bringing together indigenous peoples residing in
the First, Second, and Third Worlds (e.g., Burger 1987, Wilmer 1993), and those
which specifically limit the Fourth World to indigenous minorities residing in First
World settler nations—the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and (less
obviously) the Scandinavian countries (e.g., Dyck 1985, Paine 1985). Working
within the discourse of political "science," both sets of definitions organize around
"objective" criteria. Typically, these are elaborations of the criteria developed in the
working definition of indigenous peoples adopted by the United Nations Working
Group on Indigenous Populations in 1982. The UN's working definition states that

Indigenous populations are composed of the existing descendants of
peoples who inhabited the present territory of a country wholly or
partially at the time when persons of a different culture or ethnic origin
arrived there from other parts of the world, overcame them, and by
conquest, settlement or other means, reduced them to a non-dominant
or colonial situation; who today live more in conformity with their
particular social, economic and cultural customs and traditions than
with the institutions of the country of which they now form a part,
under a State structure which incorporates mainly the national, social
and cultural characteristics of other segments of the population which
are predominant. (UN Document E/CN.4/Sub.2/L.566, Chapter 11;
qtd. in Wilmer 216)
No doubt the UN definition is well intentioned. It aims to include as broad a range of "indigenous" peoples as possible under a single definition, including but not limited to the Fourth World's indigenous minorities. Emphasis is placed on "objective" criteria for determining indigenous status: overcome by outsiders (i.e., on the losing end of conquest), politically subordinate (i.e., on the losing end of colonization and/or settlement), but identifiably non-conformist in arenas the First World considers significant but relatively unthreatening in small populations—"social, economic and cultural traditions" (i.e., successfully distinct in areas other than military defense or supra-local political organization). Such general criteria become a globally applicable litmus test for indigeneity.9

The UN's criteria, however, creates a number of potential problems for members of the Fourth World. First, the UN definition reduces indigenous peoples and nations to mere remnant "populations." In this Western taxonomy of collective identity, masked here as genealogy, indigenous minorities are compared not to politically significant First World corporate entities—peoples, nations, or states—but to less politically significant sub-groups of First World individuals. The key term opening the UN definition is "existing descendants" rather than "existing nations." This individuation of the Fourth World promotes the incorporation of indigenous individuals and groups into existing First World social, political, and economic structures. By failing to challenge the claims to national unity made by the UN's powerful cohort of First World settler nations, the term "indigenous populations" undermines all levels of Fourth World self-determination.
Further, under the UN's criteria it is difficult to classify as "indigenous" most contemporary individuals and groups who identify as part of the Fourth World. In the post-World War II era, individuals and groups in the Fourth World occupy a diverse range of cultural and class positions. It is thus unclear under the UN's definition exactly what it might mean for the majority of contemporary American Indians or New Zealand Maori, for example, who live, work, and study in major urban centers amongst majority European-descended and other minority populations, to "live more in conformity with their particular social, economic and cultural customs and traditions than with the institutions of the [First World] country of which they now form a part." We might ask whether prominent individuals such as N. Scott Momaday (Kiowa), successful writer, artist and university professor, or Witi Ihimaera (Aitanga-a-Mahaki/Rongowhakaata/Ngati Porou), successful writer and university professor and formerly an official of the New Zealand government, both held up since the 1970s as spokesmen, respectively, for American Indian and New Zealand Maori issues, qualify under the UN's definition as "indigenous." Similarly, we might ask whether tribal groups or indigenous nations who recently have developed successful tourist operations, gaming institutions, and other "Western" economic ventures still count as part of the UN's global "indigenous" peoples. The WCIP's narrative definition of indigenous identity, by contrast, is designed precisely to embrace such ambiguity.
Focusing an Indigenous Minority Lens

The thing that link[s] the aboriginal people of the world, as I believe it, are the family ties, the tribal ties, and the kinship ties, [the] most important links of our people. The second thing that links us together is our devotion to the land, and so I believe that we have certain thing[s] in common.

--Neil A. Watene (Maori), WCIP Policy Board meeting, Copenhagen, 1975

The individual most responsible for the initial development and dissemination of the idea of the Fourth World as an international phenomenon is George Manuel, the Shuswap Indian leader from Canada who was elected president of Canada’s National Indian Brotherhood (NIB) in 1970. In his capacity as NIB president, in addition to traveling extensively in North America, Manuel traveled to Australia and New Zealand to meet with Aboriginal and Maori leaders in 1971, and then to Copenhagen, London, and Geneva to meet with the International Work Group on Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA), Survival International (SI), and the World Council of Churches, respectively, in 1972. In 1974, as Manuel was organizing the formation of the WCIP, his personal memoir and political manifesto, *The Fourth World: An Indian Reality*, written with Michael Posluns and introduced by U.S. American Indian scholar Vine Deloria, Jr., appeared in Canada and the United States.¹⁰

In *The Fourth World*, Manuel designates the Shuswap’s relatively recent experiences of "the forces of conquest and colonial rule" (1) in British Columbia following World War I as "a microcosm of the whole Aboriginal World" (2) attacks
on indigenous land and languages, restrictions on indigenous cultural, political, and economic freedoms. Manuel's extrapolation from the disrupted Shuswap world to a much larger and, perhaps, more politically significant "Aboriginal World" inscribes a tactics of moral critique that, by 1974, was common to indigenous minority activist writing (see especially Deloria 1969, 1970, 1973, 1974): dense local knowledge of material and epistemic (discursive) violence authorizes a global critique of ongoing colonialism in the First World. Though Manuel states that he is writing primarily "to my own grandchildren" (261), he draws heavily not only from his personal and tribal experiences, but as well from his extensive Canadian and more recent international experiences in Indian and indigenous affairs. He develops a definition of the Fourth World that attends to the specific details of Canadian politics while attempting, as Deloria noted in his Foreword, "to illustrate the relationship between the various aboriginal peoples of the globe" (ix).¹¹

Manuel's book-length definition of the Fourth World stresses cultural attributes—specifically, "religious and economic" attributes (5)—over political organization or racial descent. Like other emerging spokespeople in native North America, Manuel describes the global Aboriginal World as having especially in common four general characteristics: 1) a "common understanding of the universe" (5), 2) a "common attachment to the land" (6), 3) a history of persistent resistance to "colonial conquest" and the "destructive forces" of the West (69),¹² and 4) the fact that they have survived as distinct peoples into contemporary times (214). Manuel does not develop his idea of what a "common understanding of the universe" might
mean in international indigenous terms. In his discussion of a "common [indigenous] attachment to the land," Manuel essentially draws up an equation: indigenous cultures exist in and at the conjunction of specific geography and specific history (6, 191). The loss of either element threatens the survival of particular indigenous cultures. In this discussion Manuel also argues the familiar idea that the crux of the colonial struggle has been a struggle between radically different "ideas of land," underlying which is a basic "conflict over the nature of man himself" in the worldviews of aboriginal and invading peoples (6). Deloria, for instance, develops similar ideas at length in *God Is Red* (1973; see especially 70-89). Resistance to domination and endurance over time, in Manuel's definition, reveals the "strength" and assertiveness of both indigenous ancestors and future indigenous generations, countering long-held Western stereotypes of indigenous passivity (261).

In developing his definition, Manuel seems to take his cue not only from the recent work of Deloria, but also from the work of N. Scott Momaday, the U.S. American Indian poet, novelist, and scholar. Like Momaday in his address to the First Convocation of American Indian Scholars in 1970, "The Man Made of Words," Manuel stresses the role of the "imagination" in the recognition of "aboriginal rights." What is most needed, Manuel argues, is "the re-evaluation of assumptions" and the development of "a new language in which the truth can be spoken easily, quietly, and comfortably" (224). Underlying this call for the development of a new language is a strong belief that non-Indians—or, in the international arena, non-indigenous Western peoples—lack an adequate language in which they might conceive or think about, let
alone articulate, Indian or indigenous experience.

Moreover, in Manuel's formulation innovation of this type is indicative of the Fourth World condition:

We do not need to re-create the exact forms by which our grandfathers lived their lives—the clothes, the houses, the political systems, or the means of travel. We do need to create new forms that will allow the future generations to inherit the values, the strengths, and the basic spiritual beliefs—the way of understanding the world—that is the fruit of a thousand generations' cultivation of North American soil by Indian people. (4)

In this understanding, the Fourth World does not designate fossilized cultures desperately clinging to their pasts, but rather "a vision of the future history" of indigenous peoples (12). Emphasis here is not on specific cultural technologies or artifacts, but on enduring "values, strengths, and the basic spiritual beliefs" that can be innovated locally to meet the changing needs of future generations of indigenous peoples. The present generation's role is important not as museum curators but as vital linkage "to the ways of our grandfathers," which will insure that future generations are "strong" (47).

Alongside this discussion of Fourth World innovation is a critique of the Third World that draws a conceptual distinction between technology and values. Manuel characterizes the formerly colonized peoples of the Third World as simply imitating the First, "rapidly learning to adapt [their] life-style[s] to Western technology" (5).
whereas he sees the Fourth World as seeking ultimately to develop a "new society" (261) in which indigenous peoples will be allowed "to design our own model" rather than be forced to imitate Western forms (220). Although his characterization of the Third World seems naive or inaccurate today, Manuel's critique raises an important conceptual distinction between "technology," which he characterizes as universal, belonging equally to all the world's peoples, and "values and beliefs," which he characterizes as non-universal, belonging to specific peoples or nations inhabiting specific soils over time (181-182). Finally, Manuel stresses that the demands of the Fourth World are not for "special status," as non-indigenous critics of indigenous political aspirations often claim, but rather for the same rights "enjoyed by those who are already masters of their own house" (213).

In 1974 Manuel organized a preparatory meeting of the International Conference of Indigenous People, held in Georgetown, Guyana. Delegates present at this meeting, which led to the formation of the WCIP, represented New Zealand Maori, Australian Aborigines, Scandinavian Sami, Inuit from Greenland, American Indians from the United States, First Nations from Canada, and South American Indians. The committee given the responsibility to define "Indigenous People" reported that

The term Indigenous People refers to people living in countries which have a population composed of different ethnic or racial groups who are descendants of the earliest populations living in the area, and who do not, as a group, control the national government of the countries
within which they live. (WCIP Report 1974)\textsuperscript{14}

Notable for its brevity and its obvious attempt to create a list of "objective" criteria, this definition differs from Manuel's more elaborate version in tenor as well as in specific content. Juxtaposed, Manuel's definition and the WCIP's preliminary definition point up a basic tension between what James Clifford has called competing metanarratives of homogenization and emergence, loss and invention (17). Both definitions locate indigenous identity in its difference from other ethnic or racial groups rather than in its particular essence.\textsuperscript{15} Manuel's definition, however, emphasizes difference as emergence and invention, what minority indigenous peoples still claim to possess in contemporary times: distinct worldviews, an attachment to specific land bases despite large-scale expropriation, a history of resistance to domination, and the fact of survival despite often overwhelming odds against them. Above all, Manuel's definition orients indigenous difference toward the future. The preparatory meeting's definition emphasizes difference as homogenization and loss, what minority indigenous peoples have lost since the coming of Europeans and their descendants: majority population status and supra-local political power in their own lands. In this sense the preparatory meeting's definition mimics the discourse of First World taxonomies of ethnicity, which typically orient difference toward the past. The basic tension between emergence and homogenization is played out over and again in both indigenous- and non-indigenous-generated definitions of the Fourth World, rehearsing a fundamental struggle between First and (emergent) Fourth World standards of legitimacy for taxonomic criteria of human groupings.
Inventing a Fourth World

At the first general assembly of the WCIP, held in Port Alberni, Vancouver, in 1975, fifty-two indigenous delegates divided into groups to reach consensus about a "Solemn Declaration" of collective indigenous identity. Initially, the following draft declaration was proposed. Here objective criteria are replaced by a collective narrative of "Indigenous" experience similar in tone to Manuel's earlier metanarrative of "Aboriginal" emergence and invention. The draft Solemn Declaration brings disparate groups of indigenous minorities into meaningful and politically significant relationship by mobilizing the expressive force of literary tropes and metaphors. The narrative thus extends or "translates" to the global context the local significance of delegates' individual understandings of their people's particular pre- and post-contact experiences. In the articulation of these extensions as a single narrative of common indigenous experience, the draft Solemn Declaration invents¹⁶ a coherent Fourth World:

We are the Indigenous Peoples of the Earth,

We are proud of our Past,

Our lives were one with the Earth,

Our hearts were one with the Land,

We walked in Beauty [and Strength and Humbleness]¹⁷

We shared our path thru [sic] life with all that was on the Earth

and most of all with each other[

We developed the inside of our lives, and our relationship
with the world around us.

Then other people came to our lands,

These others did not know our ways.

They took from us our lands, our lives, and our children.

But they could not take from us our Memory of what we had been[

Now we know that many of us remain[

Together we can help each other regain our dignity and pride.

We are coming together to form one group.

So that the others can hear us as we speak in one voice.

So that we can in some measure control again our own destiny,

So we can once again walk in Beauty [and Strength]. (WCIP Draft)

The draft Solemn Declaration collectivizes global "Indigenous" experience in order to clearly differentiate between First and Fourth Worlds. And although on first inspection its language and imagery resemble a generic "committee speak," in only nineteen lines the draft declaration narrates a remarkable story of an unprovoked attack upon innocent Indigenous Peoples, their resilience against their enemies, and how they are now poised, armed with an international consciousness, to regain their lost "dignity and pride." Seemingly bland "committee speak" here seeks to render decipherable the formidably indecipherable junctures among distinct indigenous cultural and historic realities.

The narrative opens with bold sketches of its main characters. The first person plural protagonist, "We . . . the Indigenous Peoples of the Earth," is cast as a
global and "natural" community ("one with the Land"). By-passing typical Western criteria for racial or ethnic hierarchies (e.g., skin color or level of technological development), the narrative characterizes this community's members as gifted with admirable powers of memory, introspection, and the ability to live in harmony with their environment. The language and imagery used to describe "Indigenous Peoples" seems heavily influenced by North American Indian traditions, particularly in those lines which assert a strong spiritual relationship between indigenous peoples and the earth. "We walked in Beauty [and Strength and Humbleness]," for instance, evokes the ceremonial language of the Navajo Night Chant. Throughout this nine day ceremony, the chanter repeats variations of the formulaic phrase "In beauty [hózhó] may I walk": at the ceremony's close, the patient is told, "Thus will it be beautiful./ Thus walk in beauty, my grandchild" (Bierhorst 332). In the draft Solemn Declaration, capitalization in these lines draws attention to Beauty (and Strength and Humbleness) as an important indigenous concept, and this use of capitalization is the closest the draft Solemn Declaration comes to inscribing indigenous cultural and linguistic difference metonymically. Strategically, these lines are placed at the ends of the first and final stanzas. Further, in a general way, the draft Solemn Declaration's dramatic structure reflects the method of this Navajo revitalization rite. The narrative's first nine lines assert positive Indigenous values, implying the possibility of Indigenous healing. These are immediately followed by four lines describing the "evil" of the "others." Dramatic tension is created in their opposition. Finally, as in the nine day Night Chant, the narrative ends in a rejuvenation of its
"patient"--Indigenous Peoples--relieving its dramatic tension by repulsing "evil" (loss of "our lands, our lives, and our children") and attracting "holiness" (again controlling "our own destiny") (see Bierhorst 281-83).^  

Other lines describing Indigenous Peoples suggest additional, sometimes composite influences. These images may have sources outside as well as within specific indigenous cultures, but here, clearly, they are mobilized to figure indigenous status--and to figure indigenous status in a manner that will resonate with non-indigenous as well as indigenous audiences. "Our hearts were one with the land," for example, may read as Western nostalgia for some agricultural Golden Age, but it may also evoke the traditional Sami story that the Great Creator placed a reindeer cow's beating heart deep within the earth. "so that when the Sami people are in trouble, they can put an ear to the ground and listen for the heartbeats from below. If the heart is still beating, this means there is still a future for the Sami people" (Gaski 115).

Similarly, "Our lives were one with the Earth" may evoke a composite of Australian Aboriginal, New Zealand Maori, and North American Indian traditions that strongly link the livelihood of the human community to that of the earth and its non-human inhabitants. In *The Fourth World*, George Manuel states a Shuswap understanding of this idea simply and powerfully: "Our culture is every inch of our land" (6). Albert Barunga (Mowanjum) describes an Australian Aboriginal understanding of the relationship between human cultures and the earth in his poem "My People": "A race of people who rose with the sun,/ As strong as the sun they had laws,/ Traditions co-existing with nature" (qtd. in Isaacs 294).
The Fourth World becomes visible as a distinct corporate entity in the draft Solemn Declaration in the evocation of a history of Indigenous encounter with "other people." These "others" are not named specifically as Europeans or their descendants, but they are cast as ignorant of the knowledge of Indigenous Peoples and covetous not only of indigenous peoples' traditional land holdings, but also of their very lives and the lives of their children, that is, their futures as peoples and nations. The draft Solemn Declaration makes no attempt to explain the motivations of "these others." Having served for generations as the objects of First World political administration and anthropological study, in telling their common history from their particular point of view for the first time, delegates to the WCIP counter-invent a generalized, corporate First World as simply the "other people."

The climax in this narrative of global indigenous experience is marked by the image of stolen futures--indigenous "destiny" controlled by "others." And it is here, in the echo of Manuel's insistence that the Fourth World is "a vision of the future" rooted in "the values, the strengths, and the basic spiritual beliefs" of indigenous ancestors, that we might locate the narrative's specific tactics. The narrative states explicitly that indigenous peoples are coming together for the purpose of coalition, to form a new group in order to grieve claims on a global scale and to assert greater political influence through greater numbers. "Memory"--with a capital M--is invoked as the last bastion of indigenous resistance to the "others'" possessive colonization and assimilative policies. The narrative asserts that this same "Memory"--rather than pure bloodlines or the uninterrupted continuance of indigenous languages or specific
lifeways--has ensured the survival of distinct, indigenous peoples into contemporary times.

In part, it is this aspect of the draft Solemn Declaration that motivates my title. In the global context of the WCIP, indigenous "blood" in all its local variety is brought together and converted into "Memory," a master narrative that generalizes the diverse experiences of indigenous peoples. In turn, this master narrative enables the collection of diverse indigenous individuals and communities under the single rubric Indigenous Peoples--capital I, capital P--the assertion of a meta-bloodline that enables delegates to the WCIP to speak "in one voice" and to fight for their "own destiny."

In other words, the Solemn Declaration collects diverse bloodlines into a common story; simultaneously, the Declaration's single narrative legitimizes the assertion of a collective bloodline. Blood is rendered as narrative, narrative as blood.

Like Manuel's extrapolation from a specifically Shuswap world to a global Aboriginal World, the evocation of a shared indigenous Memory inscribes a tactics of moral critique that privileges the asserted values of the Fourth World over the asserted values of the First. Unlike Manuel's earlier text, however, here a constellation of dense local memories is condensed into an all-inclusive indigenous Memory. But the sacrifice of specificity is obviously strategic. By collapsing delegates' diverse local memories under a single rubric, the draft Solemn Declaration is able to negotiate not only a collective Fourth World identity, but also a collective Fourth World strategy for resistance. Indigenous Memory--singular and set off by a capital letter--asserts a powerful and powerfully ambiguous counter to the First
World's master narratives of Manifest Destiny, providential accident, the inevitability of Western "progress," and the inevitable vanishing of indigenous peoples. It reconverts the First World's master narratives from catalogues of merely symbolic acts back into a record of real actions taken upon human bodies and human cultures with enduring real-world effects. The narrative's final lines declare an international indigenous solidarity—a collective identity—made possible in contemporary times by this same shared Memory.

The narrative ends with assertions of the objectives of the WCIP: for indigenous peoples to again control indigenous futures—"in some measure"—and for indigenous peoples to regain spiritual harmony with their environments. The language of both assertions is strikingly equivocal. In the first, the phrase "in some measure" deflates the narrative's otherwise boldly defiant language and suggests that delegates wanted to assure their non-indigenous audience that their communities have no intention of seceding from First World nations. In the second, the powerful but ambiguous imagery of "walk[ing] in Beauty" leaves far too much room for interpretation. Exactly what this international coalition of indigenous peoples is demanding from First World nations remains unclear.

By the end of the first general assembly, delegates reached consensus on an amended Solemn Declaration, which the WCIP adopted by formal resolution. In the amendments the narrative of "Indigenous" experience is fleshed out in greater detail and organized more purposefully into stanzas. The two main actors in this drama are given fuller character descriptions, raising the stakes of the narrative’s moral critique
by heightening the asserted differences between Fourth and First World values and asserting specific motivations for the violent actions of the "others":

We, the Indigenous Peoples of the World, united in this corner of our Mother the Earth in a great assembly of men of wisdom, declare to all nations:

We glory in our proud past:

when the earth was our nurturing mother,
when the night sky formed our common roof,
when Sun and Moon were our parents,
when all were brothers and sisters,
when our great civilizations grew under the sun,
when our chiefs and elders were great leaders,
when justice ruled the Law and its execution.

Then other peoples arrived:

thirsting for blood, for gold, for land and all its wealth,
carrying the cross and the sword, one in each hand,
without knowing or waiting to learn the ways of our worlds,
they considered us to be lower than the animals,
they stole our lands from us and took us from our lands,
they made slaves of the Sons of the Sun.

However, they have never been able to eliminate us,
nor to erase our memories of what we were,
because we are the culture of the earth and the sky,
we are of ancient descent and we are millions,
and although our whole universe may be ravaged,
our people will live on
for longer than even the kingdom of death.

Now, we come from the four corners of the earth,
we protest before the concert of nations that,
"we are Indigenous peoples, we who have a
consciousness of culture and peoplehood on the
edge of each country's borders and marginal to
each country's citizenship."

And rising up after centuries of oppression,
evoking the greatness of our ancestors,
in the memory of our Indigenous martyrs,
and in homage to the counsel of our wise elders:

We vow to control again our own destiny and
recover our complete humanity and
pride in being Indigenous People. (WCIP Resolutions 1975)²¹

The final version of the WCIP's narrative definition of Fourth World
indigenous identity is striking both in the enormity of its mission and in the gravity of
its prose style. The narrative now opens with a formal preamble establishing the
Solemn Declaration's intended audience, "all nations" (subsequently referred to as
"the concert of nations," suggesting specifically the United Nations organization). In
the thirty-five lines which follow, the narrative attempts to evoke the complex history
of the world's indigenous minorities as a single, shared, articulable experience.
Coalesced under the collective rubric "Indigenous Peoples of the World," the asserted
common attributes of Indigenous Peoples are grounded firmly in "our proud past"
before "other peoples arrived." The second stanza describes these common attributes
in ambiguous, highly inclusive terms. Set off by the provocative verb "glory," the
second stanza's lines foreground a series of powerful indigenous signifiers--nurturing
mother, common roof, Sun and Moon, the Law--which strongly suggests a collective
Indigenous identity without privileging any particular indigenous signified. Difference
is transcended through the evocative repetition of the time marker "when" at the
beginning of each line--allowing the narrative to generalize a time in the past before
contact with "others"--and through references to widely applicable natural phenomena,
non-Western categories of relationship/kinship, and generalized past glories. In these
measured, rhythmic lines Indigenous identity is evoked rather than specifically
characterized: it is asserted as a way of being in the world rather than as a set of
easily observed or easily measured criteria.

The third stanza introduces the "other peoples," who are described in far
greater and far more graphic detail than in the draft Solemn Declaration. Specific
characterizations now carry indictments not only of ignorance and greed, but also of
excessive violence and inherent aggressiveness. The "others" are also accused of
additional specific crimes, including cultural domination through the imposition of
Christianity and evolutionary taxonomies, and physical domination through forced removals and the imposition of slavery. The third stanza’s syntax and strong verbs emphasize the motivations behind the brutal actions of the "others": "thirsting for blood, for gold, for land and all its wealth,/ carrying the cross and the sword." The synecdochic nouns in these lines--cross and sword, standing in for Christianity’s often violent missionary practices and for the violence of the invaders’ military power--appropriate and revalue the symbols employed by Europe and later by her settler descendants to legitimize invasion and settlement of the "New World" (see Berkhofer 116). The stanza’s final lines use creative word play (chiasmus and homonyms) to emphasize simultaneously the multiple crimes of the "others" and Indigenous Peoples’ significant spiritual relationship with the earth and cosmos: "they stole our lands from us and took us from our lands,/ they made slaves of the Sons of the Sun."

The fourth stanza marks an important transition. Following the rhetorically loaded conjunction, "However," the verb tense shifts from past to present to future as these lines explain the survival of Indigenous Peoples and their "memories" into contemporary times and assert their continuance into the future. Connection to the earth and to the cosmos and possession of an ancient history are presented as having been determining factors for survival up to this point. In future, under the collective "Indigenous" rubric, the world’s indigenous minorities, whose populations often make up small or tiny percentages of First World nations, will be counted together as a politically significant "millions." The precariousness of survival for particular indigenous peoples is recast as the inevitability of future endurance through sheer
"Indigenous" numbers.

The fifth and sixth stanzas define the context for contemporary indigenous protest. As in Manuel's 1974 definition, the centerpiece of the Solemn Declaration's narrative is not particular technologies or socio-cultural artifacts designated "indigenous," but rather a particular "consciousness of culture and peoplehood" rooted in indigenous "memories of what we were." And while the singular indigenous Memory of the draft Solemn Declaration has been amended to plural "memories" in stanza four, it is this consciousness, conspicuously singular, that is now held up in stanza five as the rallying point for contemporary indigenous protest, set off by quotation marks to indicate the expressed collective voice of Indigenous peoples. Stanza five positions this consciousness at the borders of specific First World nations and at the margins of specific national citizenships--mobilizing spatial metaphors which evoke both indigenous political sub-status and all too common indigenous sub-standard living conditions. In stanza six this consciousness then links contemporary indigenous peoples back to "ancestors" and invokes a persistent history of indigenous resistance to colonial oppression. The "vow" made in the final stanza of the Solemn Declaration amends the equivocation in the draft version to assert that the WCIP will pursue neither "equal" nor "civil" rights as defined by the First World's non-indigenous majority or minority populations, but rather self-determination and the recovery of indigenous peoples' "complete humanity." While the Solemn Declaration does not define or illustrate specific manifestations of either of these goals, we may surmise that they are to be determined and developed by
particular indigenous minority communities.

The rhetorical force of the Solemn Declaration cannot be overstated. The WCIP's narrative definition of global indigenous identity constructs a set of analogies which translate specific indigenous realities into a comprehensive and comprehensible generalization. In order to satisfy delegates representing diverse indigenous peoples and to reach its target audience, "the concert of nations," the Solemn Declaration participates in a number of distinct meaning systems simultaneously--First Nations, American Indian, Maori, Sami, Aboriginal, and Western. It is in this sense that the Solemn Declaration's narrative is autoethnographic: The Solemn Declaration negotiates a single narrative out of the worldviews, memories, and aspirations of disparate indigenous cultures by, first, bringing them into a significant relationship that allows for multiple contradictions and inconsistencies (e.g., the inclusion of "White" Sami living in Europe), and second, by constructing a dialogue between indigenous and non-indigenous understandings of indigenous minority experience.

The narrative's interest clearly is to construct a bridge by means of which the First World--and particularly its settler nations--might gain access to a Fourth World reality. To meet this goal, part of the Solemn Declaration's rhetorical strategy is to create a coherent and accessible composite of various indigenous narrative traditions. The figure of the earth as "nurturing mother," for instance, is common to a wide range of specific North American Indian and Australian Aboriginal traditions. In New Zealand Maori traditions, the earth is figured as Papatuanuku, the mother of all living things. When Papatuanuku's seven original children separated her from her
marital embrace with her husband, Ranginui the sky father, these brothers committed the original sin (*hara*), but their action allowed light to enter the world, which eventually led to the creation of humankind (Walker 1990:12-15; Barlow 147). In the Solemn Declaration’s composite narrative the figures Sun and Moon are represented as parents but they are not specifically gendered, allowing for diverse indigenous traditions in which, for example, the Moon is typically female for American Indians but typically male for New Zealand Maori and Australian Aborigines. South Australians tell the story of how Meeka the moon married Ngangaru the sun (Isaacs 145); similarly, Sun and Moon marry in Oglala (Lakota) traditions (Powers 166). Many Aboriginal and American Indian traditions recount how humankind is related to the sun, moon, stars, planets, and other cosmic beings. The Solemn Declaration’s narrative definition is thus a hybridized, composite story of the Fourth World as if it were told within an idealized tradition of indigenous story-telling, an "authorless," communal narrative of global significance.

This composite narrative is constructed as a counter to the First World’s master narratives which justify or rationalize the European conquest, colonization, and settlement of "new" worlds and which traditionally posit an "allegory of man" in which indigenous peoples are constructed as an earlier stage in the more advanced cultural evolution of the West. In its declaration of a distinct Fourth World identity, the narrative also appropriates an idiom of opposition typical of First World settler nations. As a formal declaration of independence, the Solemn Declaration works to disincorporate the Fourth World from the First, to disengage indigenous minorities
from the West's self-invention as the most advanced, most fully human people on earth. By making Indigenous history visible on a global scale, the Solemn Declaration asserts the Fourth World as an analogue to the whole of the First World (rather than to Europe or England or America)—a distinct reality, a counter example of a globally significant cultural system. Most importantly, the Solemn Declaration's narrative asserts a distinct Fourth World reality not only enduring into contemporary times but also moving forward into the future.

At its best, the narrative harnesses the forces of both contradiction and opposition as creative ambiguity, allowing for a high level of inclusion under the rubric Indigenous Peoples without giving over authority for making claims of inclusivity to non-indigenous outsiders. The narrative also resists First World pretensions to absolute objectivity in systems of human taxonomy (e.g., tables of blood quantum), by exploiting contradiction and opposition against a common ground of humanity ("we who have a/ consciousness of culture and peoplehood"). At its most basic, the Solemn Declaration reiterates the long-standing argument that the First World must recognize its indigenous minorities as fully human but different, and that it must allow indigenous individuals and communities to define themselves. The basis for such self-definition, the narrative asserts, will be indigenous "memories" and "consciousness," a sense of belonging to the narrative's protagonist "We." The Solemn Declaration's critical thrust is thus moral rather than taxonomic. It forcefully resists imitation of dominant, "scientific" First World discourses, and it hopes to transform the situation of indigenous minorities. The Solemn Declaration draws its
authority not from the significance the First World attaches to science or to Western-style history, but rather from the significance indigenous cultures attach to story and the significance First World nations attach to formal declarations of independence as sanctioned modes of oppositional discourse.

As an assertion of ethnicity, the Solemn Declaration's narrative definition of Fourth World identity relies on the successful construction of its protagonist "We." This "We" must be sufficiently ambiguous to include all of the world's indigenous minorities, but also sufficiently limiting to mark a bounded group that is physically and behaviorally distinctive and politically significant. To meet these needs, the Solemn Declaration insists on the right of indigenous peoples to self-categorization and constructs its protagonist "We" through self-reflexive "emblems of differentiation" (Linnekin and Poyer 4) rather than "objective" criteria: modes of relationship with the natural world, indigenous Memory or memories, indigenous consciousness. The Solemn Declaration's protagonist "We" asserts a collective identity constructed as a global interest group, a base for alliances through which to combat at the local level the First World's dominant ideologies and the First World's dominant national and international political structures--an openly politicized ethnicity.

It is tempting to end my analysis here and pronounce the WCIP's attempt at creating a collective vision of the Fourth World a success. From the vantage point of the mid-1990s, however, despite its deft tactics the Solemn Declaration appears an undeniably essentialist vision of indigenous identity. By foregrounding an elaborate representation of an Indigenous past--rather than of an Indigenous present--through its
omission the Solemn Declaration attempts to make room for the complex diversity of contemporary indigenous communities and individuals. Yet its representation of that Indigenous past remains necessarily vague, overly simplified, and idealized, so that, more so than the draft, the final version of the Solemn Declaration embraces the essentialist idea of a narrowly defined "authentic" indigenous experience. Further, unlike Manuel's 1974 definition of the Fourth World, which is grounded in the specificity of recent Shuswap experience, and unlike most local and national indigenous minority land rights or "back to the land" movements, which typically embrace non-traditional technologies and some level of necessary interaction with non-indigenous outsiders, the Solemn Declaration promotes the essentialist ideal of a return to some pure indigenous cultural condition seemingly outside contemporary reality.

**Reading Indigeneity**

At the second general assembly of the WCIP, held in Kiruna, Sweden, in 1977, delegates formally declared yet another definition of "indigenous peoples":

Indigenous peoples are such population groups as we are, who from age-old time have inhabited the lands where we live, who are aware of having a character of our own, with social traditions and means of expression that are linked to the country inherited from our ancestors, with a language of our own, and having certain essential and unique characteristics which confer upon us the strong conviction of belonging
to a people, who have an identity in ourselves and should thus be regarded by others. (WCIP Resolutions 1977)

At first glance, the WCIP appears to return to a set of "objective" criteria. However, by 1977 these criteria are part of an emergent and inventive metanarrative. Strikingly, following the Solemn Declaration's narrative definition, the new criteria are assertively self-reflexive rather than objective: we are who we are because we know and publicly declare we are. Whatever its faults, the Solemn Declaration makes plain that when contemporary indigenous minority peoples stand up to declare their distinctive identity in a global arena dominated by First World nations, they fight a battle that is simultaneously political and discursive. Harnessing the political power of the collective, the WCIP seeks redress of specific grievances through dominant national and international political channels. In doing so, the Fourth World challenges--and in its challenge attempts to revalue--the arbitrary constants in the First World's master narratives and discourses of human taxonomy.

Readings of Fourth World literary and political texts have tended to orient exclusively toward the past, relying heavily on, first, the recuperation of "traditional" (often defined as oral) indigenous forms in historical and contemporary texts, and second, the biographies of individual indigenous authors. In *Tribal Secrets: Recovering American Indian Intellectual Traditions* (1995), Robert Allen Warrior (Osage) argues in the U.S. context that both American Indian and Native Americanist discourses continue to be preoccupied with parochial questions of identity and authenticity.
Essentialist categories still reign insofar as more of the focus of scholarship has been to reduce, constrain, and contain American Indian literature and thought and to establish why something or someone is "Indian" than engage the myriad critical issues crucial to an Indian future. (xix)

That the WCIP was not completely successful in 1975 at launching a program for indigenous minority liberation and empowerment should not mean that its significant efforts at defining contemporary indigenous identity will be forgotten. Rigorous analysis of the draft and final versions of the Solemn Declaration’s rhetorical devices reveals a concern with discourse and an attempt to locate the appropriate genres of discourse for discussing indigenous identity in international contexts. In particular it is this concern with discourse and narrative tactics which should help refocus future analyses of Fourth World texts. Such readings must theorize how texts produced by this group of diverse individuals and communities around the globe, the Fourth World, define sets of common interests and, strategically, attempt to assert a collective rather than an essential identity. Such readings must answer to Fourth World understandings of how and in what terms it is appropriate to talk about indigenous identities and the construction of indigenous futures.

With its emphasis on the local, the provisional, and the creatively opportunistic, de Certeau’s model of tactics provides a useful foundation for such inquiry. De Certeau’s model draws our attention, for instance, to how indigenous activists render habitable the discursive space of the settler Other through tactics of
repossession and appropriation. The WCIP asserts the rights of indigenous peoples to behave, in the words of George Manuel, as "those who are already masters of their own house," and it mobilizes the dominant discourse of declarations of independence to promote indigenous causes. De Certeau's model also draws our attention to the complex set of negotiations required in order for the WCIP to devise a syncretic and hybrid narrative of collective identity that can serve as a rallying point for indigenous activism without counter-productively threatening dominant power. Moreover, de Certeau's model helps make clear that the WCIP's inoffensive language is a re-employment of the bland discourse of committees. The use of language that will not unduly offend settler governments inscribes a tactics of moral critique whereby politically and militarily weak indigenous peoples attempt to manipulate dominant First World powers by inserting themselves into a United Nations-style internationalist discourse of collective moral suasion.

As yet, however, de Certeau's formulation is not equipped to address the increasingly frequent and increasingly complex interplays between local and global discursive maneuvers that characterize contemporary indigenous minority and other identity-based political activisms. De Certeau's notion that tactical victories are necessarily temporal, for instance, helps articulate the fact that the WCIP's 1975 Solemn Declaration was essentially out of date before it could be adequately disseminated. Its greatest "victories" occurred in the moments of its negotiation and in the moment of its first formal articulation to assembled indigenous delegates and non-indigenous observers. In these moments the Solemn Declaration met the WCIP's
immediate, "tactical" goal of articulating coalition among diverse indigenous peoples. But once it was prepared as a text for wider circulation, the Solemn Declaration’s strategic definition of collective identity—vibrantly multiperspectivist in delegates’ negotiations of relationships between distinct indigenous peoples—immediately transformed into an essentialist definition of Indigenous identity, mired in an idealistic and debilitating description of a generalized Indigenous past. No longer a process of Fourth World invention, subject only to interpretations generated by activist delegates representing Fourth World peoples—no longer, that is, part of an exclusively local and effectively closed rhetorical situation—as a fixed text the Solemn Declaration is open to antagonistic interpretations that expose its close alignment with the politics of a specific historical moment. Settler governments in particular First World nations can easily dismiss the Solemn Declaration’s claims as irrelevant for indigenous communities within their local and national jurisdictions, since these communities neither define their identities nor grieve their claims from a global perspective, which is the only real basis for the Solemn Declaration’s or any similar document’s potential power. The strength of local political tactics is thus precisely their inherent disability: they rarely transfer to other localities, even when the originating locality is an international forum.

But de Certeau’s emphasis on the limitations of time without a complementary model of strategic memory and recovery minimizes any account of the ongoing significance or subsequent impact of an activist event like the first general assembly of the WCIP or an activist narrative like the Solemn Declaration. De Certeau’s
model cannot account for the fact that, despite its limitations, the creation of the Solemn Declaration has become a metaphor for inscribing international indigenous coalition; nor can it account for the fact that the document itself remains a metonym for a kind of "victory" that is simultaneously local and not simply local, temporal and not simply temporal.

Using my readings of the WCIP's Solemn Declaration as a model, in the chapters that follow I work toward developing critical theories for reading indigenous minority texts produced after World War II that take into account the specific historical and cultural contexts of their production--local, national and, increasingly, global. The formation of the WCIP and its articulation of a definition of indigenous identity is a useful marker (although not an exact marker) of a shift that occurred in the late 1960s-early 1970s, in both New Zealand and the United States, in the tenor of indigenous activism and writing. In the period after World War II before the formation of the WCIP, a small number of indigenous activists and emerging indigenous writers struggled to produce works of non-fiction, fiction, and poetry, and to stage events of ethno-drama, largely from within the structures of dominant institutions and dominant discourses. In Chapters Two and Four I investigate this era for New Zealand Maori and for American Indians, respectively. In the period during and immediately after the formation of the WCIP, indigenous activism and indigenous writing proliferated both within and outside dominant institutions and dominant discourses--and growing numbers of indigenous activists and indigenous writers began to form politically viable institutions and discourses of their own. I investigate this
era for New Zealand Maori and American Indians in Chapters Three and Five.

In her seminal analysis of Maori ceremonial gatherings, *Hui* (1975), New Zealand anthropologist Anne Salmond argues persuasively for taking an "occasional" approach to the study of contemporary Maori identity, rather than trying to analyze Maori culture as an integrated whole (210). Drawing on Erving Goffman's theories of the "significance of situations as frames for human action" (3), Salmond argues that "in contact situations everywhere, minority groups maintain their distinct identities in episodic sub-cultures, which carry over from one special occasion to the next" (210). I am struck that the U.S. literary and cultural critic Mary Louise Pratt's idea of "contact zones"—"social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination" (1992:4)—usefully refines Salmond's idea of Maori and other indigenous minority cultural "occasions." The contemporary Maori marae (community facilities), for instance, is not simply "a last outpost of [Maori] traditional culture," as Salmond's study illuminates. It is also a complex "contact zone" where, increasingly, Maori meet not only other Maori but also Pakeha (New Zealanders of European descent), individuals of mixed blood, and non-European immigrants and tourists; where Maori whose experiences are primarily rural meet Maori whose experiences are primarily urban; where Maori who are old meet Maori who are young; and where Maori who are tribal conservatives meet Maori who are Western assimilationists—and negotiate the potential and situational meanings of contemporary Maori identity. Much of the same could be said of the contemporary American
Indian pow-wow. In the chapters that follow, I take both an "occasional" and a "contact" approach to New Zealand Maori and American Indian literary and political activist texts and events of ethno-drama. I view these texts and events as particular episodes in the ongoing negotiations of post-World War II New Zealand Maori and American Indian identities as *indigenous* identities.
Notes

1. In *The Empire Writes Back*, Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin characterize "the position of groups such as the Maoris, Inuit, and Australian Aborigines" as "a special one because they are doubly marginalized--pushed to the psychic and political edge of societies which themselves have experienced the dilemma of colonial alienation" (144).

2. I use the term "autoethnographic" following Mary Louise Pratt's usage in *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*: "instances in which colonized subjects undertake to represent themselves in ways that engage with the colonizer's own terms" (7).

3. These examples are of particular interest to the present study because of their historic and symbolic importance as statements of pan-tribal Indian unity, and because they indicate that the parameters for a viable Indian activist discourse changed significantly during the period. The "Declaration of Indian Purpose" begins with "The American Indian Pledge," a four-point statement of "absolute faith in the wisdom and justice of our American form of Government" adopted by the American Indian Chicago Conference (AICC) in 1961. Clearly, the pledge is designed to assure "all other loyal citizens of our beloved country" that Red Power need not arouse a 1950s-style red scare. At the end of the decade, in the "Alcatraz Proclamation to the Great White Father and his People," the Indians of All Tribes forego assurances of a common nationalism and offer their "Fellow citizens" instead a tongue-in-cheek culmination of their worst nightmares of
Indian separatism. In a parodic "treaty," the Indians of All Tribes offer "the Caucasian inhabitants of this land" $24 in trade goods for the purchase of Alcatraz Island and vow to establish a "Bureau of Caucasian Affairs." See my discussions in Chapters Four and Five.

4. The history of protest by Canadian Indians is far more extensive, of course, than I've indicated. Early in the twentieth century, for instance, First Nations peoples sent delegations of chiefs from British Columbia to meet with Britain's King Edward in 1906 and 1909, hoping to secure treaty rights (Wilmer 211). In 1921, traveling on a passport issued by his own nation, the Cayuga (Iroquois) Chief Deskaheh traveled to England on behalf of the Six Nations to meet with the British Secretary of State and with the King. George V refused Deskaheh's request that he confirm the provisions of the treaty, signed by his ancestor George III, guaranteeing the rights of the Six Nations. Deskaheh next traveled to Geneva in 1923 to present his people's case to the newly formed League of Nations. Though he waited a year for a hearing, again he met with no success. The Canadian government refused Deskaheh re-entry into Canada, and he died in exile in New York in 1925 (Akwesasne Notes 1978:13-22).

5. Notable exceptions include Denmark's granting self-government to Greenland, and the creation of an Inuit territory, Nunavut, in Canada's arctic region.

6. I am aware, of course, of the non-European racial and ethnic complexity of contemporary First World settler nations. Movements to describe these countries as
"multi-racial," "multi-cultural," or "multi-ethnic"—whatever their positive benefits for democratic ideals in general and for minority communities in particular—often obscure indigenous claims to status different from other non-European minority populations. And often these "multi-" labels are used by dominant cultures in an attempt to invalidate treaty and other binding agreements between imperial or national governments and indigenous nations. In the New Zealand context, for example, Maori activists have interpreted recent efforts to redefine New Zealand society as "multi-cultural" as an attempt to invalidate the "bi-cultural" New Zealand established in 1840 under the Treaty of Waitangi.

7. For a fuller discussion of the competition over indigeneity in settler nations, see Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (135-40).

8. In "The Angel of Progress: Pitfalls of the Term 'Postcolonialism,'" Anne McClintock describes First World settler nations like the United States, Australia, and New Zealand as "breakaway settler colonies." Such nations are distinguished, McClintock argues, "by their formal independence from the founding metropolitan country, along with continued control over the appropriated colony (thus displacing colonial control from the metropolis to the colony itself)" (257-258).

9. In his work on the international legal and political rights of indigenous peoples, Glenn T. Morris notes that "Of the current members of the United Nations, over 100 were previously colonies, and have achieved their independence since the end of World War
II" (73). These circumstances would seem to bode well for Fourth World indigenous peoples seeking self-determination. However, Morris notes further that the UN's resolutions extend the right of self-determination almost exclusively to "colonies" and that colonies are defined by criteria which include "geographical separation from the colonizing power" (74). Despite attempts to extend the UN's decolonization mandates to Fourth World peoples, the so-called "salt-water thesis"—requiring that "colonies be separated from the colonial power by a substantial body of water, preferably an ocean"—"has predominated in international debate" (74).

10. At the time, Michael Posluns was a free-lance broadcaster and writer associated with the national American Indian newspaper Akwesasne Notes.

11. Deloria also writes that he, too, "was considering writing a book to illustrate the relationship between the various aboriginal peoples of the globe" when Manuel "called me and asked me to write a foreword to his book" (ix).

12. In particular, Manuel names the "destructive forces" of the West as "the state through the Indian agent; the church through the priests; the church and state through the schools; the state and industry through the traders" (69).

13. Financial and logistical problems prevented indigenous peoples from Asia and Africa from attending the preparatory and subsequent meetings. The WCIP's attempts to contact indigenous peoples in eastern Europe and China mostly failed. No doubt because
of George Manuel's and the NIB's founding influence, during these early years the WCIP focused primarily on issues facing indigenous minorities residing in First World countries. In the 1980s, North American groups lost effective control of the organization's leadership, and the WCIP turned its energies more toward the particular political situations facing South and Central American Indians.

14. I am indebted to Professor Ranginui J. Walker, Head of Maori Studies at Auckland University, Auckland, New Zealand, for allowing me access to his WCIP files while I was studying at Auckland University on an IIE Fulbright Fellowship in 1994. Professor Walker served as a Maori delegate to the WCIP during the 1970s and 1980s, and his files include copies of original typescripts of the Reports, Motions, Notes, and Minutes generated during the Preparatory, Policy Board, and First and Second General Assembly meetings of the WCIP, as well as drafts and final versions of WCIP documents and formal Resolutions. All references to WCIP materials are to these files.

15. Drawing on the work of Edward Said, Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin argue that "all post-colonial societies realize their identity in difference rather than in essence" (167).

16. I use the term "invention" following Roy Wagner's usage in *The Invention of Culture*.

17. Bracketed additions on manuscript.
18. Other variations in the Night Chant include:

   With beauty before me, I walk.
   With beauty behind me, I walk.
   With beauty above me, I walk.
   With beauty below me, I walk.
   With beauty all around me, I walk.
   It is finished in beauty. (Bierhorst 329-30)

19. Language variance (e.g., untranslated words in English language texts) is a common post-colonial literary strategy for inscribing cultural and linguistic difference metonymically. See Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 52-53.

20. It may be significant to note that N. Scott Momaday includes an extended passage from the Night Chant, also in English translation, in his Pulitzer Prize winning novel House Made of Dawn, published in 1968 (see 146-47). Ruth Muskrat Bronson includes four lines from the Night Chant as a chapter epigraph in her non-fiction work, Indians Are People, Too, published in 1944. And various anthologies of American Indian literature include excerpts from the Night Chant, including Literature of the American Indian, published in 1973 (edited by Thomas E. Sanders and Walter W. Peek, see 364-65). These examples suggest that versions of the Navajo Night Chant and especially its lines about "walking in beauty" were relatively well known among American Indian writers and scholars prior to 1975.

21. The final version of the Solemn Declaration is reprinted in Sanders 17-18 and in Moody 61-62.
CHAPTER TWO

A Marae On Paper:

Writing a New Maori World in *Te Ao Hou*

The first thing any Maori community will do to show its vigor and energy is to build a fine marae. One can be sure that where there is a marae of a high standard, there is also usually a community which takes a credible part in the pakeha [European] side of life. . . . These ideas . . . are proof that the Maori is not content to follow the past but has adapted useful pakeha ideas freely in his own tribal life.

--"The Story of the Modern Marae," *Te Ao Hou* no. 2 (Spring 1952)

Beginning in 1952, in the midst of dramatic social, demographic, and economic changes that followed the Second World War, New Zealand Maori could purchase at their local newsstand or receive through the mails by subscription "he pukapuka ma te iwi Maori," a book for the Maori people. Although Maori had been publishing local and regional newspapers in both English and Maori languages for almost a century,¹ publication of *Te Ao Hou/The New World* marked the appearance of the first truly national Maori journal. Issued quarterly by the New Zealand Department of Maori Affairs between 1952 and 1975 (for a total of seventy-six numbers), *Te Ao Hou* became a primary site for publication and translation of nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Maori texts and for publication of contemporary articles in both Maori and English on a wide range of topics of interest.
to Maori people. Perhaps most significantly, during this period *Te Ao Hou* provided the only national "Maori" forum to display contemporary writing by Maori authors in either English or Maori: informative articles on Maori history and traditional arts, personal essays and reminiscences, short works of fiction and poetry, and new works in traditional or modified Maori genres. And although it was produced under the auspices of several departments of the overwhelmingly Pakeha New Zealand government and the specific guidance of three successive Pakeha editors—Erik Schwimmer (1952-1961), Margaret Orbell (1962-1966) and Joy Stevenson (1966-1975)—during the years of its publication Maori appear generally to have considered *Te Ao Hou* a "Maori" text and institution. Certainly the New Zealand government did its best to promote *Te Ao Hou* as essentially and prescriptively Maori.

Irreversibly, World War II had provoked both large- and small-scale changes in the lives of Maori individuals and communities in New Zealand. Through military and civilian defense service, large numbers of Maori men and women experienced the world outside their traditional tribal communities both within and outside New Zealand for the first time during the War. When War broke out in 1939, "young men in their hundreds joined the Maori Battalion for service overseas" (Salmond 1975:28). At home, men and women joined the Maori War Effort Organization; many moved to the cities to work in munitions factories and other "essential industries." By War's end in 1945, over 17,000 Maori had enlisted for military service and another 11,500 had worked in the agricultural and industrial War effort (King 1992:303). After the War, the Maori population grew rapidly. Coupled with
shrinking Maori land holdings, this population explosion meant that rural Maori were increasingly forced to migrate to urban centers like Auckland and Wellington to find housing and work. While 90 percent of the Maori population had been rural in the decade preceding the War, by 1951 nearly 20 percent were urban.\(^3\) In the towns and cities, greater numbers of Maori people were able to attend educational institutions, including universities, which promoted the formation of pan-tribal alliances (Metge 1964, 1976; Schwimmer 1968; Salmond 1975; Walker 1990). Soon urban marae (community facilities) movements, voluntary associations like the Maori Women’s Welfare League, and university Maori student groups began to emerge as powerful social and political forces in New Zealand. Over time, sizable constituencies for regional and national Maori political action began to coalesce.

*Te Ao Hou*’s inaugural issue appeared in the midst of these post-War social, political, and demographic changes in winter south 1952 (winter in the southern hemisphere) under the editorial guidance of Erik Schwimmer. The magazine’s sixty-four pages—which would become its standard length—contain some twenty articles and stories addressing contemporary Maori concerns, plus a Maori crossword (English puzzle clues asking for Maori answers), a review of "Books that will interest you," and a summary of "Sport among the Maori people." Schwimmer announces in his opening editorial that "For the first issue, the Editor has had to write a good deal himself to start the ball rolling" (1). For the majority of these articles and stories the magazine publishes only an English text; only for a small minority are both English and Maori versions produced, generally laid out in dual columns per page. In later
issues a small number of articles and stories are published as exclusively Maori texts without translation.

The magazine's masthead announces that *Te Ao Hou* is "Published For The Maori Purposes Fund Board By the Maori Affairs Department," suggesting, perhaps, an official journal promoting Maori Affairs policies. But the magazine's articles and stories cover a surprisingly wide range of topics, reflecting, as I discuss in detail below, a conflict between Maori Affairs' stated goals for *Te Ao Hou* and Schwimmer's personal vision for the magazine. This first issue includes a reprint of Sir Peter Buck's/Te Rangi Hiroa's influential essay, "Native Races Need Not Die," originally published in 1940, and an article surveying Buck's life which emphasizes his role as an important "ambassador" for the Maori people. Buck is described as the "last of New Zealand's Maori knights"; his death in 1951 is recounted as marking the end of an era in Maori leadership. Other articles look at "50 Years of Maori Self Government" and the "Aims and Objectives of the Department of Maori Affairs/Ko nga Whainga Whakaaro me nga Mahi a te Tari Maori." There is a review of the soon-to-be-released film *Broken Barrier*, which stars Maori actress Kay Ngarimu and marks the entrance of Maori actors into full-length feature films. In addition, there are brief, informative pieces addressing such topics as Maori migrations to urban areas, the development of Maori farming and Maori schools, recent activities of the Maori Women's Welfare League, "Maori Food/Nga Kai A Te Maori," how to apply for housing loans, questions about Polynesian and early Maori history, new laws pertaining to Maori marriages, and the problems of alcohol abuse. Scattered
throughout the magazine are sketches of Maori local life and descriptions of recent innovations in rural Maori communities, often accompanied by line drawings or photographs. The first issue also features one piece of short fiction, "He Korero mo te Mata me te Paura/Experiments with Lead and Powder," by Major Ropata. The bilingual narrative relates an incident of Maori innovation during the time of Captain Cook's early visits to New Zealand.

*Te Ao Hou*’s first cover establishes visually the magazine’s general mission and promotes the reinterpretation of a traditional Maori symbol to meet contemporary realities. In a large, elongated block print, TE AO HOU is written in black letters across the top quarter of the issue’s green cover. A "V" pattern runs vertically through the blocks, giving the letters a generic "tribal" look. They might be read as suggesting traditional Maori kowhaiwhai patterns, which often are painted on the rafters of a whare nui (meeting house). Directly below the title TE AO HOU, its English translation The New World is written in contrasting white letters, in a smaller, stylized script. Together the lines produce an attractive bi-lingual title and suggest that the "tribal" and the "modern," the Maori and the Pakeha, can work together effectively. *Te Ao Hou*’s title serves as a visual representation of one version of bi-culturalism, the contiguous presentation of distinct cultural forms.

Most of the space below the bi-lingual title is filled with a drawing of the carved prow of a Maori war canoe (waka taua). The elaborate spiral designs of the carved prow display the high technical and artistic achievements of "classic" Maori culture. Behind the canoe, a nondescript island looms on the horizon, suggesting the
Polynesian discovery of Aotearoa/New Zealand. Taken as a whole, then, the first issue's cover promotes the idea of the Maori as a Polynesian people with a long history of adventurous change and significant cultural adaptation. "Te Ao Hou/The New World" represents both the Aotearoa (Land of the Long White Cloud) discovered by the Maori's Polynesian ancestors, whose new environment required that aspects of their culture be reimagined and innovated, and the new challenges faced by contemporary Maori living in a New Zealand significantly altered by over a century of European settlement, political, economic, and cultural domination, and, most recently, involvement in world war. The prominence of the carved waka taua suggests that contemporary Maori can draw strength from their Polynesian past to meet these new challenges.

In his English version, Schwimmer deploys *marae* (community facilities or meeting place) as a general term for a mode of discussion and exchange—in this context, an ideal of openness and inclusiveness appropriate to Maori and Pakeha alike—rather than
as a specific term denoting a locus of interactions between a particular Maori land base (whenua), living kin-group (iwi [tribe], hapu [sub-tribe], or whanau [extended family]) and their ancestors (tipuna). In the Maori version, the implications for how *Te Ao Hou* might function as a marae are somewhat different. Here there is no mention of a marae on paper. Rather, "this book" (tenei pukapuka) is to have the "shape" or "form" (te ahua) of a marae for the purpose (hei) of "compressing" or "cataloguing" (whakawhaititanga, literally, to cause to be put into a small place) diverse Maori "opinions" and "feelings" (nga whakaaro Maori). In other words, in the Maori version, *Te Ao Hou* is to take on the semblance of a marae in order to carry out one of the marae's primary functions, the staging of hui (gatherings). The English version emphasizes *Te Ao Hou* 's potential as text--"a marae on paper"--for answering questions or discussing issues Schwimmer considers important to a national Maori audience. This does not include, as Schwimmer points out, "private and personal questions," but rather "any subject that affects the general good."

In issue 2, Schwimmer develops this idea further in his article "The Story of the Modern Marae." Here Schwimmer asserts a direct link between the Maori's ability to construct contemporary marae "of a high standard" and Maori taking "a credible part in the pakeha side of life" (23). This view diminishes the marae's importance as focal point for local Maori traditions and innovation; the marae becomes instead a catalyst for the local adaptation of national Pakeha ideas. But the implications of Schwimmer's view of the "modern marae" are more far-reaching: this view also asserts that Maori material progress is exclusively a response to and a
dialogue with dominant Pakeha New Zealand discourse. Schwimmer asserts in "The Story of the Modern Marae" that Maori material progress is "proof that the Maori is not content to follow the past but has adapted useful pakeha ideas freely in his own tribal life" (23). Similarly, Schwimmer's vision in issue 1 (in English) of "a marae on paper" promotes a "general good" which is national in character and espouses the adaptation of Pakeha ideas. A "marae on paper," it is hoped, will disseminate such ideas and further Maori "progress" through an appropriately "Maori" vehicle. The Maori version of Schwimmer's first editorial, however, emphasizes *Te Ao Hou*’s potential as a marae for bringing together, codifying, and representing the diversity of local Maori thinking, perhaps for consensus building, a traditional function of marae hui (gatherings). The gap between the English and Maori versions signifies not only linguistic and cultural difference, but, as I argue below and in the next chapter, a space for the contestation and potential for the subversion of dominant New Zealand discourse, whether or not the potential for subversion is fully realized in particular texts.

The full connotations of *marae* are significantly wider than either of the brief definitions I list above: mode of discussion or locus of interactions between land, kin-group, and ancestors. And while Schwimmer may or may not have meant to evoke the wider connotations of *marae* in his editorial(s), no doubt both Maori and knowledgeable Pakeha readers were aware of them and considered their implications for *Te Ao Hou*. It seems crucial to explore briefly these connotations here.

As anthropologists of both Maori and Pakeha descent have observed--and
Maori people, generally, have insisted time and again—the marae is very much at the center of both contemporary pan-tribal "Maori culture" and specific tribal (iwi) identities, very much at the center of contemporary conceptions of Maoritanga (Maori-ness or Maori identity). In the past, marae referred properly to the open yard directly in front of the whare nui (meeting house) and was known as the marae atea. This space was used for the performance of rituals on behalf of the community.

Today, marae refers generally to all the buildings and open spaces in a Maori community facility. Typically, a contemporary marae contains a carved meeting house (whare whakairo) that represents and embodies the community's principal ancestor, an open courtyard in front of the house (marae atea), and a dining hall (whare kai). Rural marae typically include an adjacent cemetery (urupa) as well. A marae may belong to a tribal group (iwi), sub-tribe (hapu), or extended family (whanau), who are responsible for its physical and spiritual upkeep. In urban areas like Auckland and Wellington, and on many university campuses, large contemporary marae have been built to meet the needs of pan-tribal Maori immigrants and students. Other contemporary marae in cities and towns are sponsored by various Christian denominations. The marae is the favored site for important Maori gatherings of all kinds (hui), especially funeral ceremonies (tangi).

Often the marae is described in anthropological or social science discourse as a symbol of Maori "group identity" which acts "as a bridge to the past as well as a useful community centre in the present" (Salmond 1975:31). The marae is often named by Maori and other New Zealanders as "the only area in our New Zealand
way of life that endorses Maori values and traditions to their fullest" (Tauroa 5), "a last outpost of . . . traditional culture" (Salmond 1975:2). As a "Maori public place," the marae and its life are seen as asserting within the larger, predominantly European-descended New Zealand community the continuing integrity, relevance, and beauty of Maori language, ritual, architecture, arts, and community values. In Maori terms, the marae is "te turangawaewae o te iwi," the standing place of the people, or the place from which the people receive their standing or identity (Walker 1990:70). The marae and its buildings, especially the carved ancestral house (whare tipuna), connects the people who "belong" to its piece of earth (tangata whenua, land people, the people of the land) to their ancestors and to the gods.

The meeting house has several names in Maori, each emphasizing one of its many functions on the marae: whare nui (big house), whare puni (guest or sleeping house), whare hui (meeting house), whare runanga (council house), whare tipuna (ancestral house). As ancestral house, the whare's architecture incarnates the notable, often legendary ancestor—male or female—from whom the group who owns the house acknowledges its descent. The carved head (koruru) or figure (tekoteko) at the apex of the whare's roof represents the ancestor for whom the whare is named. The roof's ridgepole (tahuhu) represents his backbone and main line of descent. The bargeboards fronting the roof's gable (maihi), often elaborately carved, are the ancestor's arms outstretched in welcome to his descendants; the lower ends are divided to represent his fingers (raparapa). Inside the whare, the rafters (heke) represent the ancestor's ribs and descent lines. The interior walls, often decorated
with carved wood slabs (poupou) that represent more recent family or tribal ancestors, are the principal ancestor's chest and belly. To be inside the whare tipuna on one's home marae is to be surrounded and protected, literally, by one's ancestors.

The meeting house is considered "ancestral" not because of the antiquity of its physical structure or particular ornaments—the age of its materials—but because of its physical representation and embodiment of ancestors in contemporary times. The house and the ancestor whom it incarnates "live" so long as they are kept up; during whaikorero (speech making) on the marae, the house is spoken to as a living elder. The regular maintenance and periodic rebuilding of meeting houses ensures that important cultural skills, particularly woodcarving (whakairo), tukutuku panelling, kowhaiwhai scroll painting and their attendant rituals, are passed on to the next generation.

For Schwimmer to inaugurate the first issue of *Te Ao Hou* as "a marae on paper," then, was of no small significance. As with the waka taua pictured on the magazine's first cover, Schwimmer deploys this highly charged, traditional aspect of Maori culture and contemporary symbol of Maoritanga in order to promote its innovation. The layout of *Te Ao Hou* can be read as an attempt to reproduce, as far as possible, some of the key attributes of a proper marae. The editorial, for instance, might be read as a formal welcome (powhiri) to visitors coming onto the "marae on paper." In addition, the first editorial might be read as an invitation announcing the opening of a new marae. In the fourth issue, an obituaries column, "Haere Ki O Koutou Tipuna," and a table of contents are added to the magazine's format. The
obituaries column is placed at the beginning of the magazine, following the editorial. Read as part of a welcome onto a marae, the obituaries formally recognize the dead before the business of the day is addressed. The table of contents, immediately following the obituaries, then provides an agenda for the magazine's "hui." In his third editorial, Schwimmer asserts Te Ao Hou's potential role in preserving traditional Maori literary forms and knowledges by keeping them "alive" through use; in a sense, each issue of the journal will rebuild the "marae on paper" with new texts. Like the marae and its whare nui, Schwimmer states here that the role of history in the present is to serve as "a mirror [for the Maori] to see who they really are" and a resource from which to "draw strength." In his ninth editorial, devoted to the topic of Maori education, Schwimmer acknowledges the educational role of the marae; he ends his editorial by stating that it is the policy of Te Ao Hou to encourage cultural development for Maori children "by providing suitable material, both in English and in Maori, for their study." As in a marae situation, where children are a part of adult activities, Te Ao Hou will print material for younger readers scattered throughout issues, rather than create a separate children's section.5

But what might it mean, more precisely, to create "a marae on paper"? What role might such a marae play in the lives of contemporary, increasingly urban Maori people? In his first editorial, Schwimmer suggests an answer. Schwimmer announces that

Te Ao Hou is intended as a magazine for the Maori people. Pakehas will, we hope, find much in it that may interest them and broaden their
knowledge of the Maori, but this publication is planned mainly to
provide interesting and informative reading for Maori homes.

Schwimmer's announcement of the magazine's target audience is optimistic: Maori of
all ages and from all walks of life, both rural and urban, should find *Te Ao Hou*
interesting and informative. In particular, Schwimmer states, the magazine should
"broaden their knowledge of the Maori." Schwimmer then defines what such
knowledge of the Maori might consist of:

>a true Maori world is slowly shaping itself to stand beside the Pakeha
world. The Maori, in general, earns his living in the same way as the
Pakeha. Life on the marae, sports, haka, arts and crafts therefore have
to wait until times of leisure and relaxation. Yet, if these recreational
and artistic interests are developed, they will make life in a
predominantly Pakeha world more satisfying. They can, in fact, be the
basis of a Maori culture in which his identity will be preserved.

In this view, Maori culture is no longer vital and pervasive, but consists primarily of
"recreational and artistic interests." These interests can—and, by implication, must--
be set aside in order to earn a living in a "predominantly Pakeha world." In his
fourth editorial Schwimmer reiterates this idea as the promotion of "traditional" Maori
culture within the "practical and commonsense" context of the contemporary New
Zealand situation. The marae, in this view, and the life potentially lived there, are
relegated to "times of leisure and relaxation." Once Maori culture is defined in this
manner, as a list of separable, non-essential activities and interests, alternatives to the
physical marae can be devised for achieving Maori "leisure and relaxation." "A marae on paper," for instance, allows individual access to "life on the marae, sports, haka, arts and crafts" by making them conveniently available as text. And as text, they can be "enjoyed" alone, in the privacy of individual Maori homes.

Schwimmer's formula for creating "a true Maori world" in contemporary times makes it plain that, however sympathetic he and other individual bureaucrats in the Department of Maori Affairs might have been to Maori interests, *Te Ao Hou* was designed as part of the New Zealand government's official policy to encourage the "progressive adjustment" of the Maori "to our modern world." As such, one of the magazine's official purposes was the social assimilation, described as the "social progress," of Maori people. The potential implications of "a marae on paper" as a central metaphor for Maori writing in this period, however, offered a space for resistance to the government's dominant discourse. What if Maori contributors took seriously the Maori version of Schwimmer's first editorial? Could *Te Ao Hou* in fact become a "Maori" space--a marae--for bringing together, codifying, and representing the diversity of contemporary Maori thinking?

Maori Affairs: A Controlled Transformation

The Maori people are facing social problems which have to be solved partly by the reiteration of certain ideas. These ideas are to help the integration of the Maori people with the community as a whole. . . . *Te Ao Hou* is a publicity medium with the above-mentioned aims. In fact, the reason for the existence of *Te Ao Hou* is to promote these objectives, and it is not
There had been calls in New Zealand for a national Maori journal for some time prior to 1952. In 1940, Professor I. L. G. Sutherland ended the influential essay collection he edited to mark the centennial of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, *The Maori People Today: A General Survey*, by mounting an argument that there was a great need for a national Maori forum. His essay, "The Maori Situation," which concludes the volume, defines Maoritanga (Maori-ness or Maori identity) in terms of the marae, "a symbol for Maori community life" (421), and argues that marae are needed to develop Maori community life in urban settings, where increasing numbers of Maori are now living. Sutherland then laments the lack of effective communication in the Department of Maori Affairs and charges that this lack of communication is holding back the progress of increasingly urban, contemporary Maori. Sutherland concludes his essay by promoting the need for an official national publication "taking the form of a periodical news sheet for Maoris and those engaged in all branches of the Maori service" (439). Sutherland even lays out a charter for the kind of publication he has in mind:

Such a news sheet could make clear to all such matters as general Government policy, give a brief and simple account of the progress of development schemes, of plans and progress in regard to housing and *marae* improvement. It could report important Maori gatherings, note development in regard to arts and crafts, be the medium for health
propaganda, report progress in the Native schools and in general give
information regarding all matters relating to the Maori people. (439)

Sutherland notes that there are "precedents" for a publication of this type, most
notably a United States publication produced monthly by the Office of Indian Affairs,

Whether through Sutherland's influence or through other channels, officials in
Maori Affairs became aware of *Indians At Work* as a model for deploying a
government-sponsored journal to help administer the social assimilation and political
control of indigenous peoples living in a First World settler nation. In particular,
Maori Affairs officials appear to have been drawn to the primary message promoted
in the pages of *Indians At Work*: that through a program of regular "work" and
Western "education," indigenous people receiving government benefits could be
transformed into an ideal of independent, hard working, productive "citizens."

Department of Maori Affairs files reveal that in 1950 the Department of Maori
Affairs Under-Secretary wrote to the U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, William
A. Brophy, stating that he had "read back issues of 'Indians At Work,'" and noting
that "It appears, from this material, that there is a considerable similarity between the
work done by your office and the work of the Maori Affairs Department in NZ."7

*Indians At Work* had been created in 1933 by Commissioner Brophy's
predecessor in Indian Affairs, John Collier. Collier began the "news sheet" almost
immediately after taking office as part of his Emergency Conservation Work program,
an Indian division of the already established Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC),
which had been developed as a New Deal employment scheme designed both to put more Americans to work and to promote much-needed soil conservation and reforestation. The original purpose of *Indians At Work*, then, was to advertise and promote Indian conservation work on the reservations. Collier also used the journal—especially his opening editorial in each issue—as a vehicle for critiquing Indian policies of the past and for advocating his own ideas for changing national Indian policy in the future. There was little room in Collier's agenda for actual Indian voices.*

Collier's primary aims for *Indians At Work* in the U.S.—to provide a regular vehicle for propaganda promoting his New Deal programs for Indians and for reporting the successes of specific projects—coincided with Sutherland's stated goals in 1940 for a national Maori journal in New Zealand. Sutherland's subsequent influence is apparent in Maori Affairs legislation after 1940 and, once the journal had been officially proposed, in the formulation of specific objectives for *Te Ao Hou*. After 1940 Sutherland argued that "with the passing of the older generation of Maori leaders, those with over-all comprehension and influence," it was important that the individual Maori today be well informed so that "he [can] feel as closely as possible his unity with his people and the relation of his people and all their activities to the life of the country as a whole." In other words, contemporary Maori could both pursue traditional communal life—albeit on a larger, national scale—and modern national citizenship by developing as individuals. A national journal would help these individual Maori stay informed and integrate their lives into the larger (Pakeha) life of
New Zealand. Sutherland's wish-list for what a national Maori publication might achieve includes the reporting of significant Maori accomplishments and relevant government actions, instruction and practical advice for Maori people, and a sustained record of contemporary Maori life.

These goals are echoed in New Zealand's 1945 Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act.10 Two main thrusts of the Act are particularly relevant to Sutherland's goals and to the eventual launching of Te Ao Hou. First, the Act states that Maori are to be guided by the Minister of Maori Affairs and his staff officers in their so-called "advancement" (12.a.i) as well as in their "maintenance" of Maori culture (12.a.v). Second, the Act states that Maori tribal executives are to "collaborate" with various state departments and educational institutions—in order to promote the objectives of those departments and institutions (12.b,c,d). Thus the Act envisions and hopes to enforce the collaborative guidance of Maori people into mainstream, that is, Pakeha New Zealand society. Even the continuation of Maori traditions is to be guided by the government's objectives. A 1951 Department of Maori Affairs memo detailing the purposes of the then proposed national Maori journal develops the Act's ideas further, advising Members of Cabinet that

1. The Maori people find it difficult to understand the fine details of the Government's Land Development, Housing and Welfare administration, and of the legislation especially affecting Maoris. . . .

The press gives little space to such matters and it seems that the only effective way of providing the knowledge is by way of a regular
periodical.

2. Such a periodical would further be needed to give guidance to the Maori Tribal Executives and Committees, and to explain the European ideas about such matters as health, education, household budgeting etc. It should raise the cultural standard and awareness of the Maori people generally by discussing Maori arts and crafts, etc. and providing reading material of general educational value.

Like *Indians At Work*, it was hoped that *Te Ao Hou*, as a regular and pervasive messenger of government policy disguised as "the people's book," could play an important role in implementing such personal, cultural, and political "guidance" of Maori people. As the journal developed over the years into a veritable Maori institution, Maori Affairs' promotional rhetoric shifted its emphasis from guidance to welfare. In 1957 the Department states in its annual report that *Te Ao Hou* "can be used as an agency for welfare work" to perform a number of "primary objectives":

1. Coverage of news about progressive Maori development.

2. Stimulation of activities that welfare generally aims to encourage.

3. Development of Maori in-born valuable gifts of self-expression through story-telling, poetry, description of tribal events. In keeping with this welfare objective, district Welfare officers were used to promote sales and circulation of the magazine and to encourage Maori contributions. Unlike *Indians At Work*, *Te Ao Hou* took advantage of what government officials saw as "Maori in-born valuable gifts of self-expression" and encouraged Maori contributions
It is precisely the active inclusion of diverse Maori voices, I argue below, that opened the possibility of subverting dominant discourse in the pages of *Te Ao Hou*.

Department of Maori Affairs memos indicate that Schwimmer put forward the idea for *Te Ao Hou* in 1949, when he was still a basic grade officer in Maori Affairs. Schwimmer planned the contents and format of the journal and formulated its sales and advertising policies. From the early stages of planning the new journal, Department memos indicate that there was tension between Schwimmer's personal goals for *Te Ao Hou* and the goals of higher government officials. Schwimmer espoused Sutherland's idea that the marae was central for promoting contemporary Maoritanga on the national and increasingly urban scene. In his editorials, Schwimmer stressed that, counter to popular Pakeha expectations, "there is no evidence of [urban Maori] losing their Maori culture and identity" (no. 2); *Te Ao Hou* would have to meet the continuing needs of culturally Maori individuals in both rural and urban settings. Thus, for instance, Schwimmer actively promoted "the continued life of the Maori language." Yet it is important to remember that Schwimmer's discussion of Maori language is couched in terms of "leisure and relaxation": a desired "cultural" satisfaction from speaking Maori versus the "essential" need for speaking English (no. 11). This stance--Schwimmer's weighing of the "cultural" against the "essential"--is indicative of Schwimmer's larger goals for *Te Ao Hou*, as well as of his personal goals for the development of contemporary Maori culture. In an editorial focusing on what Schwimmer sees as a surprising lack of strain in
contemporary Maori-Pakeha relations, despite Maori population growth, Schwimmer considers "views" from both sides: the Pakeha's dislike of "segregation" and the Maori's desire to preserve "Maoritanga." In the end Schwimmer places "national unity and social and economic equality" as the highest priority (no. 10). In his final editorial in December 1961, Schwimmer tries to explain what his role has been as magazine editor. He uses a "tale" to make his point that the editor's role is to be a means for Maori to express their concerns, stories, and ideas in their own voices: "[The editor] gives the Maori people the opportunity to hear their own voice" (no. 37). There is no doubt that Schwimmer did his best to live up to this editorial ideal. However, a memo Schwimmer wrote to Maori Affairs while under attack in 1957 is perhaps most telling of the criteria underlying Schwimmer's choices of material to publish in Te Ao Hou:

Inevitably my selection of material followed some educational programme, which could not help being based on a definite view of the most desirable type of society for the Maori people. This view was composed of three elements: the ideals of the dominant European group, the aspirations of the Maori leaders and the editor's conception of a "sane society" satisfying human needs. The material in the magazine represents the area of agreement between the three conceptions.

Clearly, Schwimmer's ultimate goals for Te Ao Hou went well beyond simply allowing Maori to speak "in their own voices."
Officials in Maori Affairs (headed by the Minister, Ernest Corbett), the Information Service, and the Department of Tourism and Publicity, however—all of which had a hand in *Te Ao Hou*'s early production—were more interested in the journal as strictly a means for disseminating official information. In the public record, the New Zealand government asserted that it did not wish *Te Ao Hou* to be used as "propaganda" or to have a "political character." But in a 1952 memo to Schwimmer, Maori Affairs states in no uncertain terms that while Schwimmer will be the journal's "planning and guiding force," "in subject matter ours [that is, the government's] is the only voice." Thus began a struggle for control of the assumed "controlled transformation" of Maori through *Te Ao Hou*'s editorial policy. After publication of the first several issues, Maori Affairs, the Information Service, and Tourism and Publicity attempted to discipline Schwimmer over his handling of *Te Ao Hou*'s editorial slant. In Maori Affairs memos there are rumors of attempts to block Schwimmer's promotion and other disciplinary actions. What had Schwimmer done to draw the censor of government officials? Though *Te Ao Hou*'s texts were written primarily in English-only versions, Schwimmer had put together a journal that included bi-lingual texts, and he had headed each issue with a bi-lingual editorial. He had included a wide range of articles and traditional Maori pieces in each issue, with a focus on farming, education, and homelife. These early issues included very little contemporary fiction or poetry; it would take Schwimmer some time to attract Maori contributors of imaginative works. Perhaps most significantly, Schwimmer had chosen an exclusively Maori symbol as *Te Ao Hou*'s key metaphor, promoting a
Maori-centered image to represent contemporary Maori identity. It is this choice of key metaphor that appears to have offended government officials most. In a 1954 memo, the Minister of Maori Affairs writes,

At the outset the magazine was intended to assist the promotion of the objectives of the Government. . . . I am given to understand that the magazine is now being regarded as the "marae of the Maori people" where diverse subjects and thought are brought for discussion. This was never intended.

That Maori Affairs worried about a "marae on paper's" potential to subvert its intentions for Te Ao Hou is clear. For some time government officials continued to question Schwimmer's editorial decisions. Yet Maori voices increasingly found their way onto Te Ao Hou's marae. And, increasingly, they did indeed challenge dominant discourse.

Maori Voices in Te Ao Hou—The New Net Goes Fishing

Ka pu te ruha, ka hao te rangatahi.

The old net lies in a heap, the new net goes fishing.

--Maori proverb

In the thirty-seven issues under Schwimmer's control, spanning winter south 1952 to December 1961, Te Ao Hou published forty-two pieces of original short fiction, thirty-six as exclusively English and six as bi-lingual texts. During this
period *Te Ao Hou* also published a series of six original short stories in Maori, written by Hirini Moko/Sidney Moko Mead (Maori and English versions of one person's name), who is described in issue 28 (September 1959) as "the only living author, as far as we know, who writes short stories in the Maori language" (22). Because of their popularity, Mead continued the series with two bi-lingual texts. Including the stories published exclusively in Maori, *Te Ao Hou* published a total of forty-eight original pieces of short fiction from 1952 through the end of 1961. The majority of these stories are written for an adult audience, although, responding to the editor's call for suitable material for young Maori, there are stories for children as well, several of which are specifically designated as "bedtime stories."

Many of the stories published during Schwimmer's years as editor appeared as the result of five literary competitions sponsored by *Te Ao Hou*. These competitions were designed to spur interest in writing fiction in both English and Maori and, generally, to increase submissions from readers. The first literary competition was announced in issue 5 (Spring 1953) in a bi-lingual advertisement for "Story Competition/He Whaka Tae Tae Tuhituhi." Entries should be about contemporary Maori life, whether set in the country, town, or city. It is hoped that such stories will "increase awareness of what Maori life today really is." Such stories, the advertisement asserts, will be the "greatest help for the future." The advertisement promotes several ideas about the role of contemporary Maori writing: first, that there is a gap in the current representation of contemporary Maori life that needs to be filled; second, that fiction written by Maori authors can fill this gap; and third, that
stories written "today" will benefit future generations of Maori. Despite these high aims, *Te Ao Hou*’s first literary competition produced no results. In issue 10 (April 1955) the judges report that the entries received are of too low a standard. They recommend that no prizes be awarded, and none of the entries were published.

By comparison, the second competition, announced in issue 14 (April 1956), was a considerable success. While there was only one entry in the Maori category, "He Korero Hararei/A Holiday Story" by H. Te M. Wikiriwhi, it was considered good enough to receive a prize and to be published. The number of English entries received is not specified, but Mason Durie’s "I Failed the Test of Life" was chosen as winner, and a story by Rora Paki was selected for later publication. Schwimmer devotes his editorial for issue 14 to "Our Literary Competition" and uses the event to discuss his views on the history and general importance of writing for Maori. He argues that contemporary Maori writing is relevant because stories by Maori writers help represent the "truth" about Maori life. Schwimmer argues further that this presentation of "truth" is useful to Pakeha as well as to Maori, but he stresses that the future of the Maori depends on how well they think about themselves. While he does not discourage Pakeha from writing about Maori subjects, Schwimmer asserts that "Maori writers will have to write by far the larger number" of these stories. The ideas expressed here are important to the later development of contemporary Maori writing, as well as to the development of Maori expression in other media, such as film. The link Schwimmer makes between a community’s or a people’s ability to think about themselves "well" and their ability to succeed in the future will become a
central theme in the debate and often the battle over Maori representation. Whose image of Maori should be privileged and promoted? What are the potential costs to Maori, especially to young Maori, if representations of the Maori are limited, stereotyped, or inadequate to meet the complexities of contemporary life?

The editorial and judge's commentary following each of Te Ao Hou's literary competitions contributed to the construction of a paradigm for contemporary Maori writing which is very similar to the paradigm for contemporary Maori identity promoted by the Department of Maori Affairs: sympathetic to Maori culture but nonetheless Pakeha-centered. After the fourth literary competition, for instance, reported in issue 27 (June 1959), competition judge and highly regarded New Zealand poet Alistair Campbell (who is part Cook Islands Maori) specified the criteria he used in selecting the story "Goodbye" by Tirohia as winner in the English category:

Tirohia writes with more than usual insight about an everyday situation . . . has written directly and honestly about things that are real and significant to him. "Goodbye" is only a sketch, but it is the kind of thing we ought to encourage for it is alive and full of promise.

Campbell's comments echo both the text of the advertisement for the first literary competition and Schwimmer's subsequent editorials. What is desired and later praised is the representation of "the everyday situation," the "real." What is left out of this discussion, however, is the question of who defines what qualifies as "everyday" or "real."

Tirohia's prize-winning entry, "Goodbye," narrates the story of a young Maori
man, Tuhou [new one], as he prepares to leave his family and rural town in the north to attend university in Dunedin on the South Island in order to become a doctor. As the narrative progresses, readers learn through various characters that there is no longer enough land for young Maori to continue farming and that there are not enough Maori doctors, statements which justify Tuhou leaving home. Readers also learn that Koro [old man], Tuhou's grandfather, also "had wanted to be a doctor when he was young":

But in those days it was very different. His people would not let him go too far away from home. Besides that they were all a little suspicious of doctors. . . . they were funny then. (16)

Thus, as his name strongly suggests, Tuhou is meant to represent a new generation of Maori free from previous generations' disabling superstition and provincialism. It is interesting to note that "freedom" from the Maori past in "Goodbye" is gendered: unlike Koro, who sees his grandson as fulfilling his own thwarted desires as a young man. Granny sees her grandson's departure as misguided:

"The Maori belongs on his land," she would argue, forgetting that there was no longer enough land for them all. Granny could not realise that Maori boys had to go to the cities for education and employment. To her, the city was an evil or a luxury (she did not quite know which) created by the Pakeha for the Pakeha only. But Granny was wrong.

(16)

In addition, Tuhou's mother is dead; her death forced Tuhou's father to give up his
own aspirations in the city and return to the farm to raise his son. In the end, though it has been "hard" to say goodbye, Tuhou does, leaving "the country" for "almost another world."

The editor's and competition judges' discourse is coded as a call for representations of the Maori "everyday" and the Maori "real." But, above all else, their call is an argument that contemporary Maori writing should assist in what is considered the inevitable assimilation of the Maori into Pakeha New Zealand. In other words, the Maori "everyday" and the Maori "real" ought to look very much like their Pakeha counterparts. Tirohia's story "Goodbye" appears to satisfy such criteria. However, Granny's thoughts, dialogue, and actions, though dismissed by young Tuhou, nonetheless inscribe pro-Maori land rights and back-to-the-land positions in the text. Moreover, the story's final image suggests the possibility that Tuhou may well return home at a later date, after he has matured: "He felt very lonely as he gazed out of the [bus] window—almost like a love bird on a long migration to another country. He had left the nest" (16). Like migratory love birds, in later life Tuhou, too, may return to build a nest of his own.

Viewed from the vantage point of the mid-1990s, the general adult fiction published in Te Ao Hou during this early period, including Tirohia's "Goodbye," is striking in its representation of the Maori "everyday" and the Maori "real," for it differs significantly from representations of Maori life in the fiction published by Maori authors during the so-called Maori literary "renaissance" beginning about 1970. Absent in these early stories are direct references to British colonialism or its
continuing legacy of racism in New Zealand. And there are but few references to a distinctive or imminent Maori spirituality, a hallmark of Maori "renaissance" fiction. Rather, these early stories tend to focus on the practical, often personal difficulties of cultural change in rural areas, small towns, and urban centers. Maori identity is represented as neither "traditional" nor assimilated, neither assured nor under direct attack, but as in a process of becoming something as yet undefined. Battle lines over identity have not been drawn in these stories, and there are few representations of evil Pakeha or an evil Pakeha government; in fact, there are relatively few representations of Pakeha at all. The focus here is introspective, on Maori thinking about themselves and their communities. As in the traditional Maori proverb, the focus is on the relationship between the "old net," that is, the older generation, and the "new net," the younger generation. Many stories, for instance, narrate young protagonists' archetypal experiences of experimentation with or initiation into the novelties of urban life after they leave their elders. But rather than confronting an exclusively Pakeha world, these young characters found migrant Maori communities in the cities. The recurring theme that most often links these meditations on Maori identity outward to contemporary Pakeha New Zealanders or to the legacy of British colonialism is land. Throughout the stories, as in Tirohia's "Goodbye," diminishing Maori land holdings, coupled with a growing Maori population of rangatahi (young adults), is an impetus for migration to urban centers and for innovation of contemporary Maori lifestyles. At the same time, the overwhelming majority of these stories simultaneously assert both the continuing viability of the rural Maori land base to support "traditional"
Maori culture and the real possibility of a successful return to that land base should individuals not succeed in the urban world. Rural Maori physical and social geography remains a welcoming stronghold of a viable Maoritanga.

The two stories featured in issue 28 (September 1959), which, following the fourth literary competition, is dedicated to "Maori Writers of Today," in many ways typify Maori short fiction of the period. "Yielding To The New," written by Arapera Blank, tells the story of a young Maori woman, Marama [marama = moon, month; maarama = light, clear, easy to understand], who leaves her large family and rural community to attend university in the city. She studies anthropology, which she finds difficult and rather insulting toward Maori. In particular she is confused by her Pakeha classmates' questions about her culture:

Marama was soon caught up in the whirlwind of speculation on the meaning of Maoritanga. She forgot her misery for she thought she could contribute to the controversy and enlighten the Pakeha on her rich cultural heritage. But alas! They asked her point-blank: "Can you tell us what Maoritanga is?" And she could not answer what it was.

(9)

Marama is torn between her desire for Pakeha education and her desire to return to her family and rural Maori community. But as increasing numbers of Maori students arrive at university, she feels more at home in the city, for the Maori students "banded together for a little laughter and then felt a little better in the cold atmosphere of European learning" (9). Together, these young Maori migrants to the
city contemplate the possible meanings of contemporary Maoritanga without coming to definite or prescriptive conclusions:

They were all concerned with keeping alive their Maoritanga. It was their strength at the university. Yet, no one could really say what it was. Many of the Pakehas felt that Maoritanga symbolized a picture of Maori characteristics of a century's standing . . . easy going--good natured--lacking in stability. But most of the Maoris felt that true Maoritanga was reflected in their own language. "If we lose our language we lose our culture."

Perhaps that was the closest answer. But Marama had not made a decision. (9)

When Marama returns home for the Christmas/summer holiday, she feels confident that despite her changing ideas and views of the world, "the place hadn't changed" (10). She notes that "most of the young people were going to work in the freezing works [slaughter house] because there wasn't enough land to hold them" (10), but notes also that the pub, the church, the gardens, and individual homes in the village provide sites of a continuing, inter-generational Maori discourse. While home Marama forgets

to ask her father for the meaning of Maoritanga. There was no need to ask once you got home. Besides, time was short and soon she would go back to the city. She listened to her father's tales about Maori heroes. She practiced with him the tribal hakas [chants with
Rather than attempting to "define" a generalized Maoritanga in Pakeha terms, while at home Marama lives a specific Maoritanga, listening to her elders, participating in the traditions of her particular tribal group. At the end of the story Marama prepares to return to university and the city. She senses that she is growing away from her parents, but the body of the story has suggested strongly that she is not growing away from her Maoritanga.

"Dreamer's Return" by Mason H. Durie tells the story of Boy Heru [n. comb for the hair; v. to begin to flow], a young Maori man who has "crossed the ranges," leaving his rural community of Te Kohatu [the stone, the rock] to try his luck in the city, where he works and carouses with other young Maori men. Boy is in hospital recovering after an accident, the only Maori on his ward. An older Pakeha man, Charlie Beeman, takes the bed next to Boy and they quickly become friends. Charlie used to live in Mariu [to look upon favorably], a village near Boy's Te Kohatu, and through conversation Charlie reveals that he possesses considerable knowledge of Maori culture (although his vision of Maori people is conventionally Pakeha) and that he considers rural Maori life superior to Pakeha life in the city. Charlie attributes the desire of Maori boys to leave home to "the same adventurous spirit that set the early canoes floating in the 14th century[,l only now it was finding a new ocean to explore," and he doubts that they will "become 'Pakehafied' and be content to settle and work steadily at the one place with money and promotion as the ultimate goal" (18). Charlie dreams of returning to the rural Maori life he knew as a younger man.
and his reminiscences stir Boy's interests in returning home as well. Essentially a "white Maori" elder, while in hospital Charlie teaches Boy to remember and appreciate his home and culture.

Durie's title, "Dreamer's Return," refers to a paired set of auspicious dreams in the story. First, Boy dreams of returning to his family and friends in Te Kohatu. In the dream Boy stands on a hill, wearing his "flash [fancy] outfit" from the city. When the community recognizes him, they call out for Boy "to go down." As he runs toward them, though, they begin to laugh and point "as if something was wrong with me," and they move away. Boy is frustrated and at first he strikes out at his community, trying to get them to stop. But it is only when he performs a cultural striptease that he is initiated back into the group:

I took off my shoes and threw them, then my socks and coat and short[s] till I had nothing on. They stopped laughing now and just looked.

Next minute someone threw me an old pair of trousers--no knees in them and all ripped at the cuffs[,] but I put them on. You know, as soon as I had them on I was okay. I felt like a kid again and laughed and ran towards them. They slapped me on the back and kissed me and made a real fuss. We all laughed now and walked down to the sea[,] trampling my new clothes into the sand. (20)

After this dream Boy decides he will return home as soon as he is released from hospital.
Charlie tells Boy that he, too, has decided to return "across the ranges" to the Maori life he once knew:

Mariu—the village where he had been brought up as a lone Pakeha among Maori friends. This place he loved more than any other--his skin was white--so what? He felt like a Maori, they treated him like one and he had made so many brown friends.

Charlie’s operation results in complications, however, and he is unable to return to Mariu physically. As he lays dying, Charlie dreams/has a vision of his return to the village:

Now he was walking over to the meeting house. Three old Kuias were sitting contentedly on the veranda smoking pipes. . . . Charlie walked over to them, held out his hand and was greeted with a hongi [pressing of noses, exchanging of breath]. He stood beside them and entered in the conversation. He was back at last.

In death Charlie is able to return to Mariu and "his life" there. Significantly, in his dream/vision he returns specifically to the meeting house, where he is greeted by the kuia (old women), who traditionally call the dead onto the marae during tangi (funeral ceremonies). After Charlie’s death, Boy remarks that Charlie will "somehow" be with him when he returns to Te Kohatu, because "everyone there was like Charlie. That friendly simple type that was born on the other side of the hills would always be the same. Always? Boy hoped so." The story ends with Boy’s successful return to Te Kohatu, "no bag in his hand" (21).
Both "Yielding To The New" and "Dreamer's Return" inscribe young adult Maori protagonists who experiment with the potential benefits and temptations of the Pakeha city. Prompted by Pakeha characters, both protagonists meditate on what it means to continue to identify culturally as Maori. Both stories inscribe the creation of communities of migrant Maori in the cities and a certain confidence that, despite the urban migration of large numbers of young people, rural Maori life will endure as a site of Maori cultural integrity, providing a ready site for personal renewal for those who have left but wish to return. And both stories inscribe the tensions created between older and younger generations of Maori in the contemporary context of rapid social, demographic, and economic changes taking place in post-War New Zealand. Read together, "Yielding To The New" and "Dreamer's Return" inscribe as well the tension between rangatahi (Maori young adults) who choose to remain principally in the predominantly Pakeha cities and those who choose to return to the predominantly Maori rural villages. As in the larger body of stories published during this period, neither decision is foregrounded as culturally correct. Each is inscribed as a potentially viable strategy for personal survival and advancement, and neither is inscribed as ultimately threatening the survival of the rural Maori community. Rather, what is foregrounded is the decision making process itself, a rumination on personal identity and Maoritanga based in experiences of experimentation and initiation that are safeguarded by the continued existence of Maori rural life.

The narrative tactics deployed in these stories are typical of Maori writing in Te Ao Hou during this period. Both Blank and Durie write in standard, accessible
New Zealand English. Maori language is used sparingly, generally common words or phrases ("whakahihi" [vain], "E putiputi koe" [you flower]), greetings ("Tena koe e hoa!" [Hello, friend!]), and proper names. Often Maori language is marked off in the text by quotation marks. No Maori words or phrases are glossed in the text, however. Though they do not render either story inaccessible to non-Maori speakers, these strategies do inscribe the presence of Maori difference. In addition, non-Maori speakers are withheld access to the significance of Maori proper names. In "Yielding To The New," Marama’s name is potentially significant in several ways. Since Te Ao Hou did not mark Maori vowel length during Schwimmer’s editorship with either a macron or by doubling long vowels, it is unclear whether Marama’s name is Marama, which translates into English as "moon" or "month" and which might suggest the cycle of changes she undergoes in the story and no doubt will continue to experience, or Maarama, which translates into English as "light" or "clear" or "easily understood" and which might suggest her movement toward knowledge and a more clear understanding of her position as Maori in contemporary New Zealand. In "Dreamer’s Return," Heru translates into English as a noun as a "comb for the hair," which can be read as a joke in the story, since both the hospital matron and Charlie comment that Boy was "due for a good hair cut long ago." Heru also translates into English as a verb as "to begin to flow," which can be read as a metaphor for Boy’s return home. The Maori place names in "Dreamer’s Return" also are potentially significant. Te Kohatu translates into English as "the stone" or "the rock," suggesting a place that is steady, both physically and metaphorically solid; kohatu is the Maori
word used to translate the biblical "rock of ages." *Mariu* translates into English as "to look upon favorably," corresponding to Charlie's view of his beloved Maori village.

Durie's use of prophetic dreams/visions is a narrative tactic which challenges Western realism, contesting a dominant Pakeha construction of everyday life with a Maori alternative (see Bhabha 1994:34). The cultural striptease performed in Boy Heru's dream operates similarly to the "sovereign striptease" American Indian writer and scholar Gerald Vizenor devise and enacts in his hybrid text "Socioacupuncture: Mythic Reversals and the Striptease in Four Scenes" (1990a:83-97). In Vizenor's text, the striptease "is a metaphor and in the metaphor are mythic strategies for [indigenous] survival" (84). The ritual of striptease, Vizenor's text argues, allows indigenous characters to expose "the pale inventors of the tribes" (91), to strip off the colonizer's fixed images of indigenous identity. Early in "Dreamer's Return," the hospital matron's dominant discourse fixes Boy Heru into a Pakeha taxonomy of identity. She reports to Charlie:

Next door to you is young Heru. Poor boy. From what we can gather he's a real bodgy. Look at his hair! Honestly, some of these Maoris today—disgusting I say. Just seem to roam around the streets in those ridiculous clothes—none of them look to have decent steady jobs. Ah well, not our fault. (18)

Later, Boy describes himself in similar terms, as trapped in an economy of Pakeha images:
Boy laughed. He needed every penny he could get now; those 12 inch trousers he wanted, the orange drape coat, a few more new records—thousands of things he wanted now but couldn’t afford. (19)

The cultural striptease Boy performs in his dream is a strategy of Maori survival, allowing Boy to remove himself from a Pakeha taxonomy of identity based in materialism and individualism, asserting in its place a Maori value system based in community solidarity.

Charlie’s presence in the story and his desire to return to the Maori life he knew in Mariu balances the cultural striptease performed in Boy’s dream with a Pakeha “reality.” Charlie’s more recognizable dream/vision experience at death offers Pakeha readers the possibility of interpreting Boy’s cultural striptease in a manner less challenging to the parameters of the Western realism which underlies New Zealand’s dominant settler discourse. Charlie’s experience suggests that Boy’s dream, too, can be read sentimentally rather than politically. Thus the competing dreams/visions in Durie’s "Dreamer’s Return" rehearse the unique struggle in the Fourth World between "native” indigeneity and "settler" or "New World" indigeneity that I discuss in a global context in Chapter One. In the New Zealand context, aboriginal Maori are forced to compete for *indigenous* status with Pakeha settlers eager to separate their own identities from the European Old World. Representations of attachment to specific lands and of attachment to specific communities become involved in a larger ideological battle between competing understandings of the meanings of and bases for such attachments. In Durie’s story, Charlie’s dream/vision
ill rehearses the argument for sentimental attachment to indigenous land and indigenous community, an attachment which can be satisfied by the idea of physical return. Boy’s dream rehearses the argument for a spiritual attachment to indigenous land and community that can only be satisfied by actual physical return.

Te Ao Hou 1962-1966: Ka Korero Ke Te Pukapuka Maori/
The Maori Magazine Speaks Differently Than Expected

I feel that [the Pakeha author of an article on Maori racism] does not fully understand the true cause of Maori hate for the Pakeha. It is not to be found in the attitude of no-good parents living in no-good houses in no-good Freemans Bay. We have to go back (whether we want to or not) to the Land Wars, the confiscations and the disintegration of tribal life. The mana [power, prestige] was broken but the hate lived on, our sense of history does not allow us to forget . . .

--Letter to the Editor, Te Ao Hou no. 40 (September 1962)

During Margaret Orbell’s editorship from March 1962 to March 1966, Te Ao Hou published an increased number of bi-lingual texts and its short fiction more openly engaged in oppositional politics. It is unclear to what degree, if any, Orbell’s presence as editor affected the content of Te Ao Hou’s fiction. An academic rather than a Maori Affairs bureaucrat, Orbell went on to become one of New Zealand’s leading scholars and translators of classical Maori. During her four years as editor of Te Ao Hou, Orbell increased the number of translations of nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Maori texts published in each issue. And she improved Te Ao
Hou’s overall production values: Orbell’s husband, New Zealand artist Gordon Walters, helped design the magazine during her years as editor, and he increased both the amount and quality of art work published. Under Orbell the magazine also received a new logo. Foregoing direct translation, Te Ao Hou/The New World was replaced by Te Ao Hou/The Maori Magazine. Orbell moved the obituaries column to the back of Te Ao Hou and discontinued the editorial. During her years as editor no reference is made to "a marae on paper"; nor is any other central metaphor launched for the magazine. However, the shifts in style and content of the short fiction published during her editorship suggest, perhaps, that during the mid-1960s Te Ao Hou became an increasingly vibrant "maare on paper" in touch with contemporary Maori concerns. Unlike the stories published during Schwimmer’s editorship, these stories consciously narrate Maori confrontations with Pakeha New Zealanders and Pakeha racism. Most often, confrontations are staged in domestic settings, in Maori and Pakeha homes, and between individuals. These stories also directly address the issue of miscegenation, narrating the experiences of mixed-blood Maori identified by the stories’ authors as "quarter-caste" and "mongrel." At the same time, these more outward-looking stories often inscribe a Maori need for Pakeha affirmation and validation of things Maori. As in the earlier period, no single Maori point of view is privileged. But the level of tension has clearly risen, and battle lines over Maori identity are beginning to be drawn.

The two stories published in issue 38 (March 1962), for instance, set up a dialectic of possible responses to Pakeha interest in Maori people and Maori culture.
In "The Visitors" by Hineira, a young Maori woman narrates the story of the anxiety caused her mother when her father invites a Pakeha couple to visit their home and of the subsequent success of the actual visit. The Hemi [transliteration of James] family live in a rural area in a ramshackle old house with only one presentable "sitting-room," which Mrs. Hemi has furnished "lovingly" with "congoleum [floor] squares and stuffed sofas" with money she saved over a period of seven years. The room is off limits to the large family. "My mother always had a fear," the narrator tells readers, "that we would ruin [the nice things] before we had important visitors to call" (6). As the narrative progresses, it becomes clear that only Pakeha qualify as "important visitors": Maori guests from near or far are entertained in the large kitchen, which also serves as the Hemi's "living room." In addition to the expensive flooring and furniture purchased for the sitting-room, Mrs. Hemi has placed a portrait of her "illustrious ancestor" above the mantelpiece and hung family photographs and a whalebone patu (hand weapon) on the wall—her most prized Maori possessions. Thus the sitting-room represents the best of both worlds Mrs. Hemi has to offer potential Pakeha guests, a bi-cultural museum filled with evocative artifacts and status markers. Before the visitors arrive, the narrator comments that "I did not like [the ancestor in the portrait's] arrogant face chiselled into severity with fierce tattoo. I thought he was ugly and he frightened me" (6). She also comments that "a pakeha" told her mother that the patu, which Mrs. Hemi believes is very valuable, "would never fetch a penny; for its value lay only in sentiment and not in itself" (6). These statements set up the inevitable evaluation of Mrs. Hemi's Maori possessions by her Pakeha
visitors. As the day of their arrival approaches, the narrator wishes the family "could sell the whalebone patu for some nice congoleum squares" (7) to make the house more presentable to them.

The Pakeha visitors turn out to be "a Maori scholar" and his wife. The narrator observes how the family does its best to behave well for them, the twelve children, in particular, attempting to conform to what they and their mother understand as Pakeha rules of etiquette. To Mrs. Hemi's great relief, the Pakeha couple appear to find them all "charming." Both Mrs. and Mr. Hemi are edified by their experience with the Pakeha couple. During the visit Mr. Mills takes an interest in Mrs. Hemi's photographs and says he recognizes the portrait of her ancestor from the museum. Mrs. Mills teaches Mrs. Hemi a number of Pakeha domestic skills: "how to make mats out of old scraps of material . . . how to arrange flowers and leaves on an old cake plate . . . how to grow daffodils very quickly" (9). Mr. Hemi discusses "the importance of Maori language" with Mr. Mills, looking "very pleased when he mentioned the word 'verb' or 'noun.' It sounded so learned." When the visitors leave, both Mrs. and Mr. Hemi plan to use the Pakeha visit to raise their social status. Mrs. Hemi's "eyes sparkled at the thought of the things she would show her relations." Mr. Hemi "too was dreaming--perhaps of what he could contribute to the field of education . . . things he had picked up from his learned friend" (9). The story ends with the narrator creeping back into the sitting-room to have another look at the portrait of "my ancestor with his arrogant face." "Ah!" she concludes, "Mr. Mills liked him." Even the narrator's negative opinion of her fierce
Maori ancestor has been affected by the Pakeha visit. Her mother’s prized representation of classic Maori identity has been validated from the outside.

"Show Us The Way/Whakaauria Mai Te Huarahi" by Sidney Moko Mead/Hirini Moko (English and Maori versions of the same name) challenges "The Visitors'" positive depiction of Pakeha influence on a rural Maori family. Here an urban Maori family man, Rapa [n. canoe stern, blade of a paddle; v. to seek], narrates the story of a visit to his home by his Pakeha workmate Bill. As in "The Visitors," the Maori husband and wife in "Show Us The Way" worry about what the Pakeha will think of their home and several children. Once Bill arrives, the narrator, Rapa, focuses exclusively on his and Bill's conversation. At first Rapa reports that he is happy, because he feels "this Pakeha . . . is easy to please" (15). However, soon Bill stops "glancing at the portraits of our children and ancestors hanging on the walls"--representations of a specific, living Maori family--and the topic of conversation turns "to the Maori people" in general. As the discussion shifts from the immediate domestic sphere to the larger New Zealand socio-political sphere, Rapa becomes less easy. Bill asserts that "your Maori customs are pulling you people back" (15), then argues specifically that tangi (funeral ceremonies) and hui (gatherings) should be abolished: they waste time and money. "Their greatest sin," Bill argues, "is that they separate us, making us go our separate ways. . . . We should really go together for we are one people--New Zealanders" (16). Bill argues further:

Let us regard the Maori and Pakeha people as one. Let us have the
same laws, the same customs and similar thoughts. Let us do away with the special Maori members of parliament, let us put an end to the Maori Affairs Department so we will all be the same. Let there be one set of rules to be observed by everyone. If this is not done we will continue to be separated as we are now. Our differences will divide us and cause friction. (17)

Bill's arguments bring together a litany of Pakeha complaints against the continuation of Maori traditions in contemporary times; his patronizing tone represents as well typical Pakeha attitudes toward the ability of Maori to make important social, economic, and cultural decisions for themselves. At each point Bill asks Rapa, "Now Rapa, what do you think about my thoughts on the matter?" And at each point Rapa responds verbally, "Yes, perhaps you are right." For his workmate and friend Bill, Rapa plays the "good" Maori, agreeing with the Pakeha assessment of Maori culture. But to himself, Rapa is unsure. In his interior monologue Rapa counters each of Bill's specific points, detailing to himself and to the reader the social and spiritual necessities of tangi, the cultural and political importance of hui, the potential for personal and spiritual renewal in the practice of Maori oral and artistic traditions.

Rapa also analyzes Bill's assertion that Maori and Pakeha are "one people." He reasons to himself and to readers:

The essence of [Bill's] argument for unity is that we should leave behind, throw out and abandon our Maori customs.

The politicians are the culprits who give voice to the idea that
we are one people. They are the ones who publish to the world that we live together in brotherhood and goodwill. To my way of thinking this is the dream of a seer. The idealistic longings of people who go to church. (17)

Rapa's concise analysis points up yet another symptom of the competition over indigeneity in New Zealand between aboriginal Maori and Pakeha descended from European settlers. Bill's and the politicians' calls for all New Zealanders to become and to behave as "one people" are symptomatic of Pakeha desires to construct their own identities in contradistinction to the European Old World, particularly to Great Britain. Maori assertions of prior claims to land, resources, language, and culture—above all, to the right to maintain difference—threaten Pakeha constructions of New Zealand as a "New World" and call into question Pakeha attempts to assert cultural distinctiveness from Europe. Rapa's analysis uncovers the struggle for cultural authenticity and national legitimacy underlying the proffered desires of Pakeha to live with Maori as a single people.

At the end of his conversation with Bill, Rapa has come to no definite conclusions. After Bill has gone home, Rapa is left asking the questions, "Whose opinion is the correct one? His or mine?", "Which is the right road to follow?" (18). The implications of Rapa and Bill's debate over the continuation of Maori traditions are quite clear, however, and they stand in stark contrast to the implications of the Hemi's acquiescence to Pakeha attitudes in "The Visitors." Hineira's story, focused exclusively in the domestic sphere, implies Maori can only benefit from Pakeha
interest in Maori culture, both in terms of affirming their Maori heritage and assimilating useful Pakeha ideas. Mead’s story, which shifts from the domestic sphere to the larger, socio-political sphere, implies that Pakeha who have not "seen much of Maori life and customs" want to abolish Maori traditions that do not fit well with Pakeha economic and social practices, including the central contemporary Maori ceremonial, the tangi. Moreover, in Mead’s story Pakeha want to mandate and enforce their ideas for abolishing Maori cultural practices through the government. And where the Hemi family’s responses to their Pakeha visitors are overwhelmingly appreciative, Rapa’s interior responses to Bill’s arguments assert the potential for an effective counter-discourse in New Zealand. To some degree, that potential is realized in the details of Mead’s text, particularly, I argue below, in the subtle interplay between Mead’s Maori and English versions.

Mead’s bi-lingual text is printed in dual columns per page, the Maori and English versions separated by a narrow gap of white space. This two-column layout has instructional value for teaching Maori language. But the presence of both languages on the single page is also metonymic of the possibility of linguistic and cultural difference in the text—and, hence, metonymic as well of potential linguistic and cultural diversity in contemporary New Zealand. That potential undermines the absolute authority of either version for both English- and Maori-only readers. The mere presence of the "other" language suggests an excess of meaning unavailable to the monolingual reader. Only the bi-lingual reader has full access to all of the text’s potential meanings: Maori, English, and the two combined. Read separately, Mead’s
Maori and English versions are close translations of each other. However, a number of significant differences become apparent when one reads back and forth across the gap between versions. At one level are the differences a bi-lingual reader might expect between the specific connotations of Maori and English expressions. For instance, the story opens with Rapa waiting for his visitor, looking up at the sky:

I was looking up at the sky. A short while ago the sun was shining.

Now it is out and it has darkened the land a little.

E titiro ana ahau ki te rangi. I mua ake nei e whiti ana te raa. Inaianei kua weto kua aahua poouri.

Both versions work to set the mood of the story. The printed English version offers a seemingly straight-forward description of how the fading light has changed the look of the land. The Maori version translates into English slightly differently:

I was looking towards the sky. A short time before this the sun was shining. Now [it] has been extinguished/overcome[, now it] has become rather dark/sad.

Mead's Maori version carries more obvious emotional connotations, which do not appear in his English version. And here there is no mention of land. The sun is not simply "out" but has been "extinguished" or "overcome" (weto). And the evening has become more than "darkened": poouri also carries primary meanings of "sorrowful" or "sad." If the versions are read together, the opening carries moral and political connotations as well: they set the story's mood by subtly evoking the felt effects of British colonialism for contemporary Maori New Zealanders--a darkening of
the land and of the spirit. The interplay between the English and Maori versions in Mead's bi-lingual opening, their subtle discrepancies as translations, suggests what the Letter to the Editor quoted at the top of this section states clearly: that too often self-proclaimed sympathetic Pakeha are unable to see below the surface of Maori attitudes, understandings, and beliefs.

At the end of the story, the interplay between Mead's English and Maori versions is even more suggestive of the potential of bi-lingual texts to subvert dominant discourse. Here the interplay between versions suggests that, throughout the story, Rapa and Bill's debate has been conducted on two potentially opposed levels. On one level there has been an obviously Pakeha-style discourse on the asserted faults of Maori traditions and the asserted necessity of creating adequate national policy to correct these faults, lest the New Zealand nation suffer socially and economically as a whole. On another level, there also has been a metadiscourse on the power of dominant discourse to affect—and potentially to destroy—Maori lives.

Consider the following passage from Rapa's interior response to Bill's ideas:

What troubled me most was this. Supposing the policy laid down to guide us was wrong, all of us would be murdered, our children and our grandchildren. Who should lay down a policy? Should we ourselves, or should we rely on the enlightened members of the Pakeha people? And if it should be wrong, who would be responsible for our decimation?
Ko te whakaaro kei te whakararuraru i a au inaiane i, ko teenei.

Mehemea e hee ana te whakatakoto *kupu* hei arahi i a taatau, ko taatau anoo ka koorurutia, ko aa taatau tamariki, ko a taatau mokopuna. Maa wai e whakatakoto nga *kupu*? Ma taatau anoo, maa ngaa taangata maarama raanei o te iwi Paakehaa? Ki te hee, riro maa wai taatau e kooruru? (18 emphasis mine)

Where in the English version Rapa considers the nature and effects of official *policy*, and who should lay down official *policy* affecting the Maori, in the Maori version Rapa considers the nature and effects of *texts* (*kupu* [anything said]), and who should lay down *texts* affecting the Maori. (Typically, "policy" is translated into Maori as "kaupapa" [rule, basic idea, topic, plan, scheme, proposal], which Mead does not employ here. As I indicate above, as a noun "kupu" traditionally covers "anything said," including all verbal texts or messages, as well as single words. Kupu can also be used as a verb meaning "to speak." In contemporary times, as a noun "kupu" covers "anything written" as well as "anything said," which I translate here as "text." )

The gap between *policy* and *kupu* juxtaposes the idea of "laying down policy" in order to further Maori assimilation to Pakeha culture with the idea of "laying down words" in order to write a new text for Maori lives. Mead’s juxtaposition—the interplay between the discourse on policy and the discourse on *kupu*—raises the complex issue of the power of language and representation to affect the real lives of individuals and communities—an issue so often avoided in discussions of how dominant, government-enforced Pakeha policies will affect the lives of
politically subordinate Maori. In both versions of Mead's story, what is at stake in
the struggle over the power to create representations (the power to lay down the
words) and the power to enforce representations (the power to lay down policy) is the
continuation of the Maori race: the potential "murder" (koohuru [to kill by stealth or
treachery]) of contemporary Maori, their children, and grandchildren.

Considered separately, both the English and Maori versions of "Show Us The
Way/Whakaaturia Mai Te Huarahi" qualify as "hybrid" texts in more than one sense
of the word. In Bakhtin's terms, both versions can be read as linguistic hybrids in
that, while each is ostensibly a single language text, each "contains mixed within it
two utterances, two speech manners, two styles, two 'languages,' two semantic and
axiological belief systems" (qtd. in Young 1995:20). Maori language
words--haka, tangi, hui--erupt in the English language text. Transliterations of English language
words--motokaa [motor car], Pire [Bill], Niu Tirini [New Zealand]--rub up against
"traditional" Maori words in the Maori language text. Maori and Pakeha speech
manners and narrative styles overlap and blend together: dialogue, interior
monologue, quotation and citation of a published authoritative text, whaikorero
(oratory), moteatea (lament), and karakia (chant and prayer) appear in each. As
Bakhtin makes clear, this "double-voicing" of the linguistically hybrid text undoes any
singular, authoritative discourse. In Homi K. Bhabha's terms, both versions also can
be read as culturally hybrid. This is especially true of the English language version,
where the traces of Maori language and culture erupting in the (post)colonial English
text provide "an active moment of challenge and resistance against a dominant cultural
power" (Young 1995:23). The cultural hybridity of the English version interrogates dominant Pakeha discourse from within the text itself. However, the Maori version, too, must be acknowledged as culturally hybrid. While I would not argue that the traces of English language and Pakeha culture either challenge or resist politically subordinate Maori cultural power, it seems clear that these traces do challenge and resist any "romantic" or "nativist" notions of the "purity"—linguistic or cultural—of contemporary indigenous Maori forms. In other words, Mead's Maori version displays the fact that contemporary Maori language exists within and is a product of contact history. Furthermore, the hybridity of both versions can be read as doubly inscribing "the impossibility of essentialism" (Young 1995:27) in contemporary New Zealand discourse. Neither Maori nor Pakeha identity is rendered as overdetermined or fixed in Mead's bi-lingual text.

In the process of reading across Mead's English and Maori versions, moreover, I want to argue that a third hybrid text emerges in the space between. In this third text available to bi-lingual readers—what might be called the "the text between"—the production of meaning is linguistically palimpsestic and overtly bi-cultural. Here the notion of hybridity accrues additional connotations: the text between Mead's English and Maori versions creates meaning(s) through a bi-directional echo effect. English words and phrases reverberate across the white space as imperfect Maori counterparts; Maori language reverberates back with its own authority, altering, calling into question the English; and so on through the back-and-forth process of reading across versions. Each echo doubles back upon itself, taking
on additional meaning(s), undermining others. Consider, for instance, Rapa's interior response when Bill advocates abolishing Maori tangi (funeral ceremonies):

Kua kite ahau i te noho mokemoke i te tuupaapaku Maaori i runga i ngaa tikanga Paakehaa. Kua kite ahau i ngaa koroua, i ngaa kuia e rapa ana i teetahi huarahi e maringi mai ai te roimata, te koorero, ki taa te Maaori tikanga.

Ka haere anoo nga whakaaro . . . .

I whakarongo ahau ki ngaa koorero hoohonu e koorerotia ana i te marae; ngaa korero e paa ana ki a taatau . . . .

Ka paa mai te hihihi o te haka i a au e maatakitaki ana, tae noa ki ngaa roro o aku wheua. Ka oreore te mana Maaori e takoto nei. Kua whangaia.

Naa, kua hiahia te arero ki te whaatero, ngaa karu ki te pukana ngaa uau ki te ohorere, te reo ki te whai i te rangi o te haka.

For I have seen the utter loneliness of the Maori dead when following the Pakeha rites. I have seen our elders seeking a way by which the tears can flow and the speeches be heard, according to Maori custom.

Away again went my thoughts . . . .

I heard the wise and sensible words spoken upon the maraes, words touching upon our troubles . . . .

Then, as I watched, the strange spirit of the haka touched me, penetrating to the very marrow of my bones. The life principle of the Maori, lying quiescent here, was stirred. It was being fed.

Now spontaneously my tongue wants to dart out, my eyes want to dilate, my muscles jerk and I want to plunge into the haka.

Since each version already embeds traces of the other language and culture, reverberations across the versions create meaning(s) through more pronounced multiple collisions of English and Maori languages, Pakeha and Maori cultures already subtly encoded in each text. No two reverberations sound exactly the same.

Like a palimpsest, language becomes layered in the third text. Meaning is created in the reading through the layers of words and phrases. Now consider a version of "the text between" constructed from the interplay of the Maori and English passages quoted above:

For I have seen the utter loneliness of the Maori dead
Kua kite ahau [I have seen] i te noho mokemoke [the dwelling in loneliness] a te tuupapaku Maori [of the Maori corpse] when following the Pakeha rites.
i runga i [upon] nga tikanga Paakehaa [the Pakeha customs, rules or obligations; tika = correct, the Pakeha correct way of doing things].
I have seen our elders
Kua kite ahau [I have seen] i ngaa koroua [the old men], i ngaa kuia [the old women]
seeking a way
e rapa ana [seeking; Rapa = the narrator’s name] i teetahi huarahi [a road, a pathway]
by which the tears can flow and the speeches be heard
e maringi mai ai [be spilt, flow thereby] te roimata [the tears; the gift made to a bereaved person], te koorero [the speeches]
according to Maori custom.
ki taa te Maaori tikanga [by means of the Maori customs]. (16)

Away again went my thoughts. . . .
Ka haere anoo [Again go] ngaa whakaaro [the thoughts, feelings, opinions]
. . . I heard the wise and sensible words spoken upon the maraes,
I whakarongo ahau [I listened] ki ngaa koorero hoohonu [to the deep
discussions] e koorerotia ana [being spoken] i te marae [on the marae],
words touching upon our troubles. . . .
ngaa koorero [the speeches] e paa ana [affecting, touching] ki a taatau
[toward us]. . . .
Then, as I watched, the strange spirit of the haka [posture dance]
touched me,
Ka paa mai [affecting, touched toward me] te ihihi o te haka [the dread
power, the essential force of the haka] i a au e maatakitaki ana [as I
was watching].
penetrating to the very marrow of my bones.
tae noa [arriving spontaneously] ki ngaa roro [at the brains, the
marrow] o aku wheua [of my bones].
The life principle of the Maori, lying quiescent there, was stirred.
Ka oreore [was shaken, quivered] te mana Maori [the Maori power, the
Maori prestige] e takoto nei [lying there].
It was being fed.
Kua whangaia [(It) has been fed].
Now spontaneously my tongue wants to dart out,
Naa [As I say], kua hiahia [has wished for, has desired] te arero [the
tongue] ki te whaatero [to shoot out],
my eyes want to dilate,
ngaa karu [the eyes] ki te pukana [to stare wildly].
my muscles jerk
ngaa uau [the muscles] ki te ohorere [to start suddenly],
and I want to plunge into the haka.
te reo [the voice, the language] ki te whai [to follow, to chase] i te rangi [the air, the tune] o te haka [of the haka]. (16)

The third text creates a dialogue between the English and Maori versions that encourages bi-lingual and bi-cultural study of Mead's text as a whole. Mead's narrative produces new meanings as the specific connotations of Maori and English vocabulary and the particular aesthetic effects of Maori and English syntax converge and potentially collapse in multiple interactions across and upon the gap between versions. Reading back and forth across "and I want to plunge into the haka," "te reo ki te whai i te rangi o te haka/the voice, the language [desires] to follow the tune of the haka" invites the merging of a Pakeha sense of self with a Maori sense of voice, a Maori sense of pursuit with a Pakeha sense of violently giving way to emotion. In the end, perhaps, the text between Mead's bi-lingual versions offers the best possibility for a shared world of meaning in a bi-cultural contemporary New Zealand.

Although highly complex, textual hybridity in Te Ao Hou is far less burdened emotionally than textual representations of racial hybridity. For while the interactions of Maori and English languages and aesthetics can be rendered as evocative theory, representations of Maori-Pakeha racial hybridity resist easy abstraction, even when individual texts appear to reduce racial hybridity to simple terms. In issue 28 (September 1959), for instance, Schwimmer published an essay by Maori writer
Harry Dansey titled "Of Two Races," which attempts to define the general attributes and specific problems of New Zealanders of mixed Maori and Pakeha descent. Dansey distinguishes in particular the "brown Pakeha"--who looks Maori "but accentuates the European side of his character"--and the "white Maori"--"who is European in appearance but who is by nature a Maori" (7). (Readers of *Te Ao Hou* encounter a favorable representation of a so-called "white Maori" in the same issue in the character of Charlie Beeman in the story "Dreamer's Return" discussed above.) Dansey argues that the mixed-blood has a special role to play in New Zealand as an intermediary moving back and forth between Maori and Pakeha. Dansey goes so far as to argue that New Zealanders of mixed blood are "truer New Zealanders than those of full blood of either of the other races" (6). In Dansey's terms, "New Zealander" most authentically denotes neither indigenous Polynesian nor European immigrant, but the racial hybrid of their union. Dansey concludes his essay by asserting that in their racial hybridity New Zealanders have inherited "both [a] heavy burden and [an] inestimable privilege" (8).

During Schwimmer's editorship, the story which most directly addresses the issue of mixed blood or miscegenation is "The Best Of Both Worlds" (no. 31, June 1960) by Barry Mitcalfe, a student of Maori language and traditional literatures who is racially Pakeha. Mitcalfe's narrative subverts his optimistic title: the young mixed-blood protagonist, Matiu [transliteration of Matthew] Saxton (an obvious pun on Anglo-Saxon), appears to have inherited only the worst of the Maori and Pakeha worlds juxtaposed in his bi-lingual name. Certainly he feels that this is the case.
Identified as racially Maori, Matiu is rejected by the Pakeha girl he desires. Frustrated by his social position, Matiu longs to find his absent Pakeha father, whom he has never met. Like his father, Matiu rejects and abandons his Maori mother. The story ends with an image of the mixed-blood as lost and directionless: "Where was he going? He neither knew nor cared" (48). Mitcalfe’s vision of racial hybridity in New Zealand counters Dansey’s sense of optimism and national mission. In his narrative Mitcalfe represents neither harmony between the races nor options for a viable contemporary identity as mixed-blood New Zealander. Perhaps most significantly, Mitcalfe represents mixed-blood identity as emotionally unstable. Though his mother welcomes him unconditionally, like the extreme version of the "brown Pakeha" Dansey describes, Matiu is emotionally and psychologically unable to live comfortably as a Maori.

Under Margaret Orbell’s editorship, two stories were published which counter Mitcalfe’s vision by asserting strategies for incorporating mixed-blood individuals firmly within contemporary Maori culture. In "Back To The Mat" by Mikaere Worthington (no. 40, September 1962), the "quarter-caste" protagonist Jim MacLaren chronicles the public discovery of his Maori ancestry and his subsequent personal acceptance of his mixed identity. The discovery that Jim’s grandmother was Maori ends his engagement to a Pakeha woman. The young woman’s reaction to the disclosure of racial hybridity is "almost hysterical," revealing the worst stereotypes and basest hostility underlying Pakeha racism toward Maori:

"Jim, you’ve double-crossed me . . . . You never told me you were a
Maori, my girlfriend says all those Maori MacLarens are your relatives. . . . I know a lot of Pakehas marry Maoris, but they all go back to the mat. . . . I don't want any black babies and that's that."

Upset and ashamed, Jim leaves his small home town and heads for Auckland in order to "lose himself in the crowd" (12). In the city Jim experiences an ideal of racial mixing and harmony, encountering not only Maori there but also Samoans and Rarotongans and Chinese in addition to Pakeha. He is not satisfied, however, because he feels he still is "in the wrong place, wasting my time" (12).

As in the story "Dreamer's Return," Jim discovers his purpose in life while in hospital recovering from a near-fatal accident. In the bed next to Jim's lies a young Maori man, Rua [store for provisions; grave; rua totoe = an expression used of a family dying out], dying of leukemia. During Rua's last days he and Jim become great friends, and Rua teaches Jim to speak Maori. Rua's dying request is that Jim travel to Rua's home in Ruatahuna, in the Tuhoe country of the Urewera mountains, and there seek out Rua's kuia (grandmother), Mrs. Ihaka [transliteration of Isaac]. Rua gives Jim a greenstone tiki (neck pendant carved from nephrite jade), which Jim is to show Mrs. Ihaka as a sign. It is important to note the symbolism of the tiki (also called a hei-tiki). "Tiki" designate a category of carvings that resemble the human form. They personify "primeval man," the first human offspring of the god Tane, and such carvings can serve as "dwelling places for ancestral spirits" or as "vehicles of gods and other supernatural entities" (Barrow 32). Some tiki represent
particular ancestors and are given personal names. Like other pieces of carved greenstone, hei-tiki are considered treasured heirlooms, and their spiritual value increases with successive ownerships (Barrow 78). Rua's gift of the tiki serves as a visible sign of Jim's full entrance into Maori culture and Maori genealogy. That Rua gives Jim the tiki on his deathbed symbolizes Jim's death as a troubled mixed-blood and his subsequent rebirth as Maori.

In possession of the tiki, as Rua's limp body is wheeled out of the hospital room, Jim experiences a revelation and recovers his own physical strength:

I had come to look upon this Maori boy as my only friend. ... The Maori blood from my grandmother stirred within me, I would make Rua's people my people, I would study their history and dedicate myself to their welfare. Now that I had a mission in life my paralysis seemed to disappear . . . . (12-13)

Once released from hospital, a converted Jim gradually makes his way toward Rua's home, finding work in the timber camps among the Tuhoe and perfecting his Maori language skills there before approaching Mrs. Ihaka. When he finally meets her, he discovers that, miraculously, Mrs. Ihaka has been expecting him:

Not only did her grandson write all about me in his letters, but she had known before that a man of mixed Maori and Pakeha blood would be her grandson's best friend, and after Rua's death would take his place as her adopted child. (14)

With this revelation, Jim and Mrs. Ihaka begin a long conversation about the
problems facing the Tuhoe people; they attract a large crowd. Jim suddenly seems to have all the answers to the tribe's economic and cultural problems. When again he recounts his entire experience for the people in the meeting house, his mission is again confirmed by an elder:

An old tohunga [spiritual expert] stands up and says that such a thing was forecast by his father years ago, that a part-Maori, part-Pakeha, with a greenstone tiki would lead his people back to happiness. (14-15)

Jim compares the situation of the Maori to the situation of the Jews in returning to the land of their ancestry and founding the modern nation of Israel. Before Jim knows what is happening, the elders have decided to implement his plans for renewing the economic and cultural basis of the tribe. Jim's transformation is completed with formal adoption into the Tuhoe tribe, marriage to a local Maori girl, and a name change--he becomes Heemi [transliteration of James] Ihaka. The narrative ends with a utopian vision of an economically and culturally successful Tuhoe tribe and a successful bi-cultural New Zealand nation, in which "every New Zealander whether Maori or Pakeha or a bit of both will have the best of both worlds" (15).

 Similarly, "To The Race--A Son" by R. Denness (no. 48, September 1964) tells the story of a Maori elder's adoption of a young mixed-blood boy. An outcast with no immediate family, the sandy-headed boy has been moved from one distant Maori relative to the next during his short life. The other boys regularly pick fights with the outsider. Watching him defend himself, the old man is impressed by the boy's demeanor:
I like the way he holds himself, and his jaws have a determined set about them. He’s got the makings of a good leader. Born a mongrel, but with the right teachings and background he’ll have the qualities of a pure breed. (7)

When the elder chooses the boy as his own son, he announces:

"You don’t know it yet boy, but you are going to rise above me, and those of us who have the arrogance to boast and live in the glory of our ancestors. Who says so, I say so. I the Ariki [leader] of my people. . . . The title of leadership is mine through birth, but not through striving. I don’t deserve it; give it to someone who does." (7)

At the end of the story, the old man states plainly: "I’m glad you have Pakeha blood in you, boy" (9). He feels assured that the circumstances of the boy’s birth will both humble him and fill him with pride—qualities appropriate for leadership in difficult times.

Both "Back To The Mat" and "To The Race--A Son" might be dismissed as outsiders’ fantasies of not only being accepted by the group, but actually becoming the group’s leader, much like the popular American film Dances With Wolves (1990), in which a White man not only joins an alien American Indian community and learns its language and customs, but also assumes a leadership role, all in a very short span of time. However, in Maori terms neither Jim nor the sandy-haired boy are "outsiders": each has an identifiable and publicly recognized genealogical link to a Maori community. The transformations enacted in Worthington’s and Denness’s
narratives are therefore rituals not only of initiation and incorporation but, as well, of _salvage_ and _reclamation_. It is the genealogical link to Maori racial identity, even if through but a single line of descent, which renders these characters authentically Maori and appropriate for inclusion and adoption. Subsequently, it is their interest in things Maori and/or their displayed potential for leadership which renders them appropriate to lead the community in a context of changing demographics. The other side of this, of course, is the implication that a single line of Maori descent renders these characters inappropriate for inclusion, adoption, or leadership in the Pakeha community. For the majority of _Te Ao Hou_'s original audience, no doubt the latter was read as an indictment of Pakeha racism.

Perhaps most interesting—and, at first, most disturbing—is that both narratives enact the "dying out" of full-blood Maori. These enactments reflect unfortunate demographic realities; however, they are not presented in either an elegiacal or pessimistic tone. Unlike the majority of stories published during the years of Schwimmer's editorship, these texts confront the demographic situation of contemporary New Zealand head-on and attempt to imagine practical solutions for handling racial hybridity: in other words, how to maintain a distinctly Maori culture for an increasingly mixed-blood Maori population. The solution presented in these narratives is to define Maori identity—and, hence, indigenous identity—as identifiable and recognized Maori descent through _any_ blood line. Strategically, this solution asserts an exclusively Maori control—particularly a control administered through Maori elders—over the definition of Maori identity.
Are we secure in the knowledge of our forefathers? Where is the knowledge of our forefathers? Has it flown with them to Te Reinga [the leaping off place of the spirits], or is it lying dormant in some dark place waiting to spring forth into a new life?


The short fiction published during *Te Ao Hou*’s final years (1966-1975) under Joy Stevenson’s editorship mark the observable beginnings of the so-called Maori literary “renaissance.” Two of the renaissance’s most prolific and important writers, whose early works shaped contemporary Maori writing in English and whose more recent works continue to influence both Maori writing and the larger bodies of New Zealand and Commonwealth literatures, began publishing during this period: Patricia Grace and Witi Ihimaera. I discuss their work at length in the next chapter. In addition, during this period battle lines over what defines contemporary Maori identity began to be drawn more sharply. As P. W. Hau’s short article "Maori-Tanga" makes plain, the time for hesitant, deferential debate over the relevance of Maori culture had passed; explicit calls were now being made to return to Maori traditions and Maori language in order to ensure their survival into the future. In particular, Hau calls upon the adult generation to take the place of its kaumatua (elders) who are passing on. It is time for Maori adults to assume their responsibilities, Hau and others assert, to take up the mantle of cultural leadership and set proper examples for young people.

A short story published in issue 56 (September 1966) narrates a positive
response to such a call and establishes the ancestral meeting house (whare tipuna) as the premier site of transformation for contemporary Maori. J. H. Moffatt’s “The Homecoming” tells the story of Robert Pipito Jones, a Maori man who left the rural village of his childhood years ago to pursue a Pakeha life in the city, as he returns to his home marae to attend his father’s tangi (funeral ceremonies). Watching her son’s uneasiness at the tangi, Bob’s mother thinks how her grown son is almost a "stranger" to his people: "He never cared for Maori ways--for things of the past." And yet, though he does not understand Maori language, Bob listens attentively to the old men making speeches on the marae: "something in that quiet voice, the dignity and sincerity, bade him listen." Faced with his father’s death, Bob feels ashamed for his lack of Maori knowledge. But the local people do not judge him; they welcome Bob back into their community with sympathy and reassurance, seeing, the narrator tells us, much "in this young man . . . that they had known in his father." With the people’s strength behind him, during the tangi Bob is able to reimagine his years away from the community as part of an ancient and on-going Maori tradition:

Yes, he’d gone away, left the old life and ways, but did not the world ahead hold the same challenges as it had in the past--even back to the great fleet [of Polynesian ancestors who migrated to New Zealand]? Bob had prepared himself well, and prevailed; as the old people had done through the ages.

Bob’s interior monologue recalls the image that dominates Te Ao Hou’s first cover, the carved waka taua. In his reference to the great fleet, Bob reclaims a Polynesian
tradition of courage, skill, adventure, and innovation as a source of strength for meeting contemporary Maori challenges. From a Western perspective, Bob looks back into the past in order to move forward into the future. From a Maori perspective, Bob stands in the present and fixes his eyes on the past (visible in front of him), looking there for solutions to present and future problems. Having reoriented his understanding of his life, Bob decides to remain "home." The story's final image is particularly powerful:

A new strength and a calmness came into his soul. Looking around the meeting house at the silent people, he said in a voice he could barely control, "Thank you, thank you." Quietly sobbing, he leant against the carved wall panel, his tears dropping from the defiant wooden face into the dust. Ropert Pipito Jones had come home. (7)

The "silent people" can refer to either the living Maori elders attending Bob's father's tangi, or the likenesses of Bob's ancestors carved into the meeting house's poupou (wooden wall slabs), or both. In the story's final moment, Bob presses his face to the carved face of one of his ancestors in the traditional greeting of hongi (pressing of noses, sharing of breath). Bob's tears literally fall from the carved eyes of his ancestor into the "dust," the land, his whenua. "The Homecoming" thus links contemporary Maori rangatahi (young men and women) with their tipuna (ancestors) through the medium of the whare tipuna, the carved ancestral house. As discussed above, the ancestral house embodies a Maori kin-group's principal ancestor and his or her descent lines. When Bob returns to his home marae for his father's tangi, he
returns not only to his immediate family, but to the site, the spiritual locus, of his Maori ancestry in contemporary times, kept alive through the upkeep of the carved house and the performance of community-based ritual. Like the living elders who welcome him home unconditionally, the carved figures of Bob's ancestors offer him communion. When Bob's/the ancestor's tears fall into the dust, the link with "home" is made complete. In Maori, one of the words for land, whenua, is also the word for placenta or afterbirth. According to Maori custom, a baby's afterbirth is buried on the grounds of its home marae, thereby returning its whenua (placenta) to the whenua (land) of its ancestors and asserting the child's rights as a member of the tangata whenua (people of the land). Bob's return to his "dust" is a return to his first and ancestral home, his rightful place in the world.

"The Homecoming" can be read as providing one of the many possible endings to the narratives of experimentation with the Pakeha world outside rural Maori villages begun in the previous decade in stories like "Yielding To The New" and "Dreamer's Return." Throughout the stories written by Maori authors published in Te Ao Hou, the home community remains a viable locus of Maori identity and culture. Although it is most often represented as diminished in both population and tangible resources, particularly land, the rural Maori village and its values nevertheless are represented as still competing, albeit indirectly, with the Pakeha city as the focal point of a contemporary Maori identity. Like Maori language in Te Ao Hou's bi-lingual texts, through symbolic opposition the rural Maori village and its inhabitants offer a counter to dominant New Zealand discourse, asserting the
continuing value of Maori traditions and Maori community in the face of large-scale migration to urban areas and the government's official policies of assimilation.16 "The Homecoming" pushes the politics of the representation of the rural Maori village to a new level of direct engagement by clearly asserting the possibility of contemporary Maori continuing the spirit—if not the exact practices—of ancient Maori traditions. That possibility, the text asserts, is made manifest not in the political realm as it is understood by Pakeha, but through communion with Maori ancestors. Such communion is staged in the carved ancestral house on the marae. In "The Homecoming," for the first time the "marae on paper" serves the essential spiritual and political functions of marae proper, connecting the living generations with powerful ancestors, providing a place for both a diverse range of individuals and the community as a whole to stand.

The Literary and the Political

In the New Zealand version of the Fourth World competition over "native" and "settler" indigeneity, terms like Maori, Pakeha, and New Zealander become highly charged. Repeatedly, their specific meanings are contested from both sides. As in discussions of racial purity or the maintenance of cultural traditions over time, in discussions of New Zealand art and literature dominant (Pakeha) discourse has worked to construct strict taxonomies of authenticity and, thus, legitimacy. Who and what counts as representative of New Zealand and its particular worldview? Whose imaginative texts get privileged?
New Zealand literary scholars, concerned until quite recently almost exclusively with British-derived standards of aesthetic excellence, have tended to ignore the early post-World War II period of Maori writing, or to dismiss its production as insignificant in the larger history of New Zealand arts and letters. These scholars dismiss Maori texts written in English before the mid-1970s as "unsophisticated," "sentimental," or "nostalgic." No comprehensive study of Maori writing from this period has been attempted since Bill Pearson included a twelve page section on "Writing By Maori" in his chapter-length survey of "The Maori and Literature 1938-65," published in 1968 as part of Erik Schwimmer's symposium The Maori People in the Nineteen-Sixties. To date there has been no individual study of the journal Te Ao Hou. The same New Zealand literary scholars who dismiss Maori texts written before the mid-1970s argue that contemporary Maori texts written in English or primarily in English since the mid-1970s are "functional" rather than literary, that is, that they are "merely" or "transparently" political rather than "artistic" (see especially Arvidson 1991). From the perspective of these Pakeha scholars, few if any Maori texts written in English or primarily in English since World War II qualify as New Zealand "literature," and hence, need occupy little of these scholars' time or serious energies.

My brief analyses of "Yielding To The New," "Dreamer's Return," "The Visitors," "Show Us The Way/Whakaaturia Mai Te Huarahi," and "The Homecoming," however, suggest that despite any apparent lack of British literary sophistication, this early period of contemporary Maori writing provides a crucial
context for the so-called Maori literary and political "renaissance," generally traced to the first reported acts of large-scale urban Maori political protest and the publication of Witi Ihimaera's first book-length works in the early 1970s. The strict taxonomies employed by many New Zealand literary scholars provide little help in this analysis: we cannot separate the "literary" from the "political" in an analysis of contemporary Maori (or any other) texts—they are inextricably bound up together. Maori writing during this period, I want to argue, insinuates a relatively quiet but nonetheless essential preparatory period for the bolder Maori writing and acts of direct political protest which follow.

It is important to remember that Maori writing published in *Te Ao Hou* operated within the confines and under the direct scrutiny of dominant discourse, a discourse, it is important to note further, that many Maori (and sympathetic non-Maori) today would consider colonial rather than post- or neo-colonial. From this perspective, for indigenous minorities living in First World settler nations there has been no significant break or shift in the ongoing history of colonialism. In this context, no story, however "simple" it might appear on its surface, can be considered apolitical. Read closely in their social and political contexts, these early stories do not appear "sentimental" or "nostalgic," as recent New Zealand critics would have us believe. Their meditations on identity are as nuanced as contemporary articles which announce their intentions of developing theories of Maori ethnic identity.

It is instructive to compare these early stories, for instance, to one of the only articles published in *Te Ao Hou* which openly critiques government policy,
"Maoritanga" by the Very Reverend J. G. Laughton, a Maori minister (published in two parts in nos. 8 and 9 in 1954). The majority of stories published in *Te Ao Hou* during this period inscribe a discourse on the specific points Laughton raises in his article-length definition of contemporary Maori identity. Laughton divides his definition of Maoritanga into five parts: 1) Maori language, which he sees as the cornerstone of Maori identity; 2) Maori art, which he sees as representing distinguishably indigenous accomplishments; 3) Maori community life, which he considers "the very blood" of Maori life, centered on the marae; 4) the religious nature of Maori life; and 5) Maori land, which Laughton defines as the vital link to tribal life: as long as the land remains under Maori control, Maori will "always [have] the tribe to go back to" (no. 9:17). As in Laughton's explicit argument, the early stories published in *Te Ao Hou* work to define Maori cultural "tradition" as an interpretive process grounded in Maori language, art, community life, and land, rather than as a set of fixed ideas or artifacts. Read as a group, the stories published in *Te Ao Hou* during the early contemporary period develop a matrix of interpretive models for viable contemporary Maori identities that neither privilege notions of a "pure" pre-contact Maori culture nor dismiss evidence of long-term contact with Pakeha, hybridity, incorporation, or syncretism. Authenticity is linked to the duration of community and its values rather than to "pure" bloodlines or the uninterrupted continuation of "pure" cultural forms.

During the Maori literary "renaissance," which I explore in the next chapter, in particular the theme of homecoming and the figure of the ancestral house become
central in representations of contemporary Maori identity in the work of Witi Ihimaera, Patricia Grace, Keri Hulme, Bruce Stewart, Apirana Taylor and others.

Despite contemporary literary scholars' too-easy dismissals of the pre-renaissance period, my brief analysis of Maori writing in *Te Ao Hou* suggests that in the decades following World War II, Maori writers were able to lay a groundwork for a literary renaissance even within the confines of a government-controlled publication. In *Te Ao Hou*'s pages these writers set, challenge, and explore the early parameters in the battle over the representation of contemporary Maori identity.
1. There is evidence of Maori use of literacy beginning in the late 1820s. In 1862 the Maori King Movement set up the first independent Maori press and created the first Maori newspaper, *Te Hokioi* (the mysterious nightbird). See Michael D. Jackson, "Literacy, Communications And Social Change: a study of the meaning and effect of literacy in early nineteenth century Maori society."

2. Pakeha is the Maori word for New Zealanders of European descent and is used widely in New Zealand.

3. To greater facilitate this voluntary migration to the cities, in 1960 the Department of Maori Affairs developed an official urban relocation program (Walker 1990:197). By 1981, over 80 percent of Maori were living in cities (Fleras 1992:176).

4. Unless indicated otherwise, all translations of Maori into English are my own.

5. *Te Ao Hou*’s third editor, Joy Stevenson, created a separate Young Readers’ Section beginning in issue 57 (December 1966).

6. Form letter from the Editor to potential advertisers in *Te Ao Hou*, 3 October 1952. New Zealand National Archives/Te Whare Tohu Tuhituhunga O Aotearoa, Wellington.
7. Unless otherwise indicated, all references to Department of Maori Affairs documents—letters, memos, reports, press releases, advertising sheets, and so forth—are to materials held in the New Zealand National Archives/Te Whare Tohu Tuhituhinga O Aotearoa in Wellington.

8. An exception to this was Collier's publication over the years of several articles written by D'Arcy McNickle (Cree/Salish). Collier hired McNickle to work with him in the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1936. See my discussion of McNickle's career in Chapter Four.


10. 7 December 1945: "An Act to make provision for the social and economic advancement and the promotion and maintenance of the health and general well-being of the Maori community." The Act came into force 1 April 1946; its provisions were later consolidated under the 1962 Maori Welfare Act.

11. In addition to the U.S. journal Indians At Work, the Department of Maori Affairs appears to have been aware of a South African journal, The African Drum, produced for Africans by the South African Native Welfare project in Capetown. On 14 April 1951 the New Zealand Herald ran an article advocating the creation of "A Maori Journal" that refers to The African Drum as a possible model. A copy of the Herald article is included
in the *Te Ao Hou* files held in the New Zealand National Archives. Volume 1, number 1 of *The African Drum: A Magazine of Africa for Africa* was published in March 1951.


13. While Schwimmer was away on a year's leave of absence teaching in the Punaruku Maori District High School, well-known New Zealand playwright Bruce Mason took over the editorship of *Te Ao Hou* for six issues (nos. 31-35), covering June 1960 through June 1961. Mason is best known for his play *The Pohutukawa Tree*, first performed in New Zealand in 1957.


16. Political scientist Noel Dyck distinguishes between direct and indirect forms of political opposition among indigenous communities. Indirect or symbolic opposition to dominant power, Dyck argues, works to rally indigenous peoples around representations of their communities and cultures without provoking government officials. See Dyck's "Aboriginal Peoples and Nation-States: An Introduction to the Analytical Issues."
CHAPTER THREE

Rebuilding The Ancestor:

Constructing Self and Community in the Maori Renaissance

Tell me poet, what happens to my chips
after I have adzed our ancestors
out of wood?

--Hone Tuwhare

In his poem "On a theme by Hone Taiapa" (1974, rpt. 1993:87), Maori poet Hone Tuwhare compares the contemporary act of writing Maori identity through the textual representation of ancestors to the ancestral Maori tradition of releasing carved figures of ancestors from their houses of wood. The comparison is compelling, for it suggests a plausible whakapapa (genealogy) for bringing writing, in both Maori and English languages, into the larger whanau (family) of Maori expressive arts.\(^1\)

Moreover, in the comparison carving becomes an assertion not only of Maori artistic excellence and continuing spiritual practice, but also of Maori indigeneity. Carving releases ancestors from wood, from native trees grown in a New Zealand soil imbued with the Maori's ancestors' bones. Tuwhare's question, "what happens to my chips," acknowledges excess in the practice of representation--the rough cuts and the rough drafts, the words and figures attempted but eventually discarded or whittled away--whatever the medium. Traditionally, after the completion of a carved figure the resultant wood chips are set to fire to ritually dispose of dangerous tapu (spiritual
power). Tuwhare's poem suggests that, in contemporary times, writing, too, must be
conducted with great care, its excesses of representation handled in accordance with
Maori tradition.

The previous chapter argued that in the first decades following World War II, texts produced by Maori authors were able to invite potentially counterhegemonic readings even within the context of the government-sponsored journal *Te Ao Hou*. I organized my argument in Chapter Two chronologically, using the periods of the journal's three main editors to divide into three segments *Te Ao Hou*’s tenure as the predominant venue for Maori publication between 1952 and the early 1970s. Thus Chapter Two displayed how a number of specific Maori textual strategies developed over time in *Te Ao Hou*, including

- the representation of the rural Maori village,
- the juxtaposition of Maori and Pakeha discourses,
- the use of significant dreams and/or visions,
- the mobilization of Maori language in primarily English language texts,
- the production of fully bi-lingual texts, and
- the representation of communion with ancestors in the Maori ancestral house.

I ended Chapter Two with an analysis of J. H. Moffatt’s story "The Homecoming" (*TAH* 56, September 1966), in which the young Maori protagonist reconnects to his Maoritanga and discovers his place in the rural Maori community through communion with tekoteko, the carved images of his ancestors in the whare tipuna, on his home
marae. Communion with ancestors, I suggested, becomes a powerful and pervasive figure for Maori indigeneity, because it conveys a continuing, vital connection between contemporary Maori people and ancestral Maori traditions, including connection to specific lands.

In Chapter Three I now focus on the strategies of texts produced during the "Maori renaissance," the beginnings of which generally are traced to about 1970. After 1970 Maori authors began to publish in a much wider range of venues than a single journal devoted to Maori issues. Rather than following a strict chronology, therefore, Chapter Three is organized around three major figures developed in Maori texts published between 1970 and the mid-1980s. These figures were developed as strategies for solving the "problem" of defining a contemporary Maori identity: 1) the significant relationship between grandparent and grandchild, which figures a potential relationship between ancestors and contemporary Maori; 2) the return of taonga (prized possessions), which figures the continuing relevance of the Treaty of Waitangi and its promises for contemporary Maori; and 3) the rebuilding of the whare tipuna (ancestral house), which figures the socially, politically, and spiritually important act of rebuilding a viable contemporary Maori self as well as a viable contemporary Maori community. In the sections below I analyze the mobilization of each of these highly charged, emblematic figures across a wide range of literary and political texts produced by Maori. While each text deserves a full and careful explication of its major themes and narrative tactics, such a project is beyond the scope of the present chapter. Of foremost interest to my argument here is how these texts establish and
mobilize emblematic figures for Maori identity as *indigenous* identity in New Zealand.

**A Critique From Within**

Te Roopu o te Matakite, the group organizing the [land] march, see the unity of the Maori people as the greatest tool they have in fighting for the retention of their lands.

--Publicity brochure for the 1975 Land March

Before looking at specific figures for contemporary Maori identity in this period, it is imperative that we understand the relevant social and political contexts in New Zealand. In the 1950s and early 1960s Maori activism had worked steadily but quietly for the recognition and promotion of Maori language, for health and justice reforms, and for the return of Crown-controlled Maori land. In the mid- and late-1960s, Maori activism became more politically focused, and more publicly visible. Parliament’s Maori Affairs Amendment Act 1967, which continued and strengthened the colonial project of commodifying and alienating Maori land, triggered a Maori land rights movement that would dominate Maori affairs and the national media over the next decades (Walker 1990:207). In addition, the continuing concentration of the Maori population in major urban centers like Auckland and Wellington, coupled with a steady increase in the Maori population, created an urban underclass of Maori youth, who began organizing as "gangs." Concerned about escalating incidents of crime and violence among urban Maori youth, in 1970 the national Maori Council
organized a Young Maori Leaders Conference at Auckland University. Out of this conference emerged one of the first contemporary Maori activist organizations, Nga Tamatoa, the Young Warriors. By the mid-1970s, these and other urban Maori activists had taken on the difficult task of critiquing from within a First World nation which prided itself on its political, economic, and social successes—including the purported best race relations in the world. Nga Tamatoa, for instance, worked throughout the early 1970s for better Maori language instruction in primary and secondary schools. In 1973, Nga Tamatoa initiated protest of New Zealand's national celebration of Waitangi Day (which commemorates the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840), converting the holiday into "a day of mourning for the loss of 25.2 million hectares of Maori land" (Walker 1990:211).

This "new" style of Maori critique and protest was actually a return to earlier attempts by Maori to assert their rights under the Treaty of Waitangi. Activism in the 1970s culminated in major protest demonstrations, most notably the large-scale occupations of confiscated Maori lands, prompting Maori activist and scholar Ranginui Walker to name the decade "nga tau tohetohe," the years of anger. Protestors occupied the Raglan golf course near Hamilton in 1972 and Auckland's Bastion Point in 1977-78. In 1975, a pan-tribal national Land March walked over three hundred miles down the length of the North Island to protest the continuing loss of Maori land. Widely reported in the national written, audio, and televisual press, such activism made it impossible for Pakeha New Zealanders to continue to ignore Maori grievances. In this respect it is useful to think of these events of moral protest
as performances of political- and ethno-drama (Paine 1985). Designed to highlight ethnic differences between the majority Pakeha population and the indigenous minority Maori people, these events had an immediately discernable dramatic structure. They staged the "facts" of Maori presence and Maori indigeneity and a version of contemporary Maori "reality" in order to make it possible for Pakeha to understand certain cultural and political truths, such as the continuing importance of the ancestral land base to contemporary Maori identity. As drama, these events mobilized powerful, emblematic representations of contemporary Maori identity in New Zealand. The particular circumstances and charismatic leaders of individual protest events were able to bring together a wide range of tribal groups, rural and urban individuals, and diverse radical and moderate protest factions—but only for a limited period of time. No single activist group or protest event was able to sustain itself or its membership beyond the circumstances of narrowly defined grievances. After a particular event, some members lost interest, factions split, new groups formed. In this sense Maori activism in the 1970s was a series of discrete though related events staged by activist groups whose memberships were continuously renewed and reformed, rather than a single, steady "movement."

The late 1960s and the 1970s saw the publication of powerful Maori political writing in grassroots journals like The Republican, MOOHR (Maori Organization on Human Rights), and Te Hokioi [Mysterious Night Bird]. The latter's first issue in August 1968 proclaimed that the journal would serve as "A Taiaha [traditional weapon] of Truth for the Spirit of Kotahitanga [unity] Within the Maori Nation."
Maori activists also began to publish articles in mainstream magazines, such as the "Korero" [news] series in the New Zealand Listener. Maori Studies departments were established in New Zealand's major universities, making available to urban Maori of all ages the study of Maori language and history, as well as providing centers for Maori political activism. Tribal, pan-tribal, and church-based groups began to build Maori community centers and urban marae complexes in order to facilitate Maori community-building in urban areas, promote Maori cultural activities, and meet particular Maori ceremonial needs. In response to Maori challenges, in 1975 Parliament created the Waitangi Tribunal, which allowed Maori to grieve claims against the Crown for violations of the Treaty of Waitangi. (A detailed discussion of the Treaty and its history appears below.)

In this context of increased political activism, a number of government-sponsored and independent national Maori news and literary journals developed, following the example of Te Ao Hou. Maori writers began to publish more regularly and in greater numbers. 1970 saw the publication of the first anthology of contemporary Maori writing. Edited by Margaret Orbell, this collection consists largely of stories and poems culled from Te Ao Hou. It would be over a decade before the next anthology of contemporary Maori writing would be published. Into the World of Light, an anthology of Maori writing edited by Witi Ihimaera and D. S. Long, was published in 1982, making available to a wide reading audience both established and new Maori voices. In the 1990s Ihimaera has continued his commitment to bring a wide range of Maori voices to large audiences by editing the
ambitious, five volume _Te Ao Marama_ [World of Light] series of anthologies, which presents not only contemporary Maori fiction, poetry, and drama, but also non-fiction essays and political writing, and writing specifically for children.


In 1973 these and other emerging Maori writers, along with contemporary Maori artists, formed a Maori Artists and Writers' Association and began holding annual meetings on different marae to discuss their artistic, cultural, and political concerns. The Maori Artists and Writers' Association also published its own journal, *Koru* [curling fern frond shape; a common motif in Maori carving and scroll painting]. These events marked the beginnings of a Maori literary renaissance that promoted a pan-tribal, national Maori identity. In the 1980s a growing number of Maori authors, writing primarily in English, became prominent in New Zealand literature. In addition to Tuwhare, Ihimaera, Grace, and Baker, these writers include Apirana Taylor, whose first collection of poems, *Eyes of the Ruru* [ruru = owl], was published in 1979, followed by the publication of his first collection of stories, *He Rau Aroha: A Hundred Leaves of Love* in 1986; Keri Hulme, whose first collection of poems, *The Silences Between (Moeraki Conversations)* was published in 1982, followed by her first novel, *The Bone People*, published in 1984, which won the Booker Prize, the New Zealand Book Award, and the American Pegasus Prize for Literature; and Bruce Stewart, whose stories were collected in 1989 as *Tama and Other Stories*. All have continued to write and publish in the 1990s.

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As suggested above, three emblematic figures dominate Maori texts during the
Maori renaissance: the significant relationship between grandparent and grandchild, the return of taonga (prized possessions), and the rebuilding of the whare tipuna (ancestral house). All three assert a significant relationship between contemporary Maori individuals and/or communities and Maori ancestors. Part of the significance of these figures is that they cross the boundaries that separate genres, media, and personal, social, and political contexts. Before we look at how these figures offer emblematic solutions to the "problem" of defining a contemporary Maori identity in literary texts, it will be helpful to examine briefly how each figure has been mobilized in events of Maori political activism and cultural assertiveness.

The intergenerational figure of the grandparent-grandchild relationship, for instance, has been mobilized as a symbol of pan-tribal political protest, most notably during the 1975 Land March. During the Land March, an image of this intergenerational relationship was captured in what has become a famous photograph, originally printed in the New Zealand Herald, Auckland's leading newspaper. In the photograph, Maori activist and kaumatua (elder) Whina Cooper, wearing a headscarf and leaning on a cane, holds the hand of her young grandchild as they lead the Land March down the length of the North Island from Te Hapua in the far north to the Parliament buildings in Wellington in the far south. Cooper organized the March as leader of the pan-tribal activist organization Te Roopu o te Matakite [The Group of the Prophetic Visionaries] to protest the continuing loss of Maori land to Pakeha settlers. After six months of planning, on September 14 the march began under the slogan "Not one more acre!", crossed Auckland's harbour bridge on September 23,
and reached its destination in Wellington on October 13. Along the way, the march’s core ranks swelled with hundreds or even thousands of supporters as it approached towns and cities, especially Auckland and Wellington.

Cooper’s grainy black and white image is emblematic of the connection between Maori generations and Maori land, and their role, together, in the creation of a Maori future as *Maori*. Photographed from behind, the figures walk a gravel road cut through a bleak, deforested northern New Zealand landscape that extends before them to the overcast horizon. In the image’s foreground, Cooper’s and her grandchild’s hands clasp above the gravel road’s center line. The viewer’s attention is drawn to their link. Extending to the left beneath their clasped hands, Cooper’s shadow and her grandchild’s shadow converge. The intergenerational solidarity represented in the confluence of their shadows connects Cooper and her grandchild back to Maori ancestors and forward to generations of Maori as yet unborn. In this reading, then, the figure of the conjoined shadow mobilizes for contemporary land rights protest the full force of the Maori community as understood in Maori terms--those members living, those passed on, and those yet to arrive. This genealogical underpinning links the long road of land rights struggle to the very continuation of the Maori community.

The figure of the return of taonga (prized possessions; I define taonga at length below) was staged as both a series of events and an impressive text during the well-publicized traveling art exhibit *Te Maori: Maori Art from New Zealand Collections*. After more than a decade of planning, *Te Maori* opened at New York
City's Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1984. The exhibit featured 174 objects from the Maori "classic" period (900-1850), including architectural sculptures (gateways, lintels, houseposts), canoe carvings, fishing implements, carved figures, weapons, tools, musical instruments, and personal adornments. After New York the exhibit traveled to museums in Saint Louis, San Francisco, and Chicago. *Te Maori* was the first international exhibit devoted exclusively to Maori art, and all of its pieces originated in New Zealand collections. In addition to the objects, New Zealand sent a group of Maori elders to accompany *Te Maori* on its long journey overseas. These elders insured that proper ritual protocol was observed for each of the items and provided an unprecedented living context for an indigenous art exhibition. In 1986 *Te Maori* made its triumphant return to New Zealand. The overwhelming success of the exhibit in the United States bolstered both Maori and Pakeha pride in the Maori artistic heritage and generated interest in subsequent exhibitions of both traditional and contemporary Maori art in New Zealand and abroad. *Te Maori*’s handsome exhibition catalogue, which includes a large number of color plates and a range of contextualizing and interpretive essays written by prominent New Zealand scholars of both Maori and Pakeha descent, has become a model of bi-cultural scholarship. *Te Maori* also initiated broad-based debate about who "owns" ancestral Maori art objects and other taonga that are widely considered "national treasures."

The figure of rebuilding the whare tipuna (ancestral house) was captured as an image in the documentary film "Bastion Point Day 507," produced by well-known Maori filmmaker Merata Mita. Mita's documentary was filmed illegally on the final
day of Bastion Point’s occupation by Maori activists in 1977-78; it first aired on New Zealand’s TVNZ “Contact” program in 1981. On the final day of the 507 day occupation, police and government officials forced newspaper reporters and television film crews to leave the Bastion Point site. Mita, however, managed to sneak in her camera and recorded most of the events of that day. Six hundred police, army personnel, and state union workers moved onto the Bastion Point site in Auckland on 25 May 1978, intending to remove the activists, whose ranks included elders and children. They also came to tear down the meeting house (whare nui) the activists had constructed to assert their traditional claim to Bastion Point as members of Ngati Whatua, the site’s traditional iwi (tribal) owners at the time of first significant contact with Europeans. In Mita’s documentary, Ngati Whatua elders defiantly hold on to the posts of the meeting house’s porch. Next, 150 protestors are shown being physically removed from the house and led or carried away, one by one, by uniformed police. In the climactic image, a line of uniformed police dominates the foreground, forming a barricade that separates the removed Maori protestors from their house. In the background, a large earth-moving machine pushes down the house, which the activists have named Arohanui, Great Love. The machine begins its destruction at the rear of the house. The final image of the house is of its porch and bargeboards, symbolically the community’s ancestor’s brains and his arms outstretched in welcome, crashing down. Mita overdubs a chanted Maori lament. The image of the New Zealand government attacking and demolishing Arohanui, an embodiment of ancestral Maori tradition and a primary symbol of contemporary Maoritanga, places the house and all
it stands for firmly at the center of the contemporary land rights struggle and the battle over the representation of contemporary Maori identity.

All three images--of the significant link between Maori generations and their traditional lands, of the continuing importance of Maori taonga, and of the continuing centrality of the ancestral house to Maori individual and communal identity--can be read as metanarratives asserting a future-oriented "native" Maori indigeneity in contemporary New Zealand. In contemporary Maori activism and literary production--that is, in contemporary Maori signifying practices--the grandparent-grandchild relationship, taonga, and the ancestral house have been mobilized repeatedly as highly charged, emblematic figures for the continuance of distinctively Maori personal identities and community traditions. In addition, these figures have been linked to the grieving of claims for violations of the Treaty of Waitangi, signed in 1840, which guarantees Maori control of their lands, homes, and culture.

E Kui Ma, E Koro Ma, Mokopuna Ma: A Maori Literary/Genealogical Calculus

Ehara i te mea no anaianei, te aroha e.
No nga tupuna tuku iho, tuku iho e.

Don't think all good things come from today. They are passed down from the ancestors.

--Traditional Maori waiata (song)

When I remember that old man Matiu teaching the children of Raukokore how to respect the customary ways of their forefathers, it comes into my mind to help the children of Te Ao Hou in
exactly the same way, by saying to them, "Listen, tamariki ma, and I will explain to you this custom, and that . . ."

--Eurera Stirling

Traditionally, whakapapa or genealogy is "the preeminent object of Maori scholarship" (Salmond 1984:112). The literal meaning of whakapapa is "to lay one thing upon another" or "to recite in proper order." In both traditional and contemporary Maori discourse the term whakapapa covers "the genealogical descent of all living things from the gods to the present time" (Barlow 175). Thus everything in the Maori universe has a whakapapa, including the gods and humankind, birds and fish, trees and rocks and mountains. Whakapapa is the laying of one generation upon another; in the human community, it is proper to speak of "ancestors upon our shoulders." Maori descent lines are traced ambilaterally, through both the mother’s and father’s lines, depending on which lines provide the descendant the most vitality and power: "the greater the success of one’s ancestors in war, magic, oratory, and feasting, the greater the mana (prestige) that they [pass] down the descent line to their descendants" (Salmond 1984:112). Ideally, all members of the Maori community are expected to be able to recite the names of their immediate ancestors. In addition, in each whanau (extended family) or hapu (sub-tribe), certain members will be selected as children and trained as experts in the genealogy of the iwi (tribe) and in the genealogies of the cosmos and the gods, the primal genealogies of humankind, and the genealogy of the waka (canoes) which carried the ancestors of the Maori to Aotearoa/New Zealand.
As the basis of traditional Maori kinship, social organization, and economic systems, the relationships encoded in whakapapa serve as a primary terminology—a system of names and a set of coordinates—for the analysis of one's rightful place in the universe. But in the decades following World War II, Maori urbanization threatened the continued transmission of this vital cultural knowledge. In the cities, Maori language was increasingly threatened by dominant educational policy and by lack of use; tribal (iwi) and sub-tribal (hapu) affiliations active in the rural social networks were similarly threatened by urban housing, employment, and social arrangements (Metge 1975, Schwimmer 1968, Salmond 1975). Sustained relationships between grandparents and grandchildren often broke down, and oral traditions of passing Maori knowledge on to the next generation were disrupted (Kawharu pers. com. 1994). As a consequence, non-oral texts became important media for disseminating a wide range of Maori knowledge to Maori people, including whakapapa. Maori texts produced after 1970 represent both the learning and the continuation of whakapapa in the figure of the significant relationship between grandparent (kuia [female] or koro [male]) and grandchild (mokopuna). In this section I argue that the figure of the idealized grandparent-grandchild relationship is emblematic of what I want to call a Maori "scene of instruction." The well-known photograph of Whina Cooper and her grandchild leading the 1975 Land March, for instance, is emblematic of this instructional scene: a Maori elder walks the land with her grandchild, pointing out its features, speaking its names, reciting its history and telling its stories, placing the newest generation within the local community's
significant landscape and within the larger Maori universe.

Maori playwright Harry Dansey's *Te Raukura: The Feathers of the Albatross*, first performed in Auckland in 1972 and first published as a book in 1974, stages the scene of instruction formally as a dramatic device for recounting significant Maori history to a contemporary audience. Dansey's "Prologue" stages dialogue between Koroheke (Elder Man) and Tamatane (Young Man). These emblematic characters, Elder and Youth, figure the grandparent-grandchild relationship in broad, pan-tribal terms. Koroheke's opening lines establish the elder's role in instruction:

I am Koroheke. As an elder mine's the task to set the scene of this examination of our people's past that we may see how this extends into the present, how the deeds of those long since departed on the spirit path reach back to us to warn and teach and guide us in our day and age. (1)

Tamatane responds:

I am Tamatane; Youth, they call me. Mine the role to query, question, break if need be, build anew the world. I listen for a space at least to Koreheke until complacency and cant shall goad me in disgust to toss aside the cloak of courtesy I wear with such unease. (1)

Dansey's "Prologue" evokes specifically its contemporary context of the late 1960s-early 1970s, when Maori young people began to question the attempts of their grandparents' generation to live peaceably with the Pakeha at all costs. But more generally, the "Prologue" also evokes a traditional context in which each generation is
expected to question its elders' teachings and to experiment with the world in which it must live. In both, the elder generation sets the contemporary situation within the broader context of tradition. Koroheke counters Tamatane's "passion" for quarrel with the Pakeha with the "fact" of Maori history (2).

Often this instruction in whakapapa and tribal history is conducted in the carved or painted ancestral house (whare tipuna) on the marae. Here the grandparent serves as a living conduit between the grandchild and his or her tribal tipuna (ancestors) embodied in the house. By entering whakapapa's narrative system of names and significant actions, the younger generation fully assumes its rightful place in contemporary Maori society, enabling them to move forward, to "build anew the world."

The grandparent-grandchild relationship figures prominently in a number of the ten stories collected in Witi Ihimaera's first book, *Pounamu, Pounamu* (1972). Often the first person narrator of these stories is a child or an adult remembering his childhood in the rural east coast village of Waituhi. Waituhi's ancestral house occupies a central place in the landscape of these stories, and often the narrator's grandparents are closely associated with this architectural embodiment of the village's collective ancestor and with the safe-keeping of this and other family and village taonga (prized possessions), including books that record whakapapa. In the collection's opening story, "A Game of Cards," for instance, the narrator's grandmother, Nanny Miro, lives "right next to the meeting house" in an old homestead known locally as "'The Museum' because it house[s] the prized
possessions of the whanau, the village family" (1). Though she possesses the financial means to move to "a newer, more modern house," Nanny Miro chooses to remain in the homestead, close to the meeting house and thus central to the ancestor and the community. In the story "Fire on Greenstone," this same homestead is destroyed by fire. At the beginning of "Fire on Greenstone" the narrator notes again that "the homestead was right next to the meeting house." People gather at the homestead to "sing songs and talk about the old days" with the narrator's grandfather, Nanny Tama (33). In both stories the grandparents' homestead functions very much like a meeting house: it holds the presence of the ancestors in its taonga. After Nanny Miro's death, in "Fire on Greenstone" Nanny Tama insists that she is "still here": "She is this house; this house is her" (38). As an adult, the narrator begins to understand what Nanny Tama meant: "She had touched and fingered everything in this place and imprinted memories of herself here" (35). The sitting room in particular has significance for the narrator, for "This room was the whanau [family]; the whanau was this room. Here were all the sports trophies, shields, photographs of the old people who'd died long ago, whakapapa or genealogy sheets, carved feather boxes, panels, figurines, feather cloaks, piupiu [flax skirts] . . ." (35). The adult narrator remembers that as a child he "used to like wandering through that room, looking at the old photographs and fingerling the carvings and the soft sheen of the feather cloaks" (36).

In later works and particularly in his novel The Matriarch (1986), Ihimaera explicitly describes these actions of affiliation with ancestral Maori objects--taonga--as
a teaching technique whereby elders instruct the young in their Maoritanga. This is the process through which Maori children, especially those chosen by their grandparents specifically for this task, learn their place in Maori culture. After the homestead burns, the narrator describes its importance concisely: "The homestead wasn't just four walls and rooms. It was the manawa, the heart of the whanau, the heart of the family, and my Nanny Tama's heart too" ("Fire," 38). Though often dismissed by Pakeha New Zealand critics as nostalgic, the narrator's remarks make positive political statements about the state of Maoritanga in contemporary New Zealand. And they place at their center the relationship between grandparent and grandchild as the scene of instruction through which young Maori may lay claim to their cultural inheritance and indigeneity.

The penultimate story in Pounamu, Pounamu, "The Whale," stages the passing of an "old kaumatua," a Maori elder, who is the last of his generation. Ihimaera's narrative strongly links the kaumatua with the meeting house, "the only thing remaining in his dying world." "This meeting house has been his heart, his strength." Ihimaera's third person narrator tells readers, "In this place lie his family and memories" (115). The meeting house has been the focus of community life and of the community's memory of the past. Soon, the kaumatua knows, he will become part of the house, too: "Soon his photograph will be placed along the wall with those of his other friends, relations and tipuna—his ancestors" (115-16). In the past, the narrator informs readers, the kaumatua has explained to his mokopuna (grandchild) Hera that the house is "also the body of a tipuna, an ancestor" and that the house
"lives" (116). During these teaching sessions, the kaumatua describes the meeting house as a "book": "All the carvings, they are the pages telling the story of this whanau" (117). More than merely a symbolic object, the carved house serves as the whanau's key text of who they are, the kaumatua as the whanau's key interpreter of their text. Arguing that carved houses constitute a Maori "literary" tradition, Hirini Melbourne has pointed out that "To define a boundary for contemporary Maori writing is difficult, as the term 'contemporary,' according to Maori perceptions of time and place, is not confined to the present. So long as the living connection between past and present remains unbroken, the oral and written forms in which Maori expressed their sense of the world a thousand years ago will be as much part of the present as a haka [chant] composed in the 1980s" (135-36). It is the maintenance of this living connection--which is the maintenance of the meanings and significance of Maori traditions and Maori identity--that compels the kaumatua to pass on the keys for understanding and interpreting the text of the house to his grandchildren's generation.

As a young woman, Hera, the kaumatua's granddaughter, is drawn to the Pakeha world and appears to reject her grandfather's teachings. She moves to the city and tells the kaumatua, "The world isn't Maori any more. But it's the world I have to live in. You dream too much. Your world is gone. I can't live it for you. Can't you see?" (117). The story's ending easily reads as pessimistic, and perhaps as supporting Pakeha views that there is little place for traditional Maori culture in the contemporary world. The kaumatua is ready to die. He feels "stranded," out of
place in the modern world. He bids the meeting house farewell: "So still he stands, this kaumatua, that he seems to merge into the meeting house and become a carved figure himself" (121). When the old man wanders down to the beach, he discovers a whale "threshing in the sand, already stripped of flesh by the falling gulls" (122). The ending appears highly allegorical: the beached and dying whale is a symbol of the dying old man and of a dying Maori culture.

However, the obvious reading is complicated by a traditional Maori oral narrative embedded earlier in the story. In the scene of instruction where the kaumatua recounts for his granddaughter the meeting house's stories, "page by page, panel by panel" (117), the kaumatua describes in detail the story of their mythical ancestor Paikea:

This is Paikea, riding a whale across the sea to Aotearoa [New Zealand]. He was told not to let the whale touch the land. But he was tired after the long journey, and he made the whale come to shore. It touched the sand, and became an island. You can still see it, near Whangara. . . . (117)

The story of Paikea offers an alternative—though no less disturbing—reading for the story's ending, a Maori mythological model for interpretation. In this reading, contemporary Maori have violated ancestral instructions, and the result has been significant transformation. But Paikea's whale, though changed, remains present. Transformed into an island, Paikea's whale is isolated, like the kaumatua and the meeting house with which he becomes identified, but he remains close to shore, still
visible and within reach, a reminder of the vitality of the past. Maoritanga may be in jeopardy at the time of Ihimaera’s writing, but like the story’s whale thrashing on shore, it has not yet fully succumbed. Can the knowledge and values passed on in the grandparent-grandchild relationship offer hope for Maoritanga’s survival and renewal? Ihimaera’s ending remains at best ambivalent, his dying whale too weak to carry anyone anywhere. It is not until his fourth novel, *The Whale Rider*, published in 1987 after the successes of the Maori renaissance, that Ihimaera fully recuperates the figure of Paikea’s whale—along with the grandparent-grandchild relationship—as emblematic of the vitality of contemporary Maori culture and its unbroken links to the ancestral Maori past.

The figure of the grandparent-grandchild relationship in contemporary Maori literature is all the more striking—and vitally important—when considered in its demographic context. According to 1991 census figures, Maori men and women over the age of 60 make up only 4 percent of the Maori population, compared to 15 percent of the total New Zealand population (*Facts New Zealand* 117). For too many Maori young people, the scene of instruction staged in the photograph of Whina Cooper or in Maori literary texts like *Te Raukura, Pounamu, Pounamu,* or *The Whale Rider* is an unlikely real-life scenario. When Maori elder Eruera Stirling decided in the mid-1970s to create a book about his life and his understanding of Maori traditions (told to anthropologist Anne Salmond and published in 1980 as *Eruera: The Teachings of a Maori Elder*), he wished that his book would serve as a "gift to a new generation" (8). *Eruera*'s text is divided into three parts, "The Book Of The
In effect, it stages an extended scene of Maori instruction available to a wide audience
of Maori young people.

In her discussion of working with Stirling, Pakeha anthropologist Anne
Salmond writes that Eruera and his wife Amiria (with whom Salmond produced a
book in 1976) "have been friends and grandparents to me, teachers and guides in the
Maori world" (245). She notes that "our meetings were not interviews, but more like
formal classes. I asked questions sometimes but mostly Eruera talked, explaining
customs, telling traditions, and recounting main events of his life" (247). Further,
Salmond explains how from the very beginning of their relationship Stirling placed
her in the traditional role of the grandchild chosen to receive esoteric knowledge:

He told me that when I first came to his house in 1964, he had looked
to see if I had the "right spirit," and he wove a metaphor of kinship
and apprenticeship between us that made our work together peaceful
and unworried. For all that, he always kept this book in mind, and it
seemed to me that our conversations were a deliberate and serious
passing-on of knowledge, into the tape recorder and out to future
generations. (247)

The scene of instruction is the proper context for present and future generations to
receive valued taonga (prized possessions).
Me O Ratou Taonga Katoa: "Prized Possessions" and the Mobilization of Treaty Allegory

He iti ra, he iti mapihi pounamu.
Small indeed, but an ornament of greenstone.

--Maori proverb

Te Tiriti O Waitangi/The Treaty of Waitangi, signed in 1840 by the British Crown's representative and over 500 Maori rangatira or "chiefs," constitutes New Zealand's founding document. And although it was never ratified by the New Zealand Parliament, the Treaty's negotiation of specific rights and privileges, loyalties and obligations, remains New Zealand's founding discourse for Maori-Pakeha race relations. The Treaty continues to occupy a place of singular importance and bitter contention in contemporary Maori land and cultural rights activism. Part of the controversy stems from the difficulty of reconciling the specific language(s) of the several versions of the Treaty. Four manuscript versions of the Treaty remain extant, one penned in Maori, three in English. The English language versions differ only slightly. But the language of the Maori version--which the vast majority of Maori chiefs signed in 1840 first at the Waitangi site in the Bay of Islands and later at other sites as Crown representatives traveled the North and South Islands gathering additional marks and signatures--differs from the language of the English versions remarkably.

In both the primary English and the Maori language versions of the Treaty, Queen Victoria acknowledges the unruly nature of British settlers while extolling the virtues of Great Britain and the monarchy. In the Treaty's preamble, the Queen
argues that it is her desire to establish a "Civil Government"/"Kawanatanga" in order to protect Maori and their property from her British subjects who are now living in New Zealand and, as well, to protect these same British subjects from each other. In the Maori language version, the Queen goes so far as to describe her emigrant subjects as "e noho ture kore ana," living without law.

The English and Maori language versions diverge significantly in the First Article. In the English language version, the Maori Chiefs clearly "cede to Her Majesty the Queen of England absolutely and without reservation all the rights and powers of Sovereignty ... over their respective Territories as the sole Sovereigns thereof" (emphasis mine). In the Maori language version, the Chiefs (nga Rangatira) "ka tuku rawa atu ki te Kuini o Ingarangi ake tonu atu--te Kawanatanga katoa o o ratou w[h]enua," that is, the Chiefs "give absolutely to the Queen of England for ever the complete government over their land" (Kawharu 321, emphasis mine).

Controversy over the First Article erupts in the chasm between British understandings of "sovereignty" and possible Maori understandings of "kawanatanga"/government in 1840. Kawanatanga was derived from the word kawana, a transliteration into Maori of the English word governor. Most scholars of Maori language agree that Maori in 1840, who had never experienced any form of supra-tribal authority, could have had no understanding of "kawanatanga" as meaning what the British understood by "sovereignty"--absolute authority vested in the sovereign, here specifically Queen Victoria and by extension her governmental institutions and representatives.

Moreover, in the Maori language version's Second Article, the British Queen
guarantees not only to the Chiefs, but also to Maori sub-tribes (hapu), and all Maori people of New Zealand, "te tino rangatiratanga o o ratou w[he]nua o ratou kainga me o ratou taonga katoa," that is, "the unqualified exercise of their chieftainship over their lands, villages and all their treasures" (Kawharu 321). As noted Maori scholar I. H. Kawharu explains, tino rangatiratanga, the unqualified exercise of chieftainship, "would emphasize to a chief the Queen's intention to give them complete control according to their customs. 'Tino' has the connotation of 'quintessential'" (Kawharu 319). Given that Maori were numerically, economically, and militarily dominant in New Zealand in 1840, and given the Queen's reasoning in the Treaty's preamble, the Maori Chiefs who signed the Treaty had no reason to believe they had given over to the British Crown and its representatives anything but the right to govern the newly arrived Pakeha traders and settlers, that is, the right to extend the force of British law to British subjects who had left their own country for New Zealand.

Following Maori population decline, for over a century the majority Pakeha population proceeded to develop New Zealand as a British nation, claiming authority through the English language version of the Treaty. Maori, however, never forgot what had been promised them in Te Tiriti. Following a series of bitter land wars in the 1860s, Maori delegations traveled to England in 1882 and 1884, hoping to petition the Crown to uphold its Treaty promises. Neither delegation was granted a royal audience. A third Maori delegation traveled to England in 1914. Though Te Rata, the delegation's Tainui leader, secured an audience with King George V, the deputation nevertheless "returned home empty handed" (Walker 1990:160-65). Ten
years later, in 1924, yet another Maori leader, W. T. Ratana, traveled to England to request an audience with the British Crown. Ratana’s attempt to meet with George V was blocked by the New Zealand High Commissioner, and Ratana was forced to return to New Zealand to seek internal solutions to Maori grievances (Walker 1990:183-84).

It was not until after the newly formed United Nations organization declared its decolonization mandate in the mid-1940s that international support was available to indigenous minorities—including Maori—who were attempting to force powerful First World nations to uphold their treaty obligations. By the mid-1970s, when Canadian Indian leader George Manuel began organizing the World Council of Indigenous Peoples, a number of international activist organizations concerned with indigenous rights had been founded, primarily in Europe. These included the now well-known International Work Group on Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA), founded in Denmark in 1968, and Survival International (SI), founded in Great Britain in 1969. As mentioned above, in response to this international activist climate and to increasing Maori challenges at home, in 1975 the New Zealand government created the Waitangi Tribunal to hear Maori grievance claims against the Crown for violations of provisions contained in the Maori language version of the Treaty of Waitangi.10 Based on its findings, the Tribunal was authorized to make non-binding recommendations to Parliament for settlement. However, the initial legislation authorized the Tribunal only to investigate claims for Treaty violations which occurred after 1975. It would take another decade before a legislative amendment
extended the Tribunal's jurisdiction back to 1840.

With the Treaty of Waitangi and its history as relevant context, in this section I explore the mobilization of "treaty allegory" in Maori literary and political texts produced during the Maori renaissance. In particular, I focus on the clause in the Second Article of the Maori language version of the Treaty which guarantees the Maori chiefs, sub-tribes, and people the "unqualified exercise of chieftainship over" "o ratou taonga katoa," all their prized possessions.

At this point it will be useful to attempt to translate taonga's wide array of meanings in Maori into English. In both nineteenth-century and contemporary Maori discourse, taonga is used to specify an inexhaustible--and thus controversial--range of tangible and intangible phenomena. Bruce Biggs, a prominent New Zealand linguist, defines the basic meaning of taonga as "valuable material possession" (1989:308) and cites early nineteenth-century examples of taonga as including material assets (e.g., greenstone, woven articles, weapons, pieces of land), social and cultural features (e.g., carving, dance, warfare), and personal attributes (e.g., attractive eyebrows). In the Treaty, Biggs argues, the phrase "o ratou taonga katoa" "can be taken, in strict accordance with language usage, to include all material and cultural possessions" (1989:308). In the context of cultural heritage, Maori scholar I. H. Kawharu argues that taonga in the Treaty "refers to all dimensions of a tribal group's estate, material and non-material--heirlooms and wahi tapu [sacred spaces], ancestral lore and whakapapa [genealogy], etc." (320 n. 8). Maori scholar Mason Durie adds to this definition that the idea of taonga includes the notion of "guardianship." Durie cites
Maori submissions to the 1988 Royal Commission on Social Policy that describe "people, especially children and the elderly," as taonga. "Guardianship on their behalf," Durie paraphrases, "is to be considered in the same light as guardianship over land, forests, and fisheries" (1989:282). In the specific context of "art" objects, Maori artist and art historian Sidney Moko Mead, who was instrumental in organizing the Te Maori exhibit, focuses on the spiritual significance of taonga, defining taonga as a bridge between the living community and the dead. Mead emphasizes the Maori ideas of "taonga tuku iho"—taonga handed down from the ancestors—and "he kupu kei runga"—objects invested with interesting talk. According to Mead, the korero (discourse) associated with taonga during their production and use gives them imminent power (1984a:21-23). And in the legal context, New Zealand lawyer and legal scholar David Williams notes that during the Te Atiawa claim (1983), the Waitangi Tribunal found that taonga has a "metaphorical sense" in the Treaty, covering "a variety of possibilities rather than itemised specifics" (81). The Tribunal’s finding is supported by New Zealand linguists such as Biggs, who confirms that "Maori nouns with concrete referents are commonly, even usually, used for abstractions that can be seen as metaphorical extensions of the basic meaning" (1989:307).

In a number of claims heard by the Waitangi Tribunal, taonga have been interpreted as having this "metaphorical sense." In the Manukau claim (1985), for instance, the Tribunal found that the Treaty has a "metaphysical dimension" covered by the inclusion of taonga. The Tribunal concluded that the Treaty "gives Maori
[spiritual] values an equal place with British values, and a priority when the Maori interest in their taonga is adversely affected" (Oliver 26). And perhaps most significantly, in the Te Reo Maori [Maori language] claim (1986) and in the Radio Frequencies claim (1990), "taonga came to acquire a range of meaning wide enough to include, in the former, a treasure which no one could have thought to mention in 1840 and, in the latter, a resource which no one then knew to exist" (Oliver 66-67). Thus, in the 1980s, Maori successfully argued for a very broad definition of taonga that includes "treasures" not specifically listed in the Treaty (e.g., Maori language) and "treasures" as yet unknown or undiscovered by Maori—or Pakeha—in 1840 (e.g., radio air waves).

The central place of taonga in the Maori language version of the Treaty, coupled with taonga's wide range of context-dependent meanings, has guaranteed controversy over its legal definition and over the Crown's obligations to guarantee Maori control over taonga ranging from land and fisheries to personal items and spiritual values. The precise definition of taonga has become a site of conflict between Maori and Pakeha, between Maori and Maori, and between individuals or groups and New Zealand institutions. Specific taonga have become embroiled in controversies over who should control valuable and limited natural resources, over their use in academic research, over their marketing for tourism, over their placement in museums or archives, and over their designation as tapu [invested with power, restricted] by Maori spiritual experts or their designation as national reserves by the government, both of which restrict public access to taonga. In contemporary Maori
activism, the moral authority of scarce, endangered, or vulnerable taonga has been mobilized to help translate specifically Maori concerns into a format comprehensible to Pakeha and/or to the international community. Conversely, specific taonga have also served as focal points for local and national attempts at inclusive bi-culturalism. Perhaps most impressively in this latter capacity, specific taonga have served as part of New Zealand’s public relations efforts for the promotion of international investment and tourism, as in the international Te Maori exhibit.

Taonga appear in Maori literary texts as part of the New Zealand and specifically Maori setting. Often, rivalry or competition over valuable taonga forms a particular text’s conflict. But the deployment of taonga in literary texts produced after 1970, and particularly in Maori texts produced after 1975 and the creation of the Waitangi Tribunal, also sets these texts up as allegories to the Treaty of Waitangi. That is, the deployment of taonga can be read as assertions of a sanctioned and enduring indigenous ownership of New Zealand’s lands and widely defined "resources." In this reading, specific taonga resonate in literary texts with several types of value, each of which adds to the specific taonga’s and to the overall text’s larger significance. First, specific taonga possess economic or sentimental value for the narrator or for the characters in a specific literary text. Second, often related to the first, specific taonga possess a traditional social and/or spiritual value in their Maori cultural context. Third, specific taonga also possess a Western legal value after 1840—and especially after 1975—as part of the Treaty of Waitangi’s guarantee of tino rangatiratanga or quintessential chieftainship. And fourth, related to the third,
specific taonga possess a political value as part of contemporary New Zealand's public and private discourses on the Treaty, on individual and communal rights, on race relations, and so forth. The latter two values, in particular, invite an allegorical reading of the literary text. An example will make these points clear.

The Maori text which best exemplifies the mobilizing of treaty allegory through the employment of taonga is Witi Ihimaera's short story "The Greenstone Patu." This story is included in Ihimaera's second collection of stories, *The New Net Goes Fishing*, published in 1977, two years after the national Land March and the creation of the Waitangi Tribunal. A patu is a traditional Maori hand weapon, often misdescribed in English as a "club." A patu has a sharp, flat blade; in close hand-to-hand combat, a patu can deliver a fatal blow. Patu were and are carved from wood, whalebone, or stone. Patu carved from pounamu or "greenstone" (nephrite jade indigenous to New Zealand's South Island) were and are considered the most valuable. In addition to its use in actual combat, a beautifully carved patu pounamu is treasured as an item of personal regalia and often brandished during formal oratory on the marae to emphasize a speaker's important points (Barrow 90-92). Like other greenstone carvings, patu pounamu are passed down in families as treasured heirlooms. For all these reasons a patu pounamu is considered a taonga, a prized possession. Particularly old, beautiful, or important patu sometimes possess their own names. Such is the case for the patu in Ihimaera's story.

Ihimaera's plot can be summarized briefly: Many years ago the Mahana family lost a prized patu pounamu. The missing patu is a twin to the patu the
Mahana family still possesses. These two patu were cut from a single piece of
greenstone; one patu is "an emblem of peace, the other a symbol of battle" (118).
The missing patu has been passed down the generations in another Maori family, who
now mistakenly think it belongs to them. Several generations of the Mahana family
dream about the missing greenstone patu; in their visions they see the patu swimming
toward them in shafts of light, calling out its name. The Mahana family is convinced
the patu wants to come home. In the present of the story, the task of finding the patu
has passed from the family's elder, Nanny Tama, to his son Rongo, and then to
Rongo's sister, Auntie Hiraina. Aided by a series of prophetic dreams, through
careful research Auntie Hiraina discovers that the greenstone patu is now held by a
young woman living in Wellington, New Zealand's capital city. Auntie Hiraina
enlists the assistance of her nephew, Tama (Rongo's son and Nanny Tama's
namesake, and also the story's first person narrator), who has left his family's village
of Waituhi on the remote east coast and now lives and works in Wellington.
Together Tama and Auntie Hiraina confront the young Maori woman who holds the
family's patu. The young woman has married a Pakeha and, at first, doesn't
understand the importance or the authority of the Mahana family's traditional claim.
She refuses to hand over their taonga. In the climactic scene at the woman's house in
Wellington, Auntie Hiraina announces that if the young woman must be convinced of
the patu's rightful owner, "then let the patu pounamu choose between us" (116). At
that moment the patu, hidden in a mirrored cabinet, reveals itself to all gathered in
the room in a vision of itself swimming through "water shafted with sunlight," crying
out its name. The cabinet’s panels begin to buckle and snap. Auntie Hiraina smashes her hand through the cabinet’s breaking glass to retrieve the patu. Later, the young woman formally asks Auntie Hiraina to accept the patu on behalf of the Mahana family. When she leaves again for Waituhi, Auntie Hiraina asks Tama to come home with her, to return, like the patu, to the family. He refuses Auntie Hiraina’s request, but the story ends with Tama wondering how long it will be before he, too, will return to his family and community.

It is important to begin an analysis of "The Greenstone Patu" by stating that this is not a story about a dispute between two families over the “ownership” of the patu as ownership is understood in European and European-derived cultures. Rather, this is a story about a taonga’s assertion of its relationship to a particular Maori family, and that family’s responsibilities to their taonga because of that historical and spiritual relationship. The patu asserts its claim to the Mahana family within a non-traditional context, however: contemporary New Zealand’s Western capitalist system of “ownership.” Though the Mahana family’s claim is traditional, based in pre-contact and pre-Treaty Maori cultural systems, Auntie Hiraina is forced to acknowledge the presence and power of dominant culture. Before the climax of the story, she engages the services of a barrister in an effort to secure the patu through the Pakeha legal system. This effort proves ineffective. Treaty allegory is mobilized in Ihimaera’s story in this contrast between Maori understandings of their relationship to taonga, which carry the weight of reciprocal obligations and ancestral precedence, and Pakeha understandings of the ownership of taonga, which are based in the idea of
Ihimaera’s patu pounamu represents a typical Maori taonga: it is a beautifully carved piece of greenstone and it is considered to be of great historical, emotional, and spiritual value for the Mahana family and for the entire village of Waituhi. The patu’s association with prophetic dreams also serves, more generally, as a sign of enduring Maori spirituality. Part of the earth but also part of the Maori kinship system (since the patu has a name and a place within a particular family line), the patu pounamu works in Ihimaera’s narrative as a metonym for both Aotearoa—Maori land—and te iwi Maori—the Maori as a corporate entity, a people or nation. In many ways, the patu pounamu also functions in Ihimaera’s story like a character. The patu has a name, and it is driven by specific motivations to perform actions within the context of the narrative. The patu is much more than a mere object that is acted with or upon. It is this dual role of carved greenstone—coming literally from the earth’s marrow but brought into the human Maori community through artistic endeavor (whakairo), significant talk (korero), and acts of naming (hua)—which allows the patu pounamu to serve as an emblematic figure for the reciprocal relationship between the Maori community and their land and its resources.

When the patu appears first to Tama’s grandfather and later to his aunt in prophetic dreams, it is the patu, not the dreamers, which asserts “ownership.” The patu asserts its continuing relationship to the Mahana family despite expropriation. Dis- or mis-placement of the patu, even over several generations, has not meant enduring loss. The traditional rules of affiliation and obligation by which the patu
belongs to the Mahana family—and by which they belong to it—still hold. In these prophetic dreams the patu swims through "water shafted with sunlight," invoking the original journeys of the Maori’s ancestors across Te Moana nui a Kiwa, the waters of the Pacific Ocean, from the ancestral homeland, Hawaiki, to their new home in Aotearoa. The patu pounamu thus announces its continued presence and asserts its desire to return to the Mahana family by reenacting in visionary dreams the Maori’s claim to Aotearoa/New Zealand as first and therefore indigenous inhabitants. In mid-nineteenth-century British legal systems, such status made the Maori appropriate partners for a binding treaty.

Ihimaera’s story of recovery is driven by obligations of whakapapa (genealogy and kinship), rather than desires for personal gain. The recovery of the patu pounamu is an opportunity for the younger generation—which is represented by Tama and by the young Maori woman, both of whom have moved away from their home villages to Wellington—to learn more about their Maori heritage and the obligations it continues to require of them. As in the scene of instruction discussed above, both Tama and the young woman are given an important opportunity to consider who they are and where their allegiances lie. The narrative’s climax also rehearses the basic conflict between Maori and Pakeha understandings of ownership, history and, perhaps most significantly, memory. And it is here that the patu pounamu’s significance as a patu is revealed:

Forget about it? Auntie had yelled [when told to forget her search].

Never. And how can you say it doesn’t mean anything? The world
hasn’t changed that much that we forget about ourselves, has it? Even if it has, then perhaps we need our patu pounamu more than we think. To fight back with, to use as a weapon. To remind us of who we are.

(114)

The patu pounamu serves as an emblematic figure for the link between Maori and their land, but also as an enduring sign of the Maori warrior tradition—upheld, here, as much by women as by men—of the ability to fight against Pakeha dispossession and pressure toward assimilation.

In addition, the narrative’s climax is staged specifically as a struggle between two Maori women, Auntie Hiraina from the village of Waituhi and the young Maori woman who has married a Pakeha and moved to Wellington. In Maori, women can be referred to as te whare tangata, "the house of mankind, because all humans are conceived and develop in the womb" (Barlow 147). In Ihimaera’s story, the struggle between these two particular women, who are both Maori but who are of different generations and who have chosen different lifestyles, can be read as a struggle over the direction contemporary Maori society will take, between the continuance of relevant ancestral traditions and the movement toward greater assimilation of Pakeha values. At story’s end, Auntie Hiraina explains to Tama, "But you forget why your Nanny and your father wanted [the patu] returned to us. For the future, Tama. For the future generation . . ." (118). A mature and knowledgeable Maori woman, Auntie Hiraina successfully passes the patu pounamu and its values on to the next generation of her family and community.
As noted in the plot summary above, in the climactic scene the patu pounamu is left to "choose" where it belongs. The reader discovers that the patu is held in a cabinet, "imprisoned behind the glass" (116), suggesting the display of Maori taonga in Pakeha, British, or American museums. The patu glows with "a terrible fire," suggesting ahi kaa roa, the "long burning homefires" that signify continued occupation of a specific land base, a traditional Maori claim to land rights. This reading is strengthened, first, by the fact that the family name Mahana, which Ihimaera uses throughout his early work, translates into English as "warm," and second, by an earlier passage in the story, in which Tama laments the recent deaths of so many Maori elders: "The hearth fires were fading and needed to be stoked to flame again" (110). The patu thus privileges its traditional Maori value as a "living" member of the Maori community over its contemporary Pakeha relegation as mere artifact to be displayed behind glass.

That the final struggle over the patu pounamu takes place in the capital city of Wellington, where New Zealand's Parliament sits and where the Treaty of Waitangi lies behind glass on display at the National Archives, allows a larger reading of the scene. As in allegory, the Treaty serves as "a silent second text" (Gates 86) to Ihimaera's story, knowledge shared by the writer and his readers that, once employed in the interpretation of the text, extends and amplifies the text's meaning. In "The Greenstone Patu," the absent text of the Maori language version of the Treaty of Waitangi arbitrates the final outcome of the struggle between Maori and Pakeha understandings of ownership, confirming the rights of Maori to exercise their
"quintessential chieftainship" over Maori taonga as guaranteed in Article Two. When Auntie Hiraina and Tama arrive at the house in Wellington to retrieve the patu, they are met at the door by the young Maori woman's Pakeha husband. During their brief conversation before the arrival of the Maori wife, they have the following exchange:

--We have no quarrel with you, Auntie answered him. All we want is what is rightfully ours.

--But all this business happened so long ago, the husband continued. As far as my wife is concerned, she inherited the greenstone from her father. Can't you understand how she feels?

Auntie Hinaira smiled sadly.

--It was not his right to give, she whispered. The patu pounamu does not belong to any one person.

Well, the man answered. You seem to have very long memories. All I can say is that the sooner you forget about the past the better. (115)

The husband rehearses a typical Pakeha complaint over Maori grievances based on the Treaty of Waitangi: it all happened so long ago, outside of Pakeha memory. Auntie Hiraina counters the Pakeha position by repeatedly shifting the argument back to the issue of "rights." The debate continues after the young Maori woman arrives home. She tells Auntie Hiraina that she has "talked with my lawyer and he says you haven't got a claim to [the patu] at all" (115, emphasis mine). She then orders Tama and Auntie Hiraina out of the house and threatens to call the police. It is at this point that
Auntie Hiraina declares that the patu itself will "choose between us" (116).

Auntie Hiraina's rhetorical moves--as well as Ihimaera's staging of the scene as a negotiation of rights to property, complete with presentations of "evidence"--are clear if subtle signals to Treaty allegory. Auntie Hiraina and the young Maori woman might as well be testifying before the Waitangi Tribunal. In the Second Article of the Maori language version of the Treaty, after the Queen "agrees to protect the chiefs, the subtribes, and all the people of New Zealand in the unqualified exercise of their chieftainship over their lands, villages and all their treasures," the Maori Chiefs in turn agree that they "will sell land to the Queen at a price agreed to by the person owning it and by the person buying it (the latter being) appointed by the Queen as her purchase agent" (Kawharu 321). As in New Zealand public and private discourses about the contemporary political, social, and economic ramifications of the 1840 Treaty, in Ihimaera's story representatives of Maori and Pakeha interests interpret Article Two to their own advantage. Representatives of Pakeha interests emphasize that the Treaty enshrines Western conceptions of ownership and governmental authority in overseeing economic transactions. Representatives of Maori interests emphasize the guarantee of quintessential chieftainship and the provision that Maori will sell land (or any possession) only when they want to and only at a price to which they agree. Auntie Hiraina's argument for why Tama should leave Wellington and return home with her and the patu make the distinctions between Maori and Pakeha understandings clear: "This place is no good for you. The heart cannot survive here. It loses its warmth and forgets to stir the blood. Blowed if I know why everyone's in
such a hurry to get down here. Nothing down here except the dollar” (117).

Ihimaera’s ending holds up a Maori understanding of the Treaty as a basis for resolving cultural conflicts between Maori and Pakeha.

Other Maori texts written after 1970 can be read as employing taonga as a form of Treaty allegory. Patricia Grace’s first novel, *Mutuwhenua: The Moon Sleeps*, published in 1978, opens with a story about conflict between Maori and Pakeha over the rightful “ownership” of greenstone “discovered” by Pakeha on Maori land. The young Maori protagonist, Linda, remembers when she was nine years old and a Pakeha man from the local council visited her family. The man brings his son with him and the Pakeha boy joins the Maori children playing outside while the adults talk in the house. Exploring the creek, the children discover a piece of greenstone “about a foot in length, tongue-shaped at one end and tapered towards the other” (6). The description of the stone suggests that it is a taonga, that it has been cut and fashioned, brought into the human community. The Maori cousins treat the stone like any of “the special stones or shells we found” (7), but the Pakeha boy suddenly asserts a superior knowledge about the stone and, by right of that knowledge, ownership:

And, suddenly, the boy, who was older than any of us, said, “It came in the floods from the hills and it took years and years to get here. It’s hundreds of years old.” He picked it up and walked towards the house and we followed with our eyes popping. (7)

In the house, the Pakeha boy claims he "found" the greenstone. His father immediately responds that the stone "Must be worth a coin or two" (7). To the man's
surprise, Linda’s grandfather, Toki, whose name translates into English as axe or adze, insists that the stone must be returned to the hills. The Pakeha tries to reason with the old man that ”It was my boy who found it. . . . But it’s your land. There’s something in it for everyone” (7), but Toki refuses to comply with the assumptions of the right of discovery, ownership, and profit embedded in a capitalist system. While the men argue about the “value” of the stone, Linda’s father signals her cousin, also named Toki, to remove the greenstone from the Pakeha’s car. When the angry man and his son finally leave, Linda’s grandfather and father take the stone ”far back into the hills,” where they throw the stone into a deep gully and cover it with rock and earth (8).

Throughout the novel, Grace’s Maori protagonist recalls the stone and what her family chose to do with it whenever she experiences a crisis of identity. Linda feels that ”part of myself is buried in that gully” (8) and that ”the stone was my inheritance” (121). The greenstone and its tie to the land represent Linda’s enduring Maori identity as she chooses to marry a Pakeha and to follow her husband away from her family and home to the city. Grace does not reveal the Maori reasoning behind burning the greenstone—or Linda’s full understanding of the event—until the novel’s final pages. After her father’s death, Linda and her mother recall that day:

”. . . You remember that day, don’t you? You were all frightened—you and Dad, Nanny, and Grandpa Toki, and the others. Scared of what the boy brought in and showed you."

"You can’t steal from the dead without harming the living. It
wasn’t ours, or his, to have."

... "And I knew. That’s what I’m trying to say . . . ."

"That it should be returned and we could suffer because of it."

"Yes, I knew that too, most surely, and I still do. But I’m speaking of something else as well. I knew about differences . . . that could never be resolved. It was all there in Nanny’s kitchen that afternoon. People standing not an arm’s length from each other, yet being so far apart." (151-52)

In this explanation, Grace alludes to the Treaty of Waitangi by explicitly tying traditional Maori understandings of responsibility toward taonga—and the dangers of not meeting those responsibilities—to the negotiation of differences between Maori and Pakeha values.

In light of Linda’s interpretation at the end of the novel, we can reread the scene in Linda’s grandfather’s kitchen in terms of how Grace stages these competing values in relation to taonga. When the Pakeha father takes the greenstone from his son and begins to "weigh" its material value in his hands, Grace describes the Maori adults as "they too had become stone in the leaping silence of the room" (7), explicitly drawing an affective and spiritual—rather than a merely economic—link between the Maori human community and their taonga. When Toki says that the stone must be returned to the hills, the Pakeha insists on his counter-interpretation almost violently: "'Come off it,’ the man said. 'Can’t you see?'" When the Maori
adults again do not respond, he attempts to explain the greenstone's "use value" in Pakeha terms: "Well, look, think of it this way. What use it is to anyone back there in the hills. Who can see it there?" Further, as in the Treaty, the Pakeha attempts to negotiate a means for all present to "share" the resource, saying that "There's something in it for everyone" (7). Grace's narration makes it clear that the Pakeha understandings of value and sharing asserted here are irreconcilable with Maori understandings. As in contemporary legal disputes which debate the meanings of Maori rights and Crown obligations coded in the Treaty, the dispute over the greenstone as rehearsed in Linda's grandfather's kitchen is a conflict between texts. Representatives of Maori and Pakeha interests state conflicting versions of the appropriate power relations between indigenous Maori and the Pakeha settlers who "discover" Maori lands and other resources.

_Hanga E Te Iwi He Whare Tipuna Hou/
The People Build a New Ancestral House_

E te whare tipuna,
E tu, e tu. Tu tonu.
Ake tonu atu.

Ancestral house,
Stand, stand. Continue to stand.
Forever.

--Traditional address

Maori proverbs create bold metaphors out of central Maori traditions of fishing, carving, and food gathering in order to represent the necessity of new
generations taking on the vital roles of the old--of the necessity of new generations becoming, in effect, ancestors. One of the central problems Maori texts produced during the Maori renaissance address is how contemporary Maori young adults are to become future Maori ancestors in the post-World War II context of urbanization and loss of Maori language and cultural traditions. Novels written in the 1970s and 1980s by Witi Ihimaera, Keri Hulme, and Patricia Grace present strategies for reclaiming a Maori self and a Maori community that necessarily involve recreating or reforming, in a sense redefining, the Maori family (whanau). Strikingly, in these novels this end is achieved by the physical act of rebuilding the whare tipuna, the ancestral house, on the protagonists' home marae. As discussed in Chapter Two, the whare tipuna incarnates in its architectural design the body of the community's principal ancestor. At the same time, in its ceremonial functions, the whare tipuna gathers together and symbolically stands for the body of the contemporary community. To rebuild the ancestral house means literally to rebuild the community's ancestor--its significant past--and the community's self--its significant present and possible future.

Patricia Grace's second novel, *Potiki*, published in 1986, best exemplifies the figure of rebuilding the whare tipuna in order to "rebuild" the contemporary Maori individual and the contemporary Maori community. I begin this section with an analysis of *Potiki* not because it is the first inscription of rebuilding the ancestor, but rather because in many respects *Potiki* represents the full development of this significant emblematic figure for contemporary Maori identity. Grace's second novel builds its house upon foundations laid by Witi Ihimaera's first two novels, *Tangi*

Set in the early 1980s, *Potiki* narrates a Maori family's and community's battles to save their traditional coastal homeland from Pakeha developers who want to build a resort there. Hemi [transliteration of James] and Roimata [n., tears] Tamihana have chosen to "come home" to the coast in order to raise a family and to live a life based in Maori traditions. Grace's narrative contrasts this modified traditional Maori life, based on a subsistence economy, with Pakeha capitalism, and the community is soon harassed by the Pakeha commercial developers who want to build a resort. In Grace's narrative contemporary Maori develop a traditional subsistence living requiring gardens, access to the sea, and spiritual unity in the community. In a series of narrative events, the Pakeha developers attack each of these, flooding the gardens, polluting the sea, and finally setting fire to the whare tipuna, destroying the embodiment of the community's ancestor.

Over the course of the novel, by retelling Maori myth and by relating the Tamihana family's experiences in a variety of voices, Grace develops the whare tipuna's significance to the community, so that its destruction is clearly characterized for non-Maori readers as the emotional and spiritual catastrophe it represents for Maori. The novel opens with a meditation on the relationship between the master carver and the wood from which he "seek[s] out and expos[es] . . . figures" of the ancestors. These figures depend "on the master with his karakia [chanting] and his tools, his mind and his heart, his breath and his strangeness to bring them to other
birth" (7). The relationship between master carver and the wood he works into ancestral figures sets up a central metaphor in the novel of a child giving "other" birth to a parent: "It is as though a child brings about the birth of a parent because that which comes from under the master's hand is older than he is, is already ancient" (8). Grace's narrative incarnates this metaphor when Hemi's adult sister Mary, who is described as mentally childlike, unexpectedly gives birth to a physically handicapped son, Toko, a mysterious and prophetic "ancient" boy. Though he is Mary's only and therefore eldest child, Hemi and Roimata raise Toko as their own; he becomes their youngest child, the potiki, the final born. In his character and in the events surrounding his birth, Grace links Toko both to the Christian story of the mysterious birth of a prophetic savior to a childlike virgin and the traditional stories about Maui Potiki, the most important cultural hero in Maori myth traditions.

In Maori mythology, not only is Maui a potiki, the final born, he is also an aborted child. In traditional stories, Maui's mother Taranga wraps him in the hair of her topknot and discards him in the sea (Walker 1990:15), returning the unborn child to the gods. Unbeknown to Taranga, however, Maui is revived. Similarly, Mary gives birth to Toko alone on the stony beach and carries his small, crooked body to the water. Toko's "sister," Hemi and Roimata's daughter Tangimoana [crying of the sea], rescues the baby from drowning. Roimata and the rest of the family then work to revive Toko, who, in addition to being born "crooked," has been born with a caul. Granny Tamihana gives the baby a personal taonga, a pendant taken from her ear, and then gives him a name remembered from her own childhood, Tokowaru-i-te-
Marama [eight people in one month]. Toko is named after Granny’s brother, his great-granduncle. When Toko is five, Granny explains to him that the elder Toko was born during the "bad sickness" when eight people died and were laid out on the marae in one month. The elder Toko died when he was a boy in a horse riding accident on the same beach where young Toko was born seventy years later (56).

Grace’s narrative works to link Toko, the potiki, not only with Christian symbolism and with Maui traditions and with the Tamihana family’s recent ancestors, but also explicitly with the whare tipuna, the embodiment of the community’s ancient ancestor. Granny calls Toko "Little Father" (57), and Toko says of himself that he has a "special oldness" (155), linking him to the sense of timelessness of the whare tipuna, which is periodically rebuilt. Like the house, Toko represents the ancient embodied in the present. Grace describes the whare tipuna as the community’s "parent" (84), its "jumping off place" (94), the community’s "main book" (104), stressing the whare tipuna’s guiding role as ancestor. But the event of the fire, and the community’s response to their burnt house, illuminates another, more deeply spiritual aspect of the whare tipuna:

We could only stand silent in the night’s silence and in the night’s darkness. It was as if we were the new tekoteko [carvings] figured about the edges of the gutted house, unhoused, standing in the place of those that had gone to ash. (136)

Immediately, before any decision is made to rebuild, the community literally becomes the house, physically standing in place of its walls. But it is not the old whare tipuna
that they become, but a new ancestral house. In their first response to this disaster and act of Pakeha aggression, the community already looks ahead to its future, when a new whare tipuna with new carvings will stand on the same site. The scene strongly suggests that the community will rebuild, for it is themselves they must house. Rather than haul the charred debris away to begin afresh, the community instead buries the old house's remains in a trench on the site, "so that the new could spring from the old which is the natural way of things" (141). So long as the community remains, the house and the ancestor it incarnates never cease to exist.

In more than one sense, the destruction of the physical structure of the whare tipuna brings about good for the community. Grace sets up the larger significance of rebuilding the whare tipuna after the fire by first telling the story of the people of Te Ope, whose land was appropriated by the government during World War II but never returned to them as promised. Te Ope's whare tipuna was torn down as part of New Zealand's War effort. After long legal struggles and public protest, initiated not by Te Ope's elders but by its young people, and after unfortunate compromises, Te Ope is finally able to reclaim a part of its traditional land and to rebuild its whare tipuna:

At last they had a place to put their feet, and it was their own place, their own ancestral place, after all the years and all the trouble. (84)

This is what is important, the narrative stresses, and what is required to define oneself in Maori terms: one's own ancestral place.

Building the new whare tipuna after the fire requires that the community's young people learn the carving, weaving, and building skills of their ancestors (143).
And in the process of rebuilding, the narrative shows the young people building themselves, integrating more recent history into the house's traditional carvings, breaking some traditions to meet the needs of the present situation, creating their own identities by representing them in the carved house. They follow the traditional process of building, but they modify the building's content to meet contemporary needs. Most significant in the novel is the addition of Toko's likeness to the carved figures. During the carving of the new whare tipuna Toko, who has always been physically weak, dies. Adding Toko's likeness to the carvings, the community reforges itself in his image—as ancient children, new ancestors of future Maori generations.

Throughout Potiki, Grace includes Maori language without translation, usually individual words for objects or concepts which are either generally referred to by Maori words in contemporary New Zealand discourse, or words which are especially difficult to replace with English equivalents. Occasionally, Grace gives parts of dialogues in untranslated Maori. The meanings of these words and short passages are fairly easy to determine from the narrative context. The novel's final moment, therefore, draws considerable attention to itself as an extended passage of untranslated Maori, arranged into lines like a poem. In the penultimate section, written in English, the voice of the whare tipuna speaks through the voice of the deceased potiki, whose likeness has been carved into the whare tipuna's wall. The poetic language here echoes the opening meditation on carving, and its images of people and bones evoke a common pun in Maori on the word iwi, which means both "people" or
"tribe" and "bones." Readers limited to English language may assume that the novel's final lines rendered in untranslated Maori continue this theme:

Ko wai ma nga tekoteko
Ka haere mai?
Ko nga tipuna
O te iwi e.
Ko wai ma nga tangata
Ka whakarongo atu?
Ko te iwi
O tenei whenua.
Ko wai te tamaiti
E noho ai i tera?
Ko ia
Te potiki e.
Ko ia
Te potiki e.
No reira, e kui ma, e koro ma, e hoa ma. Tamariki ma, mokopuna ma--Tena koutou. Tena koutou, tena koutou katoa.
Ka huri.

The passage can be translated into English thus:

Who are the carved figures/ coming here?/ They are the ancestors/ of
the people./ Who are the people/ listening to them?/ They are the people/ of this land.

Who is the child/ residing there?/ He is/ the potiki./ He is/ the potiki. Therefore, elder women, elder men, friends. Children, grandchildren--greetings to you, greetings, greetings to you all./ It turns [meaning that the narrative has finished].

Potiki's final passage raises a number of relevant issues. First, as in the fully bi-lingual texts I discuss in Chapter Two, the presence of untranslated Maori language works as a metonym for the presence of an alternative discourse and an alternative culture to dominate Pakeha discourse and culture in New Zealand. For readers limited to English, the untranslated Maori passage is an inscrutable and exCLUSIVE sign of persistent Maori difference into contemporary times. For bi-lingual readers, the passage locates that difference specifically in Maori spirituality and Maori ceremonial--above all, in the whare tipuna, the ancestral house. The passage's series of questions and answers play on the relationships between ancestral carvings, tribal ancestors, tangata whenua (people of the land), and the "ancient child" as represented in the text in the figure of the potiki. The final lines of the passage follow the protocol of whaikorero, Maori speech-making on the marae, extending greetings to all those gathered together before the ancestor. It seems relevant here to point out that the Maori greeting Tena koutou translates literally into English as "You all are there."

In the context of Potiki, the living Maori community is the ancestor. The measure of the community's success in rebuilding its whare tipuna is the measure of the
community's success at staying alive.

Grace’s compelling narrative makes central to its plot what is only implied in Ihimaera’s early work and what is described peripherally in Hulme’s *The Bone People*. In other words, the centrality of *Potiki*’s major conflict—the destruction and rebuilding of the ancestral house—illuminates the presence and centrality of this same dilemma in the works of Ihimaera and Hulme. Ihimaera’s first two novels present an inverted "before and after" look at a rural Maori community, with the "after" published first. *Tangi* [n., funeral ceremonies; v., to cry in mourning], published in 1973, presents a rather idyllic vision of a Maori village. *Rongopai* [Good News], Waituhi’s painted whare tipuna, is in good condition and the community functions well, performing its obligations during funeral ceremonies for the narrator’s father. The narrative’s central conflict is whether or not Tama, the narrator, who has been away from the village of Waituhi living and working in Wellington, will adjust to his father’s death and his new role as the man of the family. But in this process of coming home and redefining himself, Tama does not have to rebuild the whare tipuna. That work has already been performed for him.

Ihimaera’s second novel, *Whanau* [n., extended family; v., to give birth or to be born], published in 1974, is set chronologically before the events of *Tangi*. Rongopai, the ancestral house, is in disrepair and sits unused by the village. A central story line in the novel relates why the community decided to restore Rongopai. As the narrative winds down, it focuses on the community’s kaumatua, its eldest member, and his young grandson as they attempt to run away when the boy’s family
suggests putting the old man in a home for the elderly located in a city far away from the village of Waituhi. The community, which has been depicted throughout the novel as all but dysfunctional, with many of its members lost to endless drinking, mobilizes as a group to search for the old man. The event of searching for the kaumatua, for the community's last living "ancestor," gives Waituhi's citizens a reason for behaving as a community and as a family. The search ends at Rongopai, the community's neglected whare tipuna, where the kaumatua wishes to die. It is the renewed sense of family, and witnessing the old man's spiritual relationship to the whare tipuna, that prompts the community's resolve to come together to restore their ancestral house. Ihimaera does not describe the actual restoration of Rongopai. That event occurs as the significant interim experience between *Tangi* and *Whanau*, the unwritten textual bridge between Ihimaera's first two novels.

Unlike *Potiki*, both *Tangi* and *Whanau* avoid making issues of overt racism central. It may be relevant to note that Ihimaera's early novels were published at the very beginning of contemporary Maori activism, whereas *Potiki* was published some ten years into the openly political struggle of the Maori renaissance. In *Tangi*, the central conflict is between the narrator and himself; in *Whanau*, between the community and itself. Though the Pakeha world looms at the edges of both novels as temptation and as a potentially destructive force, in neither does it openly encroach on the immediate plot. In *Whanau* the story is related of how an art gallery wanted to transport Waituhi's whare tipuna to Auckland to have it restored and put on display. The gallery's interest in Rongopai as a "historical monument" prompts the community
to see their house in a new light, as important and meaningful. They respond

--No, although we have been embarrassed by our house, it must remain here. And even though some of us have felt ashamed of Rongopai, it is ours. We will restore it ourselves and perhaps it will forgive us (121)

and the gallery leaves them alone with their house. In Potiki, Pakeha seek to destroy Maori artifacts for their exclusive material gain. Here, although Pakeha seek to co-opt a sacred Maori artifact, the effect of their actions is to help prompt the people of Waituhi into preserving and restoring their decayed whare tipuna. Pakeha may not understand the importance of the whare tipuna to the life of the Maori community, but in Ihimaera's early novels the whare tipuna and what it represents does not become the open battlefield in a war between conflicting Maori and Pakeha values.

It is not surprising, then, that when Maori language is used in Ihimaera's early novels, words and phrases are generally translated immediately in the text. When in Tangi a young Tama asks his father, "What is a Maori?" his father answers by listing the names of the seven ancestral canoes in which the Maori migrated to Aotearoa. He then says,

--To manawa, a ratou manawa.

Your heart is also their heart. (49)

Just as the whare tipuna is not a battlefield in Ihimaera's early novels, neither is language. All readers of English, whether or not they understand Maori, are included. Employing the vocabulary of Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin in The Empire
*Writes Back*, we could say Ihimaera uses Maori words and phrases coupled with their immediate translation into English in order to create a Maori English "vernacular," inserting this vernacular into his texts "as a linguistic variant to signify the insertion of the outsider into the discourse" (57).

The act of rebuilding the ancestral house is described in Hulme’s 1984 novel *The Bone People*, but it is described peripherally and after the fact. The whare tipuna makes but a brief appearance late in Hulme’s novel, as the narrative moves toward conclusion. And yet the event of rebuilding the whare tipuna is of paramount spiritual significance to the novel’s protagonist, Kerewin, and to the resolution of the novel’s central conflicts over the construction of viable family and community. It is only after Kerewin rebuilds the whare tipuna on her home marae that she can reclaim her Maoritanga, rebuild her own house, and reunite with both her traditional (blood and/or marriage) family and her new, non-traditional family.

From the beginning, Hulme’s narrative links types of houses with types of identity or modes of being. Kerewin is presented in the opening pages as in many ways fulfilling the ideal of Pakeha individualism: estranged from her family, considering herself "self-fulfilling," and made wealthy through a lottery. With her money Kerewin builds a house embodying that individualism, the Tower, a "hermitage" where she plans to pursue her painting away from all distraction. But the narrative soon transforms Kerewin’s "pinnacle" of individuality into an "abyss," a "prison" that Kerewin cannot tear down, and in which her artistic well soon dries (7). Here lies Kerewin’s and the novel’s central conflict. Though only an eighth Maori by
blood, Kerewin has always felt "all" Maori by "heart, spirit, and inclination"—until now, shut away in her Tower. Now she feels "like the best part of me has got lost in the way I live" (61-62). Kerewin’s problem, the novel suggests in its opening pages, is that she needs people, people to help her tear down the walls she has created (7). Her self-isolation in the Tower has cut her off from a traditional or tribal Maori identity, rooted in family and community, and she feels the loss deeply.

*The Bone People*’s complex narrative is fundamentally a chronicle of Kerewin’s steps toward regaining her Maoritanga. The first step presented in the narrative is Kerewin learning about family through her relationship with Joe, a Maori man who also feels "that the Maoritanga has got lost in the way I live" (62), and Joe’s adopted son Simon. Like Toko in *Potiki*, Simon is a Maui figure, a mysterious mute Pakeha boy Joe found washed up on the beach as a baby. What Kerewin learns from and through Joe and Simon enables her to make the decision, finally, to tear down her Tower. Joe physically helps her with the work. During the process of destruction, Kerewin fashions out of clay a tricephalos, a three-headed bust. Through her art, Kerewin links herself to Joe and Simon, her new, non-traditional family, just as earlier, through her house-building, she cut herself off from her traditional family. She leaves the tricephalos in the pile of debris that was once the Tower, then sets the pile on fire, making for the tricephalos both kiln and pyre. At this point the narrative associates Kerewin with the figure of the phoenix, the tricephalos with the phoenix’s egg (320). Though Kerewin sees herself as soon dying (she has developed a mysterious "disease"), the figure of the phoenix sets her up in the narrative as the one
who will come back, the one who will rise from her own flames refashioned.

The second step presented in the narrative is the journey Kerewin takes alone, after she has become convinced that she will die. The narrative takes Kerewin farther away from her family and her Maoritanga, to the point that Kerewin laments that she has "No marae for beginning or ending. No family to help and salve and save. No-one no-one no-one at all" (411). At this point in the narrative, identity or mode of being again is associated with type of house. Kerewin heads for her family's holiday place in the McKenzie country, a small hut looking as impoverished as Kerewin feels. Here Kerewin faces death but does not die. Confined to bed and delirious, she "discovers" what the tricephalos she fashioned has already made manifest in the narrative, that "Life is lonely./ Foe we all are,/ one apart from the other" (424). It is only now, with the development of Kerewin's understanding, that the narrative introduces a strange "small dark person." This "person" visits the delirious Kerewin in the family hut and seems to effect her healing. The "person" vanishes without telling its name (424-25). Though not specified in the narrative, the context suggests that the "small dark person" is Maori, whether human or a spirit.

Following this event, Kerewin has a dream in which chanting Maori voices call her to a beautiful land, where stands "a wrecked rusting building." Dream and vision are important narrative strategies throughout the novel, often providing the vehicle through which characters connect with their Maori spirituality. In this dream Kerewin "touched the threshold, and the building sprang straight up and rebuilt, and other buildings flowed out of it in a bewildering colonisation" (428). Again the
narrative uses dream to represent Maori spirituality. Deploying the loaded word *colonisation*, the narrative ironically contrasts harmful British colonization with beneficial Maori colonization. It also suggests that Maori rebuilding will have a continuing effect, that is, that rebuilding one Maori building will lead to subsequent Maori rebuildings. When Kerewin thinks over the dream, the narrative reinforces this idea explicitly. The only wrecked buildings Kerewin can think of are her Tower and "the old Maori hall at Moerangi," her home marae. Kerewin realizes she must go to her home marae and rebuild the whare tipuna there before she can rebuild her own house. Through dream and loaded language, the narrative has linked community and self—Kerewin must rebuild the ancestral house in order to rebuild her own identity.

Kerewin travels to her home marae, and when she enters the whare tipuna "a great warmth flows into her. Up from the earth under her feet into the pit of her belly, coursing up like benevolent fire through her breast to the crown of her head" (430). Reminiscent of the phoenix imagery earlier in the narrative, this scene strongly suggests that Kerewin has come full circle back to her lost Maoritanga, to the point where destructive fire can be transformed into benevolent fire. Surprisingly, in this long, richly detailed novel, little space is devoted to the actual event of rebuilding the whare tipuna. Instead, it is related primarily through a journal entry. After the fact, Kerewin writes:

I started rebuilding the Maori hall because it seemed, in my spiral fashion, the straight-forward thing to do. It didn’t take long for curious
locals [to become interested in the project and help] ... it might have been building itself. (431)

The spiral—or koru, curling fern frond shape—is one of the most widely used motifs in traditional Maori carving. Early in Hulme's novel, double spirals are associated, like the phoenix and the tricephalos, with "rebirth" and the "outward-inward nature of things" (45). Here the narrative contrasts a spiral (Maori) way of thinking or approaching a problem with a straight-forward or linear (Pakeha) way of thinking. Rebuilding the ancestral house has a transpersonal (Maori) rather than an individual (Pakeha) effect: as in Ihimaera's novel Whanau, it brings together the community, gives its members common purpose, common pride. When the whare tipuna is repaired, Kerewin writes in her journal that it has "got a heart of people once more" (432). Again the house is associated with a type of identity or mode of being. Kerewin is ready to go home.

The third step the narrative presents is Kerewin rebuilding her own house, the dismantled Tower. This event reunites Kerewin with both her estranged traditional family and with Joe and Simon, her non-traditional family. It also suggests hope for a Maori future. In marked contrast with her original (Pakeha) Tower, Kerewin decides to build a new house with a

shell-shape, a regular spiral of rooms expanding around the decapitated Tower ... privacy, apartness, but all connected and all part of the whole ... studio and hall and church and guesthouse, whatever I choose, but above all else HOME. Home in a larger sense than I've
used the term before. (434)

This is the contemporary Maori identity Kerewin has reforged through the course of the narrative. It is traditional in the sense that family and community remains the focus. But it is modified to meet contemporary needs in the sense that it allows for Pakeha "apartness." When all are gathered in the new spiral, when Kerewin is reunited with family and with Joe and Simon, Maori and initiated Pakeha, the narrative suggests that there will be Maori descendants in some form or another for the future.

*The Bone People* opens with a prologue titled "The End At The Beginning" and closes with the Maori phrase te mutunga--ranei te take (the end--or the beginning). Beginnings are linked to ends, ends to beginnings, pointing up the novel’s plot of reforging identity: what has come before is remade into what is to come, and will continue to be remade. These links reinforce the Maori pun from which the novel’s English title is taken: e nga iwi o nga iwi. Playing on the word *iwi*, which means both "people" and "bones," the pun translates into English as "the bones of the people," or "the people of the bones." In other words, the people who create other people—that is, ancestors. Contemporary Maori become ancestors not by trading Maori identities for Pakeha identities, but by continuously reforging their Maori identities to fit contemporary situations. By the end, Kerewin, Joe, and Simon, who at the novel’s beginning are for various reasons cut off from their Maoritanga, all successfully reconstruct a contemporary Maori identity. Like a spiral, the narrative suggests that Maori identity, embedded in traditions of place and family,
moves forward by looking backward, by keeping its eye on the center, which is the
necessity of staying together. Simon "doesn't know the words for what they are.
Not family, not whanau . . . But we have to stay together. If we are not, we are
nothing. We are broken. We are nothing" (395). By redefining themselves as
together, they become new ancestors.

While the plot of The Bone People does not foreground issues of overt racism
to the degree that Potiki does, in the course of its narrative Hulme's novel does raise
issues of overt racism to a greater degree than Tangi or Whanau. Here the central
conflict is over how individuals are to negotiate tensions between self and community.
Rebuilding the whare tipuna—rebuilding the ancestor and thus the community—is of
utmost importance to Kerewin's spiritual development. However, rebuilding her own
house—rebuilding her personal self—is of utmost importance to the resolution of the
novel's basic conflicts, which take into account the contemporary reality that many
Maori live away from their home marae. Unlike in Grace's or Ihimaera's works, the
protagonists in The Bone People, like many contemporary New Zealand Maori, do
not live on or near their family's or tribe's traditional lands. Emphasis is shifted in
this novel from the whare tipuna on the home marae to Kerewin's house, and the two
are linked, symbolically and spiritually, through Kerewin's dream and through double
rebuilding. Kerewin puts her own house in order by rebuilding it as a spiral. That
is, Kerewin puts her "self" in order by reforging it as modified traditional. In this
way Kerewin successfully mediates between Pakeha and Maori traditions and values,
constructing a successful contemporary Maori self.
It follows that Hulme chooses a narrative tactic of mediating between English and Maori languages. Hulme provides a glossary of English translations for the untranslated Maori words, phrases, and sentences of dialogue she deploys in her narrative. Hulme's strategy of providing a glossary works to maintain the integrity of Maori language in the flow of the narrative, while at the same time providing greater access for readers of English. In effect, Hulme's language use excludes and includes simultaneously.

Unlike many American Indian novels from this period, each of the Maori novels discussed in this section has an unambiguously hopeful ending. The tragedies of these four novels occur in the beginnings and middles of the texts; the endings suggest the potential for a viable contemporary Maori existence, a modified traditional lifestyle which includes Maori language, both Maori and Pakeha education, and modified traditional economies. What is necessary, these novels suggest, and what rebuilding the ancestor through rebuilding the whare tipuna provides, is the integrating spiritual link with the Maori past.

**Whakahoua E Te Tipuna Te Wairua O Te Iwi**
The Ancestor Renews the Spirit of the People

For the purpose of analysis, in the preceding sections I separate the grandparent-grandchild relationship from the return of taonga and from the rebuilding of the ancestral house. The meanings of these emblematic figures for contemporary Maori identity have much in common, however, and they appear in Maori texts
produced after 1970 often in combination. A specific example will make the connections between these figures clear. Apirana Taylor’s powerful poem "Sad Joke on a Marae," included in his first collection of poetry, *Eyes of the Ruru* (1979), stages the scene of instruction as the possibility for personal and cultural renewal. The poem’s speaker, Tu [to be wounded; to stand; to fight], is a young man alienated from his Maori heritage, the "Sad Joke" of the poem’s title. Standing upon an unnamed marae, he encounters the ancestral house, carved with the figures of famous Maori adventurers and warriors. And he encounters, too, the embodiment of his Maori ancestry in the carved tekoteko (figure) standing atop the meeting house’s gable. The only Maori language Tu can offer the house and the ancestors is the formulaic opening for whaikorero (speech-making): "Tihei Mauriora," which recalls a newborn child’s first breath and celebrates new life. Enraged by the situation of the contemporary Maori, in the devastating moment of genealogical recognition the tekoteko offers the alienated and silenced Tu an ancestral taonga, his own carved tongue, and with it a contemporary Maori voice with which to speak Tu’s identity:

Tihei Mauriora I called

Kupe Paikea Te Kooti

Rewi and Te Rauparaha

I saw them

grim death and wooden ghosts

carved on the meeting house wall.
In the only Maori I knew
I called
Tihei Mauriora.
Above me the tekoteko raged.
He ripped his tongue from his mouth
and threw it at my feet.

Then I spoke.
My name is Tu the freezing worker.
Ngati D. B. is my tribe.
The pub is my Marae.
My fist is my taiaha.
Jail is my home.

Tihei Mauriora I cried.
They understood
the tekoteko and the ghosts
though I said nothing but
Tihei Mauriora
for that’s all I knew. (15)

In Maori carving traditions the tongue (arero) of a human figure is often
enlarged and highly stylized. The tongue represents voice and speech, especially if
decorated with spirals to indicate mobility, but it also represents defiance and the claim or celebration of victory in battle. A warrior’s out-thrust tongue (whaatero) instills awe and defies enemies. In carving, the figure’s protruding tongue is also a symbol of protective magic (Barrow 35-36). When the tekoteko offers his tongue to Tu, he offers his ancestral voice and the ancestral warrior tradition, the power of defiance, as protection in contemporary times.

When Tu speaks with this ancestral tongue he follows Maori conventions for formal introduction, listing his name, his tribal affiliation, his home marae, his residence. Tu’s designations—freezing worker (a worker in a slaughterhouse or meat packing plant), D. B. (a brand of New Zealand beer), the pub, jail—describe his alienation from Maori traditions and his sub-status in New Zealand’s dominant Pakeha culture. At this point only the line "My fist is my taiaha" suggests defiance, and this defiance is neither appropriate nor effective. A taiaha is a traditional Maori weapon, a long club or staff in which the lethal fighting end is carved into the shape of a tongue. Alienated from society, Tu has been speaking with his fists. Tu’s formulaic introduction becomes a "sad joke," a narrative cycle of numbing work, hard drinking, inevitable fighting, and incarceration. Given contemporary statistics on Maori conviction and prison rates—although less than 15 percent of the total population, Maori make up nearly half of New Zealand’s prison population—Tu’s is a narrative cycle all too common for young Maori men. Answering Tu’s cries of “Tihei Mauriora,” the ancestral house, its tekoteko and its ghosts, offers Tu an alternative voice. Taylor’s poem thus replaces one defiant tongue--Tu’s inarticulate fists--with
another, equally defiant but more effective tongue—the speaking of the poem itself. The poem articulates with devastating accuracy the contemporary situation of too many Maori youth and locates hope for the Maori future in that youth’s connection to the ancestral Maori past.

**Other Realisms**

He toi whakairo  
He mana tangata.  

Where there is artistic excellence  
There is human dignity.  

--Contemporary Maori proverb

In two compact lines dense with meaning—a beautifully balanced juxtaposition in the Maori original—this contemporary proverb forges a relationship between Maori aesthetic achievement and the Maori’s power or prestige (mana) as a *people.*\(^{18}\)

Strongly associated with the 1984 *Te Maori* exhibit, an unprecedented international showcase of ancestral Maori carving traditions, the proverb asserts a significant moral victory in a context of demographic sub-status and political, economic, and social subordination. And it asserts, as well, a significant challenge to dominant Pakeha, European-derived standards of human value. Moreover, the proverb offers insight into the relationship between any Maori art form and its critical response. When Pakeha critics find contemporary Maori writing lacking "artistic excellence"—as many Pakeha literary scholars have—the implication, whether stated explicitly or not, is that Maori people, too, lack excellence (toi) as defined in European-derived terms.
Representation (whakairo [carving]) becomes a standard of intrinsic value (mana [power, prestige]).

Since 1968, a handful of Pakeha New Zealand literary scholars and professional critics have assessed contemporary Maori writing in English. Overwhelmingly, whether sympathetic or antagonistic toward Maori cultural and political aspirations, these scholars and critics have found the emerging canon of Maori literature to lack serious literary merit. The prevailing view among these critics is that prior genres are less significant and less highly developed than the more recently developed social realist novel. They read Maori literature as too often operating outside the contemporary rules of social realism—or as purposefully eschewing them. From Bill Pearson’s survey of "The Maori and Literature 1938-1965" (1968) to Pearson’s subsequent essay on "Witi Ihimaera and Patricia Grace" (1982) to Ken Arvidson’s more recent review of "Aspects of Contemporary Maori Writing in English" (1991), Pakeha scholars and critics have employed muted praise and often acerbic attacks in an effort to discipline contemporary Maori writing into developing along a recognizably Pakeha literary trajectory. Rather than engage contemporary Maori writing on its own hybrid, bi-cultural, often bilingual and residually oral terms, Pakeha scholars have insisted that works by Maori writers should conform to Pakeha aesthetics and to conventional Pakeha representations of time and space and the "human" condition—that is, to Pakeha understandings of literary realism and symbolism.

Throughout these treatments of Maori literature, the question of audience
poses recurring problems. Who, in fact, do Maori writers see as their primary audience? And, can critics from dominant culture produce adequate critical assessments of a literature written primarily for a minority audience? In his 1982 essay, Pearson confronts these issues in a footnote, explaining that the issue only occurred to him after he had completed his project. In the essay, Pearson characterizes Witi Ihimaera's short story "The Greenstone Patu" (which I discuss above) as "unsuccessful" because of the "perplexing" outcome of the patu's assertion of its rightful ownership, the scene in which the patu appears to swim through water and to call out its name. In his footnote, Pearson recounts that he has recently learned that there is a belief, widely held by older people though not freely revealed, that a greenstone weapon, once it has been prayed over with karakia and curses, can take on occult powers and might move of its own volition and swim through water to return to its owners. (175) Pearson notes further that he has "clearly . . . missed something" in his reading of Ihimaera's story. However, rather than amend his earlier negative assessment, he questions Ihimaera's choice to employ traditional Maori "occult beliefs" in "a western literary tradition." Pearson ends his note by stating that "A further question is raised: whether Mr. Ihimaera, if he wishes to write stories to have their full effect, is wise to address himself only to readers who share his beliefs" (175, emphasis mine). Clearly, for Pearson, in order for Ihimaera's or any Maori writer's stories to "have their full effect" they must be addressed to a Pakeha audience ignorant about Maori traditions.
Pearson’s footnote is curious in light of the fact that Ihimaera had made a public statement about audience several years earlier, as part of a chapter on "The Maori in Literature" that he co-authored with Patricia Grace for *Tihe Mauri Ora: Aspects of Maoritanga* (1978), an important essay collection edited by Michael King. Pearson lists Ihimaera’s statement of artistic purpose in his bibliography, but he does not refer to it directly in his 1982 essay. In contrast to Pearson, Ihimaera argues that New Zealand has not one but "two cultural maps . . . the Maori and the Pakeha," and that all New Zealanders have "a dual cultural heritage" (84). Ihimaera links his literary work to the work of Maori activists—he notes that "others of my people use more forceful methods"—and asserts that his writing is political "because it is exclusively Maori; the criticism of Pakeha society is implicit in the presentation of an exclusively Maori values system" (84). Ihimaera declares that in his work he has been "more concerned with the greatest problem we have—that of retaining our emotional identity—rather than the more individual but also very real social problems some of us face today. My concern is for the roots of our culture . . . ." (84). He argues the importance of cultivating a written Maori literature, since "our own tradition of oral literature is not enough to carry our culture into the future" (85). With these purposes in mind, Ihimaera writes that he prioritizes his audience as, first, young Maori; second, the Pakeha; and third, all New Zealanders.

The trenchant defense of social realism undertaken by Arvidson and the prominent Pakeha New Zealand scholars and critics he draws upon—including Pearson, C. K. Stead, Alex Calder, and Mark Williams—refuses even to engage the
issue of audience for contemporary Maori literature. Arvidson’s essay is also strikingly limited in its understanding and interpretation of the history and contemporary dynamics of "realist" texts in New Zealand (e.g., the work of Janet Frame or Maurice Shadbolt, among others), and certainly in the United States and other English-speaking countries, not to mention non-English "realist" traditions (e.g., Latin American "magic realism"). Ignoring Ihimaera’s and other Maori writers’ statements about the relationship between literature and politics—as well as contemporary theory on this subject—Arvidson denigrates Maori writing as a merely "functional literature" (117). He argues that Maori literature employs "oblique modes" (128)—varieties of genre "that recall the epic and romance traditions among the longer fictions, and the traditions of allegory, parable, and fable in the shorter ones" (120)—in order to meet "political" ends (120). "Maori works of literature," Arvidson asserts, "tend to draw the minds of readers to something external to themselves" (120). Most offensive in Arvidson’s eyes, works by Maori authors have "objectives different from their own perfection" (120).

Arvidson argues that the best of Pakeha writing, in contrast, "aims to achieve nothing more than the exposure of some aspect of the human condition in a specific type of context," in strict accordance with the high standards of social realism (121). Arvidson describes social realism as unaligned with any political agenda, a description which seems unnecessarily naive. Arvidson fails to recognize that all literature, including New Zealand literature written and celebrated by Pakeha, works in its selection of detail and placement of emphasis to legitimate and authenticate particular
values and experiences and modes of representation over others. But the distinction
Arvidson draws between Maori and Pakeha writing has further flaws. Because they
are unable to read allegorical and emblematic elements as part of "a specific type of
context," Arvidson and his Pakeha peers are unable to see that in its own way Maori
literature conforms to this requirement of social realism. In its exposure of what
Ihimaera calls "an exclusively Maori values system," much of contemporary Maori
writing exposes a specific New Zealand context often ignored or distorted in Pakeha
literary works. It is in this way that, whatever the failures of individual works by
Maori authors, Maori writing in general has expanded the horizons of New Zealand
literature. In Arvidson’s critique, however, there appears to be no room for a bi-
cultural New Zealand literature, nor even the possibility for a bi-cultural critical
theory.

As I hope my discussions of specific emblematic figures have made plain,
writing by Maori authors produced since 1970 challenges and critiques Pakeha
colonialist values precisely by challenging the conventional Pakeha representation of
"reality." By representing Maori intellectual, emotional, spiritual, and political
perspectives in their works, and by coding these perspectives in recognizably Maori
forms within English language or primarily English language texts, Maori writing
challenges Pakeha representations of the everyday and the "real" and interrupts
dominant strategies of literary "realism." The "stylistic extremes" of which Arvidson
and other Pakeha critics accuse Maori writers--employing "radical stylistic
heterogeneity" and "mixing genres" such as poetry and prose (126), invoking an
"extreme animism" (121), and creating fiction "that has no significant central action" (127)—work to innovate and interrupt the performance of a national New Zealand present dominated by Pakeha representations and interpretations in much the same way Maori language interrupts the performance of English prose in particular Maori texts. Like language variance or bi-lingualism, stylistic variance injects metonyms of difference into the flow of otherwise recognizable and "ordinary" New Zealand narrative. When strategies of variance are successful, readers are invited—or forced—to reassess basic assumptions about New Zealand and its representations.

Contemporary accounts of the literary realist tradition in the United States describe the theoretical reversals which have seen critics' understandings of "realism" transform from "an objective reflection of contemporary social life" to "a fictional conceit, or deceit, packaging and naturalizing an official version of the ordinary" (Kaplan 1). Arvidson and his cohort of Pakeha critics seem most interested in preserving the "official" Pakeha version of the ordinary in New Zealand. In their criticism, they naturalize realism's formal quality of supposed mimetic accuracy—depicting the world "as it really is"—and divorce realism's conventions from its history as a significant force of disclosure. Realist texts have long served as a literary counterpart to an investigative journalism that uncovers and articulates the political, economic, and social realities of late capitalism. Post-colonial literary and cultural theory helps to reveal the anxiety underlying the desire to naturalize dominant Pakeha versions of the "ordinary" in New Zealand and to divorce realism from its links to activism. In *The Location of Culture* (1994), Homi K. Bhabha writes that "Culture
only emerges as a problem, or a problematic, at the point at which there is a loss of meaning in the contestation and articulation of everyday life, between classes, genders, races, nations" (34). In other words, like Maori acts of political- and ethno-drama, the emergence of contemporary Maori writing and its different aesthetic practices as a significant presence in New Zealand publishing has revealed—and threatened to legitimize—an alternate articulation of "everyday life." And such articulations contest the hegemony of Pakeha representations. In New Zealand's (post)colonial context, it is precisely realism's potential for effectively articulating and encoding "everyday life" that makes Maori realism(s) disruptive.

By means both subtle and overt, Maori realism threatens to disclose indigenous alternatives to dominant representations of New Zealand reality. In contemporary Maori works, "social realism" necessarily relates genealogies and taonga, old treaties and contemporary family relations, political contingency and the spirit world. To borrow Bhabha's phrasing, contemporary Maori writers renew the Maori past by refiguring it as a necessary part of the present (1994:7). Through emblematic figures such as the grandparent-grandchild relationship, the return of taonga, and the rebuilding of the ancestral house, these writers connect the Maori present to the mythic-ancestral Maori past--while looking ahead to a Maori future.

New Zealand anthropologist Anne Salmond has described the "alchemy of taonga" in terms similar to Bhabha's idea of renewing the past and making it an integral part of the present. Salmond writes that taonga possess the capacity to bring about a "collapse of distance in space-time" and thus "a fusion of men and ancestors"
Maori artist and art historian Sidney Moko Mead describes Maori art objects—taonga—as providing "the bridge between the living and the dead." The Maori artist "strives to imbue his work with ihi (power), wehi (fear), and wana (authority)," Mead writes; these qualities give Maori art its "beauty" (1984a:23). An object is aesthetically beautiful, Mead writes, "because it has power (ihi), that is, power to move the viewer to react spontaneously and in a physical way to the work of art" (1984a:24). Since power (ihi) derives from the gods, "an artist is merely a vehicle used by the gods, to express their artistry and their genius" (1984a:25). Similarly, New Zealand historian Judith Binney has demonstrated that in the Maori oral tradition the telling of history involves "a continuous dialectic between the past and the present" (17). Structured around kin, the traditional telling of Maori history is concerned not with mimetic or historic accuracy as understood in the literate West, but rather "with the holding and the transference of mana [power, prestige] by successive generations." History is seen, in other words, as "an extension of mythology" into contemporary times (Binney 18). Like an encounter with taonga, in the Maori oral tradition the telling of history "rests on the perceived conjunction between the past and the present, and between the ancestors and the living" (Binney 26). In fact, one's right to speak in the present often derives from the mana of specific ancestors (Binney 19), and the contemporary narrator may tell history as though he or she participated in significant past events (Binney 24).

Further, in drawing her conclusions Binney states that "The contradictions in
what constitutes history—oral and written—cannot be resolved. We cannot translate other histories into our own. We can merely juxtapose them" (27-28). She points to Witi Ihimaera’s novel *The Matriarch* as a relevant contemporary example of a text that evokes this "powerful conjunction of myth and history" (28). Strategies of radical stylistic heterogeneity—the juxtaposition of literate and residually oral genres, for instance—and the other stylistic "extremes" chastised by Arvidson and other contemporary Pakeha scholars are precisely the strategies available to contemporary Maori writers and activists working in English or primarily in English as a means for translating Maori values, experiences, and aesthetics into literary texts and events of ethno-drama. These "radical" strategies, exemplified in the emblematic figures of the grandparent-grandchild relationship, the return of taonga, and the rebuilding of the ancestor, can be read as literary and dramatic attempts to imbue contemporary New Zealand with traditional Maori ihi (power), wehi (fear), and wana (authority). Pakeha critics are disturbed because these strategies contest European-derived constructions of literary aesthetics and everyday reality, and because these strategies articulate Maori alternatives to both—*in English and in hybridized English forms*.

It is precisely these "radical" strategies of stylistic and linguistic heterogeneity which allow contemporary Maori literature to speak, perhaps to a far greater degree than New Zealand literature generally, across diverse cultural terrains to readers constructing personal and communal identities under other situations of continuing colonization. Homi K. Bhabha makes a similar point in *The Location of Culture*: "Where, once, the transmission of national traditions was the major theme of world
literature, perhaps we can now suggest that transnational histories of migrants, the colonized, or political refugees--these border and frontier conditions--may be the terrains of world literature" (12). Indeed, the recognition of connections between disparate peoples living and producing texts under similar (post)colonial political, economic, and social conditions has motivated a burgeoning field of post-colonial studies in the academy and a burgeoning market for "world literature" in the United States and abroad. And as exemplified by the creation of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples in 1975, the recognition of such connections has also motivated the creation of Fourth World political and cultural alliances.
Notes

1. Maori poet and scholar Hirini Melbourne makes the similar point that "The ancient Maori were surrounded by writing in their daily life: the carvings on posts and houses, the marks on cloaks, the very architecture of the great meeting houses. The fact that texts--compositions, speeches, ritual replies, and so forth--were memorized, not written down, does not mean that the ancient Maori inhabited a world from which writing was absent" (132). See Melbourne's "Whare Whakairo: Maori 'Literary' Traditions."

2. Qtd. in Ranginui J. Walker, comp., *Land March Newsletters* (Auckland University, 1980).

3. Earlier, in 1971, Nga Tamatoa had warned the government "that unless the Treaty was ratified the Maori would declare Waitangi a day of mourning" (Walker 1989:276). In 1973 the Treaty remained unratified and Parliament changed the February 6 holiday's official name from Waitangi Day to New Zealand Day, prompting the protest action (Walker 1990:211). Although the Treaty remains unratified, the holiday’s original name has been restored.


5. *Te Hokioi* took its name from the first independent Maori newspaper, out of Waikato, established in 1862.
6. Whina Cooper, now deceased, received knighthood in 1981 and is often referred to as Dame Whina Cooper. A group of Maori protestors, feeling Cooper had "sold out," attempted to stop her investure ceremony.

7. In contemporary Maori discourse, Nanny is a term of endearment for a grandparent of either sex.

8. After 1769, when Captain James Cook and the crews of his ships first landed in New Zealand, dysentery, sexually transmitted diseases, tuberculosis, influenza, whooping cough, and other European diseases were introduced into the Maori population, increasing Maori death rates and decreasing Maori fertility. In addition, by the 1820s, muskets were introduced widely into Maori society, inciting the so-called "Musket Wars," in which newly and suddenly more powerfully armed Maori groups sought revenge against traditional Maori enemies. New Zealand historians and health experts believe the Maori population was cut in half by 1850. In the 1860s, in addition to Maori deaths resulting from a series of regional "Land Wars" fought against the British, regional epidemics of typhoid, measles, whooping cough, and influenza claimed more Maori lives. At the close of the nineteenth century the Maori population hit a low point of an estimated 42,000.

9. Political scientists locate the beginnings of international indigenous minority events of political activism in these early Maori attempts to gain audiences with the Queen of
England. See Wilmer 211.

10. Over time, in its official reports the Waitangi Tribunal has developed a number of principles for interpreting the Treaty. These "relevant principles" include that the Tribunal should "treat neither text as superior but . . . give considerable weight to the much more numerous signed Maori version (this was supported by the American Supreme Court's 'indulgent rule' by which treaties with indigenous peoples should be construed in the sense in which these people would have understood them)" and that the Tribunal should "apply the 'contra proferentum rule' by which ambiguities should be construed against the party framing the provision in question" (Oliver 78).

11. Ihimaera's description of the patu pounamu swimming through water also draws on a Maori tradition that certain, spiritually powerful objects of carved greenstone possess the ability to travel through water of their own volition.


13. Rongopai is an actual meeting house, located in the village of Waituhi on the North Island’s east coast, Witi Ihimaera’s family home. Built in 1887 in anticipation of a visit to the east coast by the Maori prophet and rebel leader Te Kooti, Rongopai is one of a number of meeting houses built after 1870 that include figurative paintings in their decorations in place of traditional carvings of ancestors. Rongopai remains one of the
best examples of what is considered the "second phase" of Maori figurative painting, which began about 1885. The strangeness of the house's paintings rendered the house tapu (restricted) until 1963, with the result that no one was allowed to alter any of the paintings. Since the lifting of the tapu, many of Rongopai's deteriorating paintings have been restored. See Roger Neich's discussion of Rongopai in his *Painted Histories: Early Maori Figurative Painting* (Auckland: Auckland UP, 1993).

14. Though far more elaborately developed, the plot of Ihimaera's novel *Tangi* is reminiscent of the plot of J. H. Moffatt's short story "The Homecoming," published in issue 56 of *Te Ao Hou* (September 1966), which I discuss at the end of Chapter Two.

15. This aspect of *Whanau* can be read as a reworking of the plot of Ihimeara's short story "The Whale," which I discuss above.

16. Literally, tihei mauriora translates as "the sneeze of life." In English, we tend to refer to this "sneeze" as a baby's first cry.

17. In addition, the New Zealand Department of Statistics reports that "In 1990, 6% of Maori men aged 20 to 24 were received into prison under sentence, compared to 0.7% of the equivalent non-Maori population. Among women aged 20 to 24 years, 8% of Maori were received into prison under sentence, compared with 5% of non-Maori." See *Facts New Zealand* (124).
18. Quoted in Piri Sciascia, "Ka Pu Te Ruha, Ka Hao Te Rangatahi: As the Old Net Piles up on Shore, The New Net Goes Fishing" (160).

CHAPTER FOUR

Indian Truth:

Debating Indigenous Identity After Indians In The War

That whole generation in particular, those young men who came of age about the time of the Second World War, they were terribly... they were jolted by that experience and a lot of them didn't come out of it at all.

--N. Scott Momaday

In the autumn of 1945, two publications appeared that anticipate the complex dynamics of the post-World War II public and congressional debates over the meanings of contemporary American Indian identity and over the parameters of contemporary American Indian rights. In November 1945, the Office of Indian Affairs released its memorial pamphlet Indians In The War. Supervised by the poet John G. Neihardt, who had become the Office of Indian Affairs' director of information, this fifty-four page pamphlet commemorates the remarkable—and often unique—contributions of American Indians to the War effort. In addition to providing an official honor roll of American Indian servicemen who received Awards for Valor, the pamphlet presents a series of both new and reprinted articles that detail the extensive range of American Indian service at home and abroad. Titles such as "Honor for Indian Heroism," "Ceremonial Dances in the Pacific," "A Choctaw Leads the Guerrillas," "Navajo Code Talkers," "Indians Fought on Iwo Jima," "Indians
Work for the Navy," "Indian Women Work for Victory," and "A Family of Braves" indicate the pamphlet's wide scope of interest and its attempt to balance depictions of American Indian assimilation during the War with depictions of an enduring American Indian cultural distinctiveness. Black and white photographs accompany these short articles. Readers are shown uniformed American Indian men and women in action, their families aiding the war effort back home, and, to accompany the article titled "Ceremonial Dances in the Pacific," Indian Marines dressed in improvised ceremonial costume—including "colored cloth," "paint," "chicken feathers, sea shells, coconuts, empty ration cans and rifle cartridges"—chanting and dancing for U.S. victory on a beach in the Solomon Islands.

The pamphlet's centerpiece is a substantial (although incomplete) list of American Indian soldiers, sailors, and airmen who lost their lives in battle. Pages 16 through 24 commemorate these nearly five hundred honored dead, whose names are arranged by state of origin and are accompanied by tribal affiliation and place of death (if known). Twenty-seven photographs create a border for the list of names; in each portrait a young serviceman, wearing starched dress blues or greens, confidently smiles for the camera and for his country. Following the same format, pages 30 through 41 list American Indian men wounded in action and feature an additional thirty-six portraits.

The cover of Indians In The War links the pamphlet's project of commemoration to classic images of nineteenth-century American Indians. Captioned "Burial Of A Brave," the cover's striking illustration depicts a scaffold burial in a
southwestern landscape. In the illustration's foreground, a living Indian "brave," wearing breach cloth and flowing headdress, stands slightly to the left of the burial platform. His bow poised to shoot, the brave aims his arrow at the head of a paint pony that stands directly beneath the scaffolding. Readers may presume that this pony belonged to the fallen warrior; the pony will be sacrificed on behalf of the dead brave as a companion and as a mount for the spirit world. Other spotted horses, one ridden by a blanketed, grieving Indian, stand reverently to the right in the illustration's middle distance, between the foregrounded scaffold and the striped mesa in the background; buzzards circle in the clear sky above. The illustration invites readers to locate the commemoration of contemporary Indian "braves" in an older tradition of mourning—and in a familiar tradition of popular representation.3

In August 1945, The Reader's Digest—a popular monthly promising "An article a day of enduring significance"—published an essay titled "Set the American Indians Free!" Written by O. K. Armstrong, a free-lance writer and regular contributor to the Digest in the 1940s, the article caught the attention—and drew the condemnation—of the American Association on Indian Affairs and other "friends of the Indians" organizations.4 Armstrong's six-page article is accompanied by a single, provocative illustration. This small, boxed line-drawing is set just below center in the middle of the article's first page. A head and shoulders portrait of a uniformed American (presumably Indian) soldier—composed similarly to the photographed portraits featured in Indians In The War—dominates the drawing's foreground. Especially prominent is the soldier's dress saucer hat with its eagle insignia. The soldier's facial features are
highly anglicized; his gaze into the distance—and, we may presume, the future—is serious and steady. Shadowing gives the portrait three-dimensional depth.

Juxtaposed behind the portrait of the contemporary soldier looms the ghostly, two-dimensional outline of a plains Indian warrior in profile, complete with stereotypically prominent nose, lined skin, and feathered headdress. The illustration's implications are clear: today's celebrated American warrior has superseded his memorialized Indian ancestor.

In the text, Armstrong argues that American Indian servicemen returning from the War "demand full rights of citizenship" for themselves and for their communities, including reservation communities (47). Armstrong's language is highly charged, his argument couched in the rhetoric of Indian "emancipation" and Indian "freedom."

"Why aren't the Indians free?" Armstrong asks. He answers, "The policy of segregation and special treatment is deeply rooted in the past" (48). Even in 1945, Armstrong's specific points would have sounded familiar to many Digest readers: current federal Indian policies remain unnecessarily paternalistic, breeding dependency and isolation in Indian individuals and Indian communities rather than the desired independence and assimilation; the cost of maintaining Indians as permanent "wards" of the government continues to rise, reaching unsustainable levels; Indians do not have full access to reservation lands (i.e., they cannot freely sell tribal lands to non-Indians); and, moreover, the Indians possess "more acres by far than they ever use" (50). What is perhaps new in Armstrong's version of the perennial argument for releasing American Indians from their federally-defined "Indian" status is how it
employs the celebration of American Indians' recent experiences in World War II as powerful evidence of their need--and of their readiness--for "emancipation."

Read together, Indians In The War and "Set the American Indians Free!" suggest two strong poles that would pull at Indians and non-Indians alike during the heated debates over American Indian policy that took place after 1945. Indians In The War is a compelling and comfortable document for dominant American audiences--as well as for some American Indian audiences--because it foregrounds cherished images of American Indians as fallen warriors. Like popular accounts of nineteenth-century Indians nobly slain on the battlefields of the American plains, Indians In The War memorializes contemporary servicemen for fulfilling what is perceived as their particular cultural destiny, for serving instinctive calls to honor and to martyrdom that mark Indians as racially or culturally distinctive but that ultimately serve dominant culture's desired ends. In this sense, Indians In The War can be read as a subtle, perhaps final statement of John Collier's cultural philosophy and of the policies he supervised under the so-called Indian New Deal during his tenure as Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1933 to 1945. Both Collier's personal philosophy and the official policies he implemented emphasized developing Indian economies and Indian civil rights by preserving American Indian cultures and by supporting the development of separate American Indian identities on the reservations. As is well documented, Collier's opponents accused him of romanticizing Indians and the Indian past and of holding back contemporary Indians' "progress." Under the pressure of such criticisms of himself and of the Indian Reorganization Act he had successfully lobbied
Congress to pass in 1934, Collier resigned from his post as Commissioner of Indian Affairs in January 1945. His romantic ideals and his philosophy of cultural pluralism, however, would not be so easily ousted.

Like Indians In The War, "Set the American Indians Free!" was also compelling reading for dominant American audiences—and, given Armstrong’s citations of support for his ideas from Indian servicemen and from Indian political leaders, compelling reading as well for certain American Indian audiences—though for reasons quite opposite. "Set the American Indians Free!" holds up American Indians’ record of outstanding contemporary military service not as evidence of American Indian racial or cultural distinctiveness but rather as evidence of American Indians’ basic similarity to other patriotic American citizens. Armstrong’s rhetoric of "emancipation," with its intentional echo of Lincoln’s 1863 Emancipation Proclamation for African-American slaves and its highly emotional appeal to Americans’ ideals of civil equality, would soon be heard in congressional debates—and public battles—over the institution of already proposed federal termination and relocation policies designed to promote Indian integration into mainstream American life.

This chapter examines how American Indian writers and activists worked within the discursive space between these ideological poles and how they developed their own paradigms for contemporary American Indian identities in the first two decades after America’s entry into World War II. What is striking about the major works produced by American Indian writers from the War years into the early-1960s
is that, like *Indians In The War*, they all celebrate idealized representations of the American Indian past. And, like "Set the American Indians Free!", they all argue for the universality of American Indian experience as human experience—and often as quintessentially "American" experience—in a specific context. The non-fiction work of Ruth Muskrat Bronson (Cherokee), the non-fiction and fictional works of Ella Cara Deloria (Sioux) and D'Arcy McNickle (Cree/Salish), and the activist writing produced by the 1961 American Indian Chicago Conference confront what is seen as the inevitability of American Indian assimilation into mainstream American life by attempting to balance representations of a distinctive American Indian past with arguments for a basic similarity between American Indians and other American citizens. The works differ in the degrees to which they argue that American Indians can maintain distinctively indigenous identities and ties to specific indigenous cultures. And they differ in the strategies their authors employ to evoke American Indian identities as indigenous identities in a rapidly changing post-War American context.

**Protecting *Ne-he-mah* in the War of the Whites**

Through[out] the Solomons, in the Marianas, at Peleliu, Iwo Jima, and almost every island where Marines have stormed ashore in this war, the Japanese have heard a strange language gurgling through the earphones of their radio listening sets—a voice code which defies decoding.

--Sgt. Murray Marder, "Navajo Code Talkers"

In the 1990s, scholars of American history are finally recognizing just how
significantly World War II affected the lives of American Indian individuals and American Indian communities. Historian Alison Bernstein, for instance, argues in her 1991 study *American Indians and World War II* that "World War II had a more profound and lasting effect on the course of Indian affairs in this century than any other single event or period, including the first Roosevelt administration or the Eisenhower era" (xi). It is important to note that, while innovative among non-Indian historians, Bernstein's conclusion is not new to American Indian leaders and scholars. As early as 1944, Ella Deloria wrote in *Speaking Of Indians*, "The war has indeed wrought an overnight change in the outlook, horizon, and even the habits of the Indian people—a change that might not have come about for many years yet. For weal or woe, the former reservation life has been altered radically" (94). Bernstein focuses her more recent study on the period from 1940 to 1953, with special emphasis on the War years themselves; her discoveries in military, federal, and civilian archives, which corroborate and amplify Deloria's earlier observations made from the ground, provide an essential context for the present chapter.

Bernstein points out that Collier's critics in 1940 were correct on at least one count. Like much of the public, Collier had over-estimated the level of economically viable resources available to Indians on the reservations, especially lands suitable for large-scale agriculture and grazing (10). The Indian population had increased by 10.9 percent in the decade between 1930 and 1940, reaching an estimated total of 345,252. Bernstein notes that at this level "Indians simply did not have sufficient arable lands upon which to build a stable economy for their current population, let
alone future generations" (13). Although more Indians were paid salaries by the federal government than ever before, through programs like the Indian Division of the Civilian Conservation Corps (which Collier established in 1933 and which involved some 77,000 Indians) and by the Bureau of Indian Affairs itself (which by 1940 employed over 4,000 Indians), the median income for all Indian men living on reservations was still only $500 a year, compared to a median income of $2,300 a year for all men living in the United States (Bernstein 15, 16). In addition to their low and even desperate economic status, in 1940 American Indians often still did not enjoy full access to American political and legal systems. Several states, including Arizona and New Mexico with their substantial Indian populations, refused to allow American Indians to vote. And all American Indians were forced to request special permission from the federal government in order to grieve claims of treaty violations in American courts (Bernstein 19).

By 1945 and the end of World War II, Bernstein demonstrates, "Indians were part of the American political process, their economic, social, and cultural status irrevocably altered by the conflict" (21). An estimated 25,000 American Indian men --or more than one-third of all eligible Indian men between the ages of 18 and 50--saw active duty in American fighting forces during the War: 21,767 in the Army, 1,910 in the Navy, 874 in the Marines, and 121 in the Coast Guard. In addition, over eight hundred Indian women served alongside their men as nurses or in the military's women's auxiliary branches (Bernstein 40, 73). Other Indian and Eskimo women joined the Red Cross or the American Women's Voluntary Service, or worked
in their local communities to produce necessary provisions for American troops or to raise money for the war effort (Indians In The War 49). Although there were isolated cases of Indian resistance to the draft on grounds of citizenship or treaty disputes, Indians overwhelmingly volunteered for military service. Bernstein notes that "one and one-half times as many [Indian] men enlisted as were drafted" (42). As has been both celebrated and lamented in the decades since, American Indians responded to the contemporary call to arms in numbers far disproportionate to their percentage of the general population.

In addition to volunteering for active military service, an estimated 40,000 Indian men and women willingly joined the industrial and agricultural war effort. "One half of the able-bodied men who had not entered the military and one-fifth of the women" left their reservation homes to find work in war factories located in cities like Los Angeles, Tulsa, Denver, and Albuquerque, or to work in shipyards, railroad gangs, coal and copper mines, sawmills, farming enterprises, and canneries around the country (Bernstein 67-71). Quite suddenly, formerly isolated American Indians were an active part of mainstream American life and were able to purchase, most for the first time, the tangible signs of that life. Despite the fact that the Indian Service's budget was cut by $5 million each year during the War, the number of relief cases on the reservations declined by 50 percent, the average Indian's yearly income increased to $2,500, and economists concluded that "the income of individual Indian families tripled as a result of off-reservation work" (Bernstein 60, 66, 74, 76). Both military and civilian industrial life provided Indians with unprecedented steady jobs, money,
and status. It also gave many a tempting taste for life away from the reservations. By 1950, nearly 25 percent of all Indians would live in urban areas, up from less than 5 percent in 1940 (Bernstein 86).

During the years of the War and these dramatic demographic shifts, a remarkable thing happened to the representation of American Indians: the persistent nineteenth-century image of Indians as "warriors" and "savages" was transformed into an irresistibly positive image of American Indian "fighting men." Like other Americans, Indians responded to the bombing of Pearl Harbor and Congress's declaration of war in December 1941 with emotional intensity, evidenced by the fact that nearly 10,000 Indians had already registered for the draft by the winter of 1942 (Bernstein 39). Moreover, Indian tribes offered to sell, loan, or give the federal government large tracts of land and other resources to support the war effort. By 1945, individual Indians had purchased over $50 million in war bonds and war stamps (Bernstein 70). These contributions—all the more newsworthy because the American Indian population was relatively small—did not go unnoticed by the media. In the journal *Indians At Work*, which John Collier had begun in 1934 as a propaganda tool "for Indians and the Indian Service," stories about Indian participation in the war effort became central. In the December 1941 issue, Collier warned Indian readers that "success of Hitler's plans for the Western Hemisphere would doom Indians to slavery or extinction" (3). Stories recounting Indian valor in World War I soon followed, as did stories detailing the numbers of Indians volunteering to fight Hitler and his genocidal racism in the present conflict. Collier reprinted newspaper articles
that declared "War seems the natural business of the Indian" and "Indian War History Repeats Itself" (March 1942). In his editorials, Collier argued that "Red Indians" have "a peculiarly deep devotion to democracy" (April 1942:1).

Further, unlike African-Americans, who served in World War II in segregated military units, Indians were integrated with White soldiers, sailors, and airmen; often only a single Indian served in his particular unit. Although the Army did not distinguish between Indian and White service in its records, Indian soldiers attracted disproportionate attention from reporters, and their particular accomplishments often became feature stories in the mainstream press (Bernstein 44). Indian participation in World War II is perhaps best remembered today, for instance, in the figure of Ira Hayes, a Pima from Arizona, who served as a Marine paratrooper and who helped raise the American flag on the summit of Mount Suribachi during a fierce battle on Iwo Jima. An image of Hayes helping to raise the flag was captured in a photograph that quickly became--and continues to serve as--an icon not only of American Indian participation and victory in the War, but of all American participation and victory in the War--despite Hayes' own tragic life and early death after returning home to a still highly segregated Arizona.

The other figure celebrated right after the War and still commonly associated with American Indian participation in World War II is the Navajo Code Talker. Although a small number of Indians from other tribal groups were engaged in code and communications work for the Army, more than 400 Navajos served as code talkers with the Marines. These men soon became ready icons of American Indians'
unique contributions to the war effort. *Indians In The War*, for instance, reprints a three-page article on the code talkers written by Sergeant Murrey Marder, a Marine Corps Combat Correspondent. Marder's article rehearses the history of how the code talkers were formed and trained as a special unit and then lists their impressive accomplishments in the War. With a specially devised Navajo dictionary of military terms, the code talkers were able to send messages quickly and efficiently without fear of enemy decoding. "America," for example, was designated *Ne-he-mah*, "our mother," in the Navajo military lexicon (Bernstein 49).

With obvious fascination for the exotic but with no sense of irony, Marder notes matter-of-factly that Navajo "is one of the world's 'hidden' languages," and that when Navajos were brought into the Marine Corps "it was estimated that not more than 28 other persons . . . could speak Navajo fluently" (25). In a move that is both anti-European and anti-intellectual, Marder then aligns the European study of indigenous American languages in the years before the War with the horrific science performed by Germans during the War. Marder states that the Marines chose Navajo over other Indian languages because "Navajos were the only Indian group in the United States not infested with German students during the 20 years prior to 1941, when the Germans had been studying tribal dialects under the guise of art students, anthropologists, etc." (25). Thus aligned, American Indian languages become unwitting victims of a sinister, anti-American force; Navajo remains distinguished as the one language resilient against German infestation. Other journalists transformed representations of American Indian warriors into an *American* fighting tradition.
Marder transforms one of the American Indian languages— all of which were viewed prior to the War as impediments to Indian assimilation—into a secret American weapon.

Despite these pervasive public images of noble Indians fighting—and dying—to advance America’s cause, Indians themselves were of diverse opinions about what it meant to fight the White Man’s War. As mentioned above, before the United States actually entered the War, some Indian individuals and groups fought the imposition of a military draft on the grounds that treaties guaranteed their status as separate nations. When Indian servicemen began to return from the fighting overseas, some elders back on the reservations worried that these young men had become "new culture bearers, the transformers and challengers of the ways of the past" (Bernstein 62-63). In a series of studies, for example, anthropologists Evon Vogt and John Adair documented the ways returning veterans brought "changing values" home with them from the War and the effects these values had on traditional Navajo and Zuni communities.11

In 1946, the South Dakota Historical Collections published a long poem about Indian participation in the War written by William A. Riegert, a Chippewa educated at the Haskell Institute, one of the BIA’s vocational boarding schools located in Lawrence, Kansas. In 1946 Riegert served as Senior Clerk at the Red Lake Agency in Minnesota. Bernstein, a historian, quotes two lines from Riegert’s poem as evidence of Indian integration into fellowship with Whites during the War and as evidence that Indian and White soldiers "came to accept one another as equals and friends" (Bernstein 58). The lines Bernstein quotes are these: "We bind each other’s
wounds and eat the same ration./ We dream of our loved ones in the same nation." It is true that Riegert’s full poem does celebrate Indian participation in the War effort. However, the poem’s rather pointed title, "What Are We, 'The American Indian,' Fighting For?" (which Bernstein does not include in her chapter and misquotes in her footnote), suggests Riegert’s larger themes of lamentation over dominant culture’s history of violent discrimination against Indians before the War and over dominant culture’s continued indifference to American Indians’ calls for "the same freedom" enjoyed by Whites. Riegert’s full poem complicates any simple understanding of Indian heroism, loyalty, or integration during the War:

WHAT ARE WE, "THE AMERICAN INDIAN,"
FIGHTING FOR?

To secure THEE forever, in our isolation and decay

To make of us only common clay

To mould at thy will, then cast and despise.

To mould again and again, and then our demise.

Or, to live for Eternity and the will to be free.

To live in peace with God and thee?

Did you not land on our shores—seeking freedom and peace, 

Did we not succor you from famine and disease,

Did you not live and repay us with greed,

Did you not constitute, excluding Indians in your Deed,

Did you not entreaty and break at your will,
Did you think of your past and go on to your fill?

AMERICA, WE CHERISH AND LOVE YOU,

OUR NATIVE LAND

Where honorably we surrendered, each Tribe and Band:

Tecumseh and Sitting Bull, many others you recall

Fought YOU, the aggressor, till they did fall.

But not in vain, God Forbade, till time presents this thought

Remember Tinker and Waldron, how, and for whom they fought.

And thousands of others have filled your ranks,

Shoulder to shoulder are no braver Yanks.

What are we fighting for around the world,

It is the Stars and Stripes forever unfurled,

It is Italy, France, Russia, China and England’s future.

Are we any less than they, because of our nature?

We are now a Smith, a Jones, or Takes Him Standing,

Like your Smiths and Jones on some foreign landing.

We bind each other’s wounds and eat the same ration.

We dream of our loved ones in the same nation.

Cannot our rights be equal, in peace as in war,

What more can you ask, that we would be fighting for?

How many wars then, by your side must we fight,

How long must you ponder to see our right,
When will your handclasp be firm and secure.

When will your voice call, to reassure

The right to live, the same freedom for all

The RIGHT of our BIRTHPLACE. When-Will-You-Call? (26-27)

The South Dakota Historical Collections notes that Riegert’s poem was read aloud before the Pierre, South Dakota, Kiwanis Club in October 1945 by Luke Two-Tails Gilbert, a Cheyenne River Sioux who had been elected Chairman of the Black Hills Sioux Nation Council in 1940 and who was in 1945 also serving as a member of the Executive Board of the National Congress of American Indians (an organization that I discuss below). These details suggest that Riegert’s work was well known among contemporary American Indian leaders and that Riegert’s point of view was actively endorsed by at least some of them. One can only imagine the impact a reading of “What Are We, ‘The American Indians,’ Fighting For?” by Mr. Two-Tails Gilbert might have had on the assembled Pierre Kiwanis.

In a tone of controlled anger, in thirty-seven balanced lines Riegert attempts to answer the complex question of his poem’s title. The poem juxtaposes a concise summary of the social and economic conditions faced by American Indians in the early 1940s—in which many Indians feel they are treated as mere "clay" to be molded by the changing fancy of a dominant government—with a condensed version of American Indians’ significant contact history and with an impassioned description of American Indian participation in World War II. Along the way, the poem poses a number of pointed questions and asks readers to compare the American ideals of
"freedom and peace" inscribed in the Constitution and forged in Indian treaties with the realities of the contemporary American nation. Dividing the poem is a powerful exclamation, set off in capital letters, that asserts American Indian indigeneity to the American soil: "AMERICA, WE CHERISH AND LOVE YOU,/ OUR NATIVE LAND." This exclamation is repeated in the poem's final line, which argues that American Indians claim "freedom" from "isolation and decay" not as a right given them by White charity, but as a birthright guaranteed them by indigenous status. The poem insists that American Indians fought in past wars against intruding Whites and continue to fight in the present war alongside White fellow Americans for the same reason. Not, as both Indians In The War and "Set the American Indians Free!" would have it, for the fulfillment of dominant American goals. Rather, American Indians are fighting for their "NATIVE LAND" and the "RIGHT" of their "BIRTHPLACE."

In Riegert's poem, indigeneity, not assimilation, is the compelling call to arms.

Like Riegert, other educated Indians saw positive portrayals of American Indian participation in the War as an opening for American Indian public relations efforts and for at least some degree of American Indian activism. In 1944, eighty Indians from more than fifty tribes met in Denver, Colorado, to form the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI). Their number included D'Arcy McNickle, who had worked under John Collier in the Bureau of Indian Affairs since 1936, other BIA employees, tribal council members like Luke Two-Tails Gilbert, religious leaders, and a wide range of Indian professionals. By any accounting, these men were not a "radical" group. Their primary goal was to present a unified American
Indian voice to the American public and to the American federal government in order to lobby for treaty rights on behalf of tribal groups and in order to lobby for the full rights of American citizenship on behalf of Indian individuals. Soon after forming in Denver, the NCAI appointed Ruth Muskrat Bronson, a college graduate who had been working for the Indian Service since 1925, as their executive secretary. She set up an office in Washington, DC, in order to lobby for the NCAI’s causes on Capitol Hill. One of the NCAI’s early projects was to petition Congress to create an Indian Claims Commission, which it did in 1946. The NCAI actively lobbied for the concerns of American Indian veterans, and also asked politicians to apply pressure to the states of Arizona and New Mexico to allow Indians to vote. Above all, the NCAI promoted the ideal of obtaining Indian consent before forcing government policies upon either individuals or tribes. As Bernstein points out, the NCAI "argued that Indians, unlike any other minority group, had a dual identity and dual relationship with white society" (127). Early articulations of the NCAI’s compelling argument for a dual American Indian identity—as well as the contradictions inherent in that argument—can be found in the War-era work of Ruth Muskrat Bronson and Ella Cara Deloria. These articulations have had a continuing influence on contemporary conceptions of American Indian indigenous identity.

**Causing the Ghosts to Linger, But Not Stay:**
**Toward a Directed Self-Determination**

I am an Indian, living in the present now, but I carry the burden and the responsibility of those distant years. So do you, whether you are Indian
or white. The Indian cannot be understood separated from his past, for what has happened to him over the centuries has had its large share in molding the character that is his today.

--Ruth Muskrat Bronson, *Indians Are People, Too*

Nobody knows and appreciates the fact more than Indians themselves that there were splendid disciplines in the old culture to sustain and strengthen its people. But we have to be realistic enough to admit that, in an alien setting, and increasingly as time goes on, those disciplines lose their force.

--Ella Cara Deloria, *Speaking of Indians*

Two American Indian women stand out as important writers and activists during the years of the War and its immediate aftermath, Ruth Muskrat Bronson (Cherokee) and Ella Cara Deloria (Sioux). Each woman worked not only for the betterment of her own particular Indian community but also for the advancement of Indian peoples generally. And each used her writing and public speaking abilities to promote a better understanding of Indians and of the contemporary Indian situation among the White public and among the predominantly White U.S. federal government. For the early and mid-1940s, both Bronson and Deloria can be considered politically and socially "progressive," and each was aligned with Christian, activist, governmental, and/or academic institutions dedicated to preserving (at least some) American Indian traditions and to promoting American Indian social, legal, and political equality. As Collier had discovered in the previous decade, these goals—the preservation of Indian traditions and the promotion of Indian equality—were often
viewed as at odds with each other by the American public, by America's political leaders, and by some American Indians. Developing a persuasive argument for balancing tradition with the contemporary "prileges" and "responsibilities" of civil equality was no easy task. Given this context, as well as the context of the War, which had diverted both resources and public interest away from Indian Affairs, it is no surprise that Bronson's and Deloria's major works from this period invoke aspects of the American Indian past in order to promote a limited or directed self-determination for American Indian individuals and communities in the present.

Bronson's non-fiction work *Indians Are People, Too* and Deloria's non-fiction work *Speaking of Indians*, both published in 1944, argue that, like other Americans, Indians should have the right to choose the way of life that works best for them—within certain bounds. For Bronson and Deloria, the boundaries for Indian self-determination are drawn widely but clearly: Indians must build contemporary indigenous lives within the ideals of Christian morality and within the ideals of an unselfish American citizenship. Only those aspects from the indigenous past that represent the "seeds" of these modern ideals need be saved. This particular strategy for defining contemporary indigenous identity was employed not only by American Indian writers and activists (including the NCAI), but, importantly, also by the "friends of the Indians." Christian, governmental, and academic institutions that supported their efforts. Deloria attempts to represent this overdetermined relationship between contemporary Christian ideals and their indigenous cognates in her fictional work as well. But in several key passages, her historical novel *Waterlily*, which
Deloria began in 1942 and completed by 1948 (although the novel was not published until 1988), fails to connect the indigenous past to the Christian present. These scenes raise the possibility that non- or pre-Christian aspects of indigenous culture might endure into the present. And they suggest the possibility of reading Deloria's narrative as a more disruptive, activist text than either her own or Bronson's non-fiction efforts.

In her youth, Ruth Muskrat Bronson aligned herself with Protestant Christian organizations that ministered to American Indians. While attending the University of Kansas, for example, Bronson worked as a student counselor at the Methodist Home for Indian Girls in Lawrence. She joined the federal Indian Service in 1925 after completing her degree at Mount Holyoke College. Her long career with the Office of Indian Affairs included work as an English teacher at the Haskell Institute, also located in Lawrence, Kansas, and as student Guidance Officer for the entire Indian Service. Bronson also worked in the area of Indian health education for the Public Health Service. By the mid-1940s, when *Indians Are People, Too* appeared, she had aligned herself with the Indian Rights Association, one of the best known "friends of the Indians" organizations, accepting a position on the Association's Board of Directors and becoming their Washington Correspondent. Founded in 1882, the Philadelphia-based Indian Rights Association described itself during this period as a "nonsectarian and nonpartisan" watchdog organization that sought "to promote the spiritual, moral, and material welfare of the Indians and to protect their Legal Rights" (*Indian Truth* January/February 1946). Since 1924, the Association had published
a monthly newsletter, *Indian Truth*, which reported on current congressional debates over Indian policy and the Association's legal activities on behalf of American Indians. *Indian Truth* also featured columns detailing the successes of Christian mission projects and government schemes designed to "civilize" particular Indian nations (Littlefield and Parins, v. 1:238).

As reported in *Indian Truth*, Bronson was extremely active in promoting the Association's causes, especially those involving collaboration with Christian mission organizations. The May-June 1944 issue of *Indian Truth* describes how Bronson "spoke and led group discussion at the recent 156th Presbyterian General Assembly in Chicago" and notes that "During the summer [Bronson] will teach a class of leaders in the Methodist Summer School of Missions" (1). The May-September 1945 issue reports that Bronson "has this past year given 109 scheduled addresses dealing with Indian affairs besides many impromptu talks" (6). The same issue prints a brief excerpt from one of Bronson's talks on the topic of contemporary "Indian Home and Family Life." Invoking the Indian Rights Association's major themes of promoting "spiritual, moral, and material welfare," Bronson argues that

Many Indian Christians cannot maintain family life on a high spiritual level, however much they may long to do so, because they do not have the economic resources to meet adequately the minimum necessities of decent living. Wretched housing conditions place unbelievable strain on family relationships and make immeasurably harder the individual's adjustment to an alien civilization. (6)
In addition to her work with the Indian Rights Association, Bronson also served as Secretary to the National Congress of American Indians and edited that organization's newsletter, the *Washington Bulletin*. The January-April 1947 issue of *Indian Truth* reports that in her NCAI capacity, Bronson traveled to Alaska in October and November of 1946 to offer the Indians there "the resources of [the National Congress of American Indians] in their fight to establish their property rights in Alaska" (1). Bronson's interest in the Alaskan land rights situation eventually drew accusations of communist leanings, and Bronson was subject to a formal congressional investigation (*Indian Truth* January-April 1960:2).

Bronson's major written work reflects her allegiances to the Christian missions, the Indian Rights Association, and the National Congress of American Indians. *Indians Are People, Too* was published by the Friendship Press in New York. Like *Indian Truth* and other "friends of the Indians" publications of the period, Bronson's book is targeted primarily at a progressive White Christian audience. From the very first page, Bronson launches her argument for Indian equality by mobilizing three dominant discourses sure to arouse the sympathies of progressive White Christian Americans in 1944.

Bronson titles Chapter One "WARDS IN THE HOMELAND." Indian "wardship" had been a perennial debate among politicians and Indian advocates since the 1830s and the legal, political, and moral crises surrounding Indian Removal policies. In Bronson's chapter title the debate over wardship is forced to confront the present circumstances of the War, in which over 65,000 American Indian men and
women were engaged. The second half of the chapter title invokes the contemporary
discourse that we are all equally American citizens in the great effort of the War, all
fighting an enemy who threatens our common "homeland." Already a marker of low
status, disability, and incompetence, the idea that some adult Americans are "wards"
in their own country accrues additional negative connotations in the context of Indian
participation in the American fight against German Nazism. Bronson juxtaposes her
bold chapter title with an italicized epigraph from the Declaration of Independence:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal,
that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights,
that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness.

With this familiar passage Bronson invokes the dominant discourse of American
political rights and equality as enshrined in the Declaration, a foundational text
Bronson knows her audience reveres as all but sacred. The message of the
juxtaposition is unmistakable: How can we allow there to be adult "wards" in a
"homeland" which believes that "all men are created equal"?

During the so-called American Indian renaissance of the late-1960s and 1970s,
the invocation of this particular dominant discourse became a primary strategy among
American Indian activists and writers for asserting American Indian political—and thus
secular—self-determination. Unlike the next generation of American Indian
activists, however, Bronson follows her first powerful juxtaposition with an anecdote
that invokes what she clearly considers is a complementary discourse of Christian
equality. In the anecdote, Bronson recounts the story of how an Indian student
"interpreted" his people for a conference of educational advisors. Bronson quotes the Indian student as saying:

"The same God who created the heavens and earth created both you and me in his likeness. . . . My soul is just as acceptable to God as yours. True, my skin may be a shade darker than yours, but what does it matter? What really counts is the kind of persons we are, you and I. . . . I love my home and people just the same as you do--I am an American. I am an Indian." (1)

As Bronson's footnote indicates, the student's speech is quoted in full in the 1 July 1936 issue of *Indians At Work*. Harvey Allison, a Pima and a student at the Phoenix Indian School, delivered the speech at the Conference of Civilian Conservation Corps Educational Advisors held in 1936 in Phoenix, Arizona. Bronson chooses a short passage from the speech (and revises it slightly for effect) that evokes the Genesis creation story as well as Christ's teachings in the Gospels, and that echoes the lines of the *Declaration of Independence* already quoted.16 The anecdote of the Indian student allows Bronson to remind readers of the basic Protestant value of equality before the eyes of God that is supposedly the foundation for their work of "civilizing" the Indian. This juxtaposition also allows Bronson to give voice to the silent "wards" of her chapter title. Positioned as the third piece to Bronson's tripartite rhetorical strategy, the anecdote has the effect of staging the Indian ward's declaration of his equivalent independence to well educated and well meaning representatives of the American homeland. Throughout *Indians Are People, Too*, Bronson juxtaposes the
dominant discourses of civic, political, and Christian equality in order to support her thesis that Indians deserve to be treated as "people." That is, in order to assert that Indians deserve to be treated the same as progressive White Christian Americans.

Bronson devotes the rest of her first chapter to arguing that American Indians are a politically significant group and thus worthy of attention from their White fellow citizens. In a strategy similar to the World Council of Indigenous Peoples' strategy in writing its "Solemn Declaration" of indigenous identity in 1975 (which I discuss in Chapter One), Bronson argues for demographic significance by counting as one group all the Indian peoples of North and South America "scattered across the two continents from Alaska to Cape Horn," arriving at a total Indian population of "thirty million" (2). "Here is a race of people powerful enough in numbers alone," Bronson writes, "to wield profound influence on the future of the world" (2). Further, also similar to the WCIP in 1975, Bronson emphasizes the importance of the Indians' "spiritual possession" of traditional lands and of the Indians' ability to endure as distinct peoples--rather than their continued physical possession of any specific land base (3). In other words, Bronson argues that despite dispossession Indian communities remain viable political entities.

Like other writers of the period, Bronson celebrates the high level of American Indian participation in the contemporary War effort. Bronson is able to use her praise, moreover, to support her previous point that American Indians still possess the land "spiritually." She suggests that American Indians' "Loyalty to Country" is rooted not simply in American patriotism but also in American Indian indigeneity.
Anticipating lines from Riegert’s poem quoted above, Bronson asks her readers, "Do [the Indians] not belong to America more truly than any other people who live here? Have not their roots gone deeper into American soil and longest drawn nourishment there?" (13). Bronson invokes the Four Freedoms that President Roosevelt has promised to restore to the world’s "conquered peoples"--freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear (15). Drawing attention to the obvious discrepancy between foreign and domestic policies toward "conquered peoples," Bronson asserts, "Certainly these words apply equally to national policy regarding the Indian wards of the nation" (15). When Bronson then lists the many problems facing contemporary American Indian peoples, she argues that not only the President but "All Americans Are Responsible" for finding a solution. Throughout this section, Bronson writes in the inclusive plural, appealing directly to her readers' sense of civic obligation: "In the end it is you and I who determine what shall happen to these people we continue to hold in Federal wardship" (27). Bronson ends her first chapter by returning to the idea that Indians are demographically significant. In a section titled "From Many Tribes, One People," she argues that Indians share a common "Indian heritage" and are united "by a strong feeling of racial kinship" (31). Further, like "all people," Bronson argues that Indians are "children of one Father" (32). Clearly, Bronson’s return to the discourse of Christian equality is meant to reassure her audience that, despite a racial fellow feeling, Indians are indeed "people" as well as Indians, and thus accessible to Whites. The potential implications of Bronson’s argument, however, reach beyond ecumenical fellowship.
Bronson develops some of these potential implications in Chapter Two, "OUR MOTHER, THE LAND." It is here that Bronson asserts that the Indian past is significantly wedded to the Indian present and that "for the Indian, past history is living history" (34). To support her point, Bronson mobilizes a generalized discourse of indigenous spirituality, in which "for life-giving and for the sacred memories of their dead, the Indian's homeland was reverently loved" (36). Bronson argues that for Indians "to lose that cherished relationship [with their lands] and to be torn from the land where their fathers slept, was to be lost indeed, for this was to be spiritually cast adrift and the life-pulse of the race to be broken" (36). Given her progressive White Christian audience, Bronson's argument can be read either as a disturbing assertion of indigenous land rights, or as a description of the perhaps unfortunate but nonetheless inevitable sundering of Indian peoples from the basis of their pagan beliefs. The loss of lands opens the way for the light of Christianity.

Indeed, in Chapter Three, "STRONG IS THE INDIAN SPIRIT," Bronson contends that "the Indian has shown his ability to integrate his own ideals and spiritual satisfactions with the higher concepts of Christianity" (84). A few pages later, Bronson refers to American Indians' traditional spiritual ideals as "germs of spiritual truth" that Christianity can nourish and enrich (86). What becomes clear in these chapters is that while Bronson advocates American Indian self-determination as the civic and political right of all American citizens, she also believes that "Some of these [Indian] ways cannot fit into a modern world, and so will have to be discarded" (64). As a general principle, Bronson's position is extremely practical, especially
during the 1940s, when Indians began leaving the reservations and moving to urban areas in record numbers. Her specific examples, however, give reason for pause.

Bronson lists no specific Indian lifeways that ought to be retained. The only specific "values" she lists are "reverence and humility" (65). Toward the end of her book, Bronson notes again the participation of American Indian young people in the War effort. Given their new range of experiences, Bronson concludes that

Never again will those Indians who have been given this insight into the problems of others see their own problem in its old narrow framework. For these, the prison house of self-interest, which segregation always builds up, has been shattered by a new and deepening understanding of the common needs of all people. (125)

This passage evokes the ideals of an unselfish—and racially homogenized—American citizenship. The sense of a pan-tribal Indian racial identity Bronson describes in Chapter One is transformed into a sense of a common identity based in American citizenship and Christian fellowship. Bronson brings her book to closure by restating her title in a context appropriate to her progressive White Christian audience, eager to help Indians integrate into mainstream American life: "Indian welfare and happiness, Indian needs and perils, are interdependent with your life and mine—for Indians are people, too" (181, italics in original).

Like Ruth Muskrat Bronson, Ella Cara Deloria had a long association with Christian organizations and educational institutions. During Deloria’s childhood, her father served as an Episcopal priest among the Teton Sioux at St. Elizabeth’s
Church at Wakpala, South Dakota, on the Standing Rock Reservation. Deloria attended Christian schools in South Dakota in her youth; she began her college career at Oberlin and then transferred to Columbia Teachers College, where she earned her degree. While at Columbia Deloria met the anthropologist Franz Boas and many of his students, including Ruth Benedict. Boas hired Deloria to translate into English a number of Dakota texts that had been collected in the nineteenth century. Their work together was interrupted in 1915, when Deloria graduated from Columbia and returned to South Dakota to teach. In 1919 Deloria accepted a position with the YWCA as health education secretary for Indian schools and reservations. Then in 1923 Deloria went to work at the Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas, where Bronson was also employed in the mid-1920s. In 1927 Boas visited Deloria at Haskell and their work on Dakota language and on translating nineteenth-century Dakota texts resumed. Deloria worked with Boas on a number of anthropological and linguistic projects until Boas’ death in 1942. Deloria’s work under Boas’ guidance and influence resulted in a number of articles and several books, including Dakota Texts (1932), Dakota Grammar (1941), and Speaking of Indians (1944). Like Bronson, Deloria gave public lectures and presentations. Raymond DeMallie documents that "throughout her career . . . [Deloria] made it a practice to lecture and give presentations of Sioux songs and dances to white audiences of all kinds—church groups, schools, and YMCA and other organizations—both to earn money and to reach the public and promote understanding of Indian people" (238-39).

Like Bronson’s Indians Are People, Too, Deloria’s Speaking of Indians was
written for a predominantly White Christian audience. Originally published by the YMCA, *Speaking of Indians* is dedicated to one of Deloria's former teachers and "a great missionary." In her acknowledgements, Deloria lists another missionary teacher (who served as the YWCA secretary for Indian work) and the Missionary Education Movement as important influences. Throughout the body of the text, Deloria also acknowledges the influence of Franz Boas, several times quoting his work at length. As in her own life, in *Speaking of Indians* Deloria thus attempts to balance and synthesize the goals of Christian missionary work with the goals of the emerging science of American anthropology for the purpose of promoting Indian rights and welfare. When *Speaking of Indians* was reprinted by the Dakota Press in 1979, Professors Agnes Picotte of the University of South Dakota and Paul Pavich of Fort Lewis College felt compelled in their introduction to point out that while "At times [Deloria's] ideas on Indian progress may seem assimilative . . . she is constantly aware of the importance of her traditions" (xviii). Picotte and Pavich conclude their introduction by suggesting that "there are indications that [Deloria] planned to revise the work during the 1960s, and it may be that she had changed her views somewhat after seeing the resurgence of interest and pride in the traditional Indian ways" (xviii). However Deloria may have seen the relationship between the work of the Christian missions and the science of anthropology in the 1960s, in the 1940s her goal clearly was to employ the discourses of both, whether or not they were fully reconciled.

Deloria begins her text with an epigraph from the poet Stephen Vincent Benét's *Western Star* (1943). Echoing the title of Bronson's book, the excerpt begins
with an argument against two primary stereotypes of Indian identity: "They were neither yelling demon nor Noble Savage./ They were a people." The four parts of the body of Speaking of Indians develop this argument by moving back and forth between the dominant discourses of the Christian missions and the science of anthropology. Somewhere between assimilation and the preservation of traditions, Deloria attempts to mark a middle, hybridized road as appropriate for defining a viable contemporary American Indian identity at the end of World War II.

In Part I, "This Man Called Indian," Deloria advances current anthropological understandings of American Indian cultures and their origins. Her scientific account of prehistoric migrations from Asia, cultural isolation in the Americas, and the development of linguistic and cultural diversity over long spans of time, however, is subtly undercut by a counter-discourse on the role "spirit" plays in cultural diversity. After establishing the authority of material archeological evidence in estimating the age and origins of Indian cultures in the Americas, for example, Deloria states, "The vital concern is not where a people came from, physically, but where they are going, spiritually" (1). In fleshing out her account of land bridge migrations, Deloria uses personal imagination and identification with American Indian ancestors to recreate history for which there is no record and, at the same time, to offer a subtle apology for Christian missions:

I can picture that dog, pulling a small travois on which are piled his master's few belongings. I can picture a line of early men, women, and children, struggling along on foot, and among them, those
burdened dogs. Snow and winds harshly whip across their primitive faces. All are heading for America, to become unwittingly the First Americans. If one stops to muse on them coming thus, one must feel a little sorry for them, for they were walking deliberately into a trap. With each step they were cutting themselves off for thousands of years from the rest of mankind. (2)'

Deloria's imaginative account of this migration helps bring the distant past to life in the present, one of the goals of Boasian descriptive anthropology. Her "musing" then recasts the early migrations into the Americas as a story of loss of kinship. In Deloria's telling, contemporary Christianity becomes the means for restoring the kinship of "the great human family" (6).

In the final section of Part I, titled "Spiritual Culture Areas," Deloria completely fuses Christian and anthropological discourses. Because of its centrality to her intentions, I quote Deloria's definition of spiritual culture areas in full:

I mean such ethical values and moral principles as a people discovers to live by and that make it a group distinct from its neighbors. I mean all those unseen elements that make up the mass sentiment, disposition, and character--elements that completely blend there, producing in an integrated pattern a powerful inner force that is in habitual operation, dictating behavior and controlling the thought of all who live within its sphere.

It's an elusive area, without any location that we can visit
bodily. Like heaven, it is hard to define, delimit, and describe. And yet it is the "realist" part of a people, just as is the inner life of an individual. (12)

Throughout her career, these intangible elements of a culture were Deloria's particular interest; she develops her account of the Dakotan "spiritual culture area" most fully in her historical novel *Waterlily*. In *Speaking of Indians*, the focus on spiritual culture areas is an effective strategy for Deloria's purposes, allowing her to combine the secular objectivity of science with the Christian idea of a split between the human body and the human spirit. By asserting that the "inner life"--that is, the life of the individual spirit--is more important than the material life of an individual or a culture, Deloria sets up an argument very similar to Bronson's argument in *Indians Are People, Too*: American Indian "values" that are similar to Christian values should be retained, while "traditions" unfamiliar to contemporary White Christians can be replaced with little or no ill effect. Deloria's brief description of the Dakota at the end of this section focuses on how the Dakotas "understand the meaning of self-sacrifice" and have "made almost a fetish of giving" (14). These are admirable qualities in any context. Here, Deloria establishes self-sacrifice and generosity as the defining features of Dakota culture as a means for linking contemporary Dakotan identity to the ideals of Christianity.

Part II of *Speaking of Indians*, "A Scheme of Life That Worked," engages the Christian discourse of commitment, hospitality, charity, and brotherhood by presenting an admittedly "ideal picture" of traditional Dakota camp life. Deloria
begins by elaborating the complex system of Dakota kinship relations, the camp
circle's "great Ring of Relatives," and the system's attendant social responsibilities.
As in Part I, Deloria emphasizes the intangible aspects of kinship over the material,
the "inner" over the "surface." Describing living conditions of a typical Dakota
family, Deloria writes:

If you looked into such a tipi of the past as I am talking about, you
might see only the surface untidiness--the unavoidable dirt, discomfort,
and inconvenience incident to primitive life lived on the ground. Those
would be the obvious features and you might come away thinking that
was all. And that would be a pity, for underneath that surface lay
something very wonderful--the spiritual life of a patient, unselfish, and
courteous people, who disciplined themselves without letup to keep the
tribal ideal at all costs. (30)

In the rest of Part II, Deloria similarly works her way through discussions of Dakota
religion, education, and economics. In each section she highlights connections to
Christian spiritual ideals.

In Part III, "The Reservation Picture," Deloria again foregrounds
anthropological interpretations of Dakota culture, a return signaled by an epigraph
taken from Boas' *Anthropology and Modern Life* (1932). Deloria builds on Boas' idea
that "under undisturbed conditions the processes of changes of culture are slow" (49).
Rapid change in Dakota culture after the coming of first Europeans and then
Americans, Deloria argues, was not only inevitable, but "necessary." "A relatively
small group of mankind could not rightly refuse to share their vast rich domain with others." Deloria writes, again subtly undercutting her "objective" anthropological discourse with an appeal to Christian morality. "They could not rightly prevent its exploitation for the good of the many" (51). Further, Deloria asserts that "I do not think there is a Dakota who would doubt the rightness of that, if only he understood. But the way in which it happened was cruel" (51). Throughout the rest of Part III, Deloria develops her condemnation of the means by which the Dakota were forced onto the reservations and forced to assimilate American lifestyles, while praising the resultant ends of Western education and Christianity. By the end of Part III, anthropological discourse has been completely superseded by the discourse of Christian missions. "The call for strong church work in the Indian country increases," Deloria writes. "The Dakotas and indeed all Indians need the churches, now as never before. May we never forget that" (87).

Finally, in Part IV, Deloria describes "The Present Crisis." Her section title is meant to have double meaning: the present crisis in Indian affairs, but also the present crisis of World War II. Deloria attributes the high level of American Indian participation in the war effort--and, along the way, attributes Indians' willingness to accept governmental "charity" on the reservations--to the old kinship obligations she has detailed in previous sections. In Deloria's account, the older generation of Dakota saw Uncle Sam's handouts as "part of that same old ideal of interdependence expressed in giving" (89). They assumed they would reciprocate when they were able. World War I and now World War II have provided such opportunities. Not
only that, but participation in the present war effort has "called forth all those
dormant [American Indian] qualities that had been thought killed long ago--initiative,
industry, alertness" (90). Deloria uses anecdotal accounts of American Indians left
behind on the reservations, American Indian men and women fighting in the various
services, and American Indian workers in the war industries to argue her central point
that the War has changed the perspectives of all American Indians, but especially the
perspectives of the young. The restrictions of tribal life will no longer seem
tolerable. "Tribal life is only a phase in human development anyway," Deloria
writes. "The next step, for every people, is national life. Usually that is a slow
process; but in the case of the Indians it needn't be, since national life pervades the
very atmosphere they breathe" (97). Like Bronson, Deloria calls for government and
the churches to work together to help re-educate contemporary Indian peoples out of
reservation paternalism and out of "those elements surviving from the past that hinder
growth" into full citizenship (99, 104). Without question, in Deloria's view the
church should take the leading role: "The church gets close to the people. It can sit
down with them in a way that government cannot" (104). Deloria's concluding
sentence, meant to stir her audience into action on behalf of American Indians, might
have been taken from a Christian sermon: "And only a people motivated by spiritual
power and committed to the teachings of the Master can bring the right thing to pass"
(105).

What is striking in both Bronson's and Deloria's non-fiction works is that they
disrupt dominant notions of American history by insisting on the inclusion of
American Indian perspectives of history and even prehistory. At the same time, they bolster dominant notions of the superiority of contemporary Christian morality. Bronson’s and Deloria’s dedication to advancing the material welfare of Indian peoples should caution us, however, against reading their non-fiction works as simply apologetic tracts advocating Christian assimilation, though, given their primary audiences, on one level they are certainly that. In Manifest Manners: Postindian Warriors of Survivance (1994), American Indian writer and critic Gerald Vizenor (Chippewa) challenges readers of contemporary American Indian literatures to consider specific historical and tribal contexts when deciding whether to include or exclude particular American Indian texts from the category of "resistance" literature. Vizenor reassesses the romantic portrayals of traditional Sioux camp life produced by Charles Eastman (Sioux) just after the turn of the twentieth century, for example, as a "wise" resistance literature given the context of the recent Sioux massacre at Wounded Knee. Eastman, Vizenor writes, "celebrated peace and the romance of tribal stories to overcome the morose remembrance of the Wounded Knee Massacre [in 1890]. Could there have been a wiser resistance literature or simulation of survivance at the time?" (51). Vizenor then asks, "What did it mean to be the first generation to hear the stories of the past, bear the horrors of the moment, and write to the future? What were tribal identities at the turn of the century?" (51). Bronson’s and Deloria’s non-fiction works engage, at least in part, Vizenor’s complex question modified for their own era: What were tribal identities at the end of World War II? Bronson and Deloria answer that those identities are hybridized and syncretic, moving
in a dialectic between indigenous traditions and contemporary American lifestyles. Tribal identities can never be again as they had been in the past. Christianity, Bronson and Deloria assert, is the binding force between tradition and modernity that liberates contemporary American Indians from the potential destructiveness of both.

Deloria's work of fiction engages Vizenor's specific question. In Waterlily, Deloria couples her extensive personal and professional knowledge of the Sioux with the power of her imagination to produce a fictional account of a Sioux woman's life on the northern plains during the transition from the pre-contact to the contact era. When she was writing Waterlily in the 1940s, Deloria was uniquely situated to answer Vizenor's question for a wide audience. She was an educated American Indian woman who had indeed "heard the stories of the past" in her native Sioux tongue both as a tribal member and as a working ethnographer. Hers was what James Clifford has called the "ironic stance of participant observation," "the condition of off-centeredness in a world of distinct meaning systems, a state of being in culture while looking at culture" (1988:93).

Although Deloria wrote Waterlily in the mid-1940s, encouraged by anthropologists Franz Boas and Ruth Benedict to develop her extensive knowledge of traditional Dakota culture and language into a popular form for wide distribution, for a variety of reasons the novel was not published until 1988. The few critics who have thus far engaged Waterlily have focused on its wealth of ethnographic information, particularly its rich details about the everyday lives of Sioux women. Raymond DeMallie, for instance, who wrote an Afterward to the novel for the 1988
The edition places Waterlily in the context of Boasian anthropology in the 1930s and 1940s. DeMallie notes Deloria’s unique “insider’s perspective” and praises the novel as “a major contribution to understanding women in traditional Sioux culture” (233). What makes the novel of interest today, DeMallie writes, is that it represents a blurring of categories: in conception it is fundamentally a work of ethnographic description, but in its method it is narrative fiction, a plot invented to provide a plausible range of situations that reveal how cultural ideals shaped the behavior of individual Sioux people in social interactions. (241)

It is clear which category DeMallie considers of paramount importance. In closing his Afterward to Waterlily, DeMallie writes, "For above all, Ella Deloria’s work . . . has provided the data and insight from which we can come to understand the Sioux people of the last century in the way that she intended, as fellow human beings" (243).

DeMallie’s remarks are meant as a tribute both to Deloria and to the large body of ethnographic and creative work she produced. His final statement, however, reveals a pervasive attitude toward American Indians who have written about the history and traditions of their peoples that seems unnecessarily naive and outdated. Deloria is praised foremost as a valuable native informant. Her work is characterized as providing useful raw material suitable for further study. Although the latter statement is true, it underestimates Waterlily’s constructedness as a work of literature --and it ignores its activist potential in its original or its contemporary contexts. In
other words, DeMallie's remarks illuminate only part of the interest and power of Deloria's work, and only that part which most easily fits old stereotypes of the limited roles "natives" can play in ethnographic or literary discourses. The limitations of DeMallie's remarks become clear when we consider James Clifford's insights on "ethnographic self-fashioning" in his *The Predicament of Culture* (1988). Clifford draws a crucial distinction between ethnographic experience, which he describes as inevitably "ambiguous and unruly," and ethnographic writing, which he argues works to produce a coherent "cultural fiction" through processes of selection, combination, and rewriting (110). Meaning is produced in the suppression of incoherence and contradiction. The effects of this process of suppression are readily observed in Deloria's *Speaking of Indians*, a work of non-fiction which fails to hide all of the unruliness and ambivalence of Deloria's experience as a contemporary American Indian woman. As I demonstrate above, we can chart Deloria's movements between competing and at points contradictory discourses of anthropological science and Christian missions work as Deloria attempts to present a coherent and compelling portrait of American Indians for her White Christian audience. The fictional narrative of *Waterlily* presents a more seamless surface, but it is no less constructed out of competing discourses; certainly it is no simple collection of raw data.

While space does not permit a full literary explication of *Waterlily*, close analyses of several key passages suggest the novel's ambivalence, its potential for multiple readings. The novel follows the life of Waterlily, a Dakota woman living at the end of the pre-contact period, from her birth to adulthood and the birth of her
own child. Dakota bands living to the south of Waterlily's band are already in regular contact with American soldiers. During the course of the novel—which Deloria constructs as the span of a single generation—trade articles and smallpox find their way into even those bands living in the most remote areas of the northern plains.

As in her non-fiction works, in her novel Deloria describes the Dakota kinship system in great detail. Consider the following passages from Chapter 9, which describes part of Waterlily's adolescence. The narrator opens the chapter by establishing a link between the development of human memory and the feeling of pride in one's kin:

Incidents now stood out more distinctly, and lingered, in Waterlily's memory so that she could recall them with nearly the same immediacy as when they actually happened and could feel the same sensation they had first aroused. Three of these were events that had to do with her brother Little Chief . . . . These were deeds that made her very proud of him, as a sister should be. (83)

The first event Waterlily remembers is when her immediate family and her father's cousin's family went on a hunting expedition and camped by themselves away from the larger band. During the trip, Waterlily's father, Rainbow, discovers and kills an enemy who is stalking the camp. Although it is Rainbow's right to receive honor for the kill, he chooses to allow his son, Waterlily's brother Little Chief, to count first coup. It is the boy's first brush with a warrior's life and thus marks an auspicious honor for him--but also for Waterlily:
It was indeed something to cheer about. Of course the entire matter was formal, a vicarious honor for a vicarious deed. Yet it was no less meaningful for the boy's record. Blue Bird [Waterlily's mother] took Little Chief to one side and whispered to him, "Do not forget this, son. Do no forget that you have a father who is so unselfish as to transfer the honor he has earned to his son. It is because he wants you to get top glory. Such a deed is praiseworthy. You are fortunate to have such a father." (85)

The episode is rich with ethnographic details about the workings of the Dakota kinship system and the rearing of Dakota children into responsible adulthood. But the episode is rich in other ways as well. Deloria's rendering of Waterlily's memory and reflection offers a potential strategy for reading the entire novel. Deloria's narrative account demonstrates that memory of significant events of the past can work to produce pride in self and community in the present.

For contemporary American Indian readers, Deloria's historical novel can function not only as a source of accurate "ethnographic data" about the past, but also as a type of collective "memory" of that past--presented as an accessible text written primarily in English. (Deloria occasionally includes individual words in Dakota.) Conceived of as memory, the novel can function not only as a catalyst for the study of traditional Dakota culture, but also as a catalyst for pride in indigenous culture and pride in indigenous identity. For contemporary American Indians cut off from personal memories, family stories, or their nation's larger oral traditions because of
changed demographics or loss of indigenous languages—a situation increasingly common for American Indian young people after World War II—such a reading strategy might prove invaluable. Moreover, Deloria uses this episode of Waterlily’s memory to introduce the concept of "vicarious honor" and to detail its complex procedures among Dakota kin. As Deloria describes it, vicarious honor has both synchronic and diachronic functions within the kinship system, transferring honor both within and across generations. The larger implications of transferring honor across the generations is left implicit in Deloria’s text. During the so-called American Indian renaissance of the late-1960s and 1970s, however, the next generation of American Indian writers and political activists made this process a central strategy for asserting a contemporary indigenous identity (see my discussion in the following chapter).

In Chapter 13, Deloria describes Waterlily’s life as a young woman. Waterlily’s grandmother, Gloku, has died, and the family has decided to honor the grandmother’s memory by performing the year-long ritual of ghost-keeping. Deloria’s narrator points out that despite the demands of the protracted ritual, "life did not stand still in the tiyospaye [a group of related families]; the daily life did not differ from the normal. That would be both unnecessary and impossible" (147). A "ghost lodge" is set up to house Gloku’s spirit. One of Waterlily’s female cousins agrees to watch over the lodge and the ghost bundle it houses the entire year and to make sure courtesy food is always available for visitors who wish to pay their respects to the grandmother. "Only the ghost lodge remained set apart," Deloria’s
narrator informs readers. "Secular life went on around it still" (147). These passages alone are suggestive of the potential to maintain aspects of traditional culture in the midst of contemporary society. At the end of the year-long ritual, a ceremony is held to release the beloved grandmother's spirit, to effect "a second dying" (157). The ceremony involves a symbolic feast, at which four of Gloku's granddaughters partake of the dead grandmother's last courtesy food (155). The narrator describes the importance of the solemn feast by explaining that

like a parting admonition from the dead grandmother's ghost, [the girls] felt that nothing on earth could be more important than the continuance of [the grandmother's] spirit of hospitality. And now the responsibility would fall on them. Should her good deeds die with her? Never--if they could help it. (158)

For at least part of its potential audience, Deloria's historical novel can be read as functioning as this kind of "parting admonition" from the Dakota past. Like the extended ritual of ghost-keeping, reading the novel causes the "ghosts" of the Dakota past to "linger . . . some seasons longer amid honor and reverence" (160). And as in the specific ritual of the ghost feast, remembering the Dakota past can become a process of instruction in kinship responsibility. The younger generation learns to revere and to emulate the traditions of their ancestors. The more forceful and moving the ritual account of the ancestor's deeds, the novel's episode suggests, the more likely it will impress itself upon the young. In this reading, at stake in the writing of historical fiction is nothing less than the continuance of cherished cultural values and
the continuance of essential markers of cultural identity.

Toward the end of the novel, in Chapter 17, Deloria describes Waterlily as a woman who has survived a number of hardships, including a smallpox epidemic that claims the life of her husband and much of his tiyospaye. After the tragedy, Waterlily leaves her husband's devastated Dakota band and returns to her own people to deliver her first child. Auspiciously, the boy child enters this world at the same moment that Waterlily's aged grandfather leaves it: "her grandfather lay dying in one tipi while she gave birth in the one next to it. Simultaneously and with perfect timing the baby came and the old man went, at dawn" (219). A "wise man" of the band interprets the remarkable event for the community, saying,

"Life never ends; it slows down but to pick up and go on again . . . .
The boy is the old man; he is privileged, for he has acquired the qualities ready-made for him from the old one. He is strangely blessed. His grandfather has left him these traits he made for himself through a long life--gentleness, kindness, fortitude, patience. The boy should carry his name." (219)

Staged as the words of a wise Dakota elder, the passage extends the contemporary implications of Deloria's definitions of "vicarious honor" and "ghost-keeping." And like the ghost-keeping episode discussed above, in its emphasis on the importance of the relationship between grandparent and grandchild, the episode of the simultaneous death and birth clearly anticipates one of the primary figures developed for asserting contemporary indigenous identity during both the American Indian renaissance and the
New Zealand Maori renaissance in the 1970s (see my discussions in Chapters Five and Three, respectively). The intimate bond Deloria establishes between grandparent and grandchild figures an ongoing spiritual relationship between indigenous ancestors and contemporary American Indians, despite real tragedy and despite dramatic demographic change.

From the War to Termination

Friends of the Indians need to guard against attitudes and actions which lead to the discriminatory tactics that open the way for exploitation of Indian property. Wardship affords protection for Indians of their property rights and involves no material limitations upon them as persons.

--"Emancipating The Indian," Indian Truth, May-August 1948

If dominant culture was comfortable with images of contemporary American Indians as "fighting" men or as "working" men and women during the War, it was much less comfortable with the economic and social realities of American Indian individuals and communities in the immediate post-War period. When soldiers returned home, their military pay checks soon disappeared. War factories were obliged to cut their workforces, and many managers preferred to hire White over Indian veterans. As Bernstein documents, "By 1950 the unemployment rate for urban Indians had reached fifteen percent, nearly three times that of whites" (150). All too soon Indians were economically back where they had been before the War, with the
added difficulties of a rapidly increasing population and often radically changed expectations about their personal lifestyles, opportunities, and rights. More and more American Indians either lived permanently in urban areas—increasingly in the worst parts of the cities—or migrated back and forth between urban areas and reservation communities.

At the same time, the Bureau of Indian Affairs was under continued attack. Opponents of the Bureau, many calling themselves "friends" of the Indians, argued that the Bureau’s post-War goal should be to continue the process of assimilation and "emancipation" that had been fostered by the War’s demographic upheavals. In this climate, only two options were entertained seriously: "emancipation" from federal services could be conducted on an individual basis, or it could be conducted on a tribal basis (Bernstein 110). Collier, with his philosophy of corporate Indian progress, preferred the second option. His hand-picked successor in Indian Affairs, William Brophy, began compiling a list of tribes considered suitable for "termination" of their federal supervision as early as 1946. In August 1953, the 83rd Congress passed House Concurrent Resolution 108, which singled out thirteen tribes for termination and bound the government "as rapidly as possible, to make the Indians . . . subject to the same laws and entitled to the same privileges and responsibilities as are applicable to other citizens of the United States, to end their status as wards of the United States, and to grant them all the rights and prerogatives pertaining to American citizenship." Further, HCR 108 resolved that Indians "should be freed from Federal supervision and control and from all the disabilities and limitations
specially applicable to Indians." The most widely known termination struggle, fought by the Menominee Nation of Wisconsin, was initiated the next year, in 1954, when President Eisenhower signed into effect the Menominee Termination Bill.

The idea of Indian "emancipation" on an individual basis was not wholly abandoned, however. In 1948 the Bureau of Indian Affairs initiated an off-reservation job placement program for single Navajo men that developed into a full-scale Relocation Program for American Indian individuals and families in the early 1950s. By 1956, over 5,000 Indians were involved annually in the Relocation Program (Bernstein 168). While relocation could have devastating effects on particular individuals and families, it helped others to escape reservation poverty. And in cities like Chicago and Los Angeles, the beginnings of a pan-Indian consciousness were promoted by the formation of pan-tribal communities around Indian Centers set up to help migrant Indians adjust to urban life (Thomas 80).

The intricate history of the termination and relocation era has been well documented by historian Donald Fixico (1986). Fixico concludes that the period from 1945 to 1960 "constituted one of the most crucial periods in the history of federal-Indian relations" (183). "In everything that it represented," Fixico writes, "termination threatened the very core of American Indian existence—its culture. The federal government sought to de-Indianize Native Americans" (183). Both "friends of the Indians" associations and American Indian activist organizations protested termination policies. In late February 1954, for example, the National Congress of American Indians organized an Emergency Conference in the nation's capital to
demonstrate Indian opposition to the new legislation. *Indian Truth*, which took a firm
stand against the government's approach to termination, reported that 200 Indian
delegates from 21 states attended the Emergency Conference (March-May 1954:2).
Hoping to slow the procedures of termination, the NCAI continued to lobby for
informed Indian consent. The NCAI did not, however, offer radical alternatives to
termination. Their protest, which echoed the arguments elaborated by Bronson and
Deloria and by their contemporary D'Arcy McNickle, was over the pace and specific
procedures of American Indians' inevitable transformations.

A Humanly Acceptable Landscape:
D'Arcy McNickle and the Discourse of Transformation

To undertake to treat the whole history of a race of people in a significant manner in one volume is
an ambitious undertaking[,] but Mr. McNickle has done it well for the American Indians.

--"A Helpful Interpretation," *Indian Truth*, June-October 1949

Much already has been written about D'Arcy McNickle in the 1990s (see
increasingly interested in McNickle's personal life and in the diverse body of his
written works--three novels published in 1936, 1954, and (posthumously) in 1978, all
now again in print; sixteen short stories, ten never published during McNickle's
lifetime, collected together for the first time in 1992; four non-fiction works of
anthropology, history, and biography, spanning the years 1949 to 1973; and numerous
non-fiction articles published in a wide range of popular, governmental, "friends of the Indians," and scholarly journals over the long course of McNickle's working life. Scholars also are drawn to McNickle because of his participation in the development of American Indian public policy and in the development of American Indian community-based activism. Like Bronson and Deloria, McNickle had strong ties both to American Indian communities and to powerful public institutions. John Collier hired McNickle to work for the Office of Indian Affairs in 1936 to help implement Collier's Indian New Deal. McNickle became an outspoken supporter of Collier's ideals and continued to serve in various capacities in Indian Affairs even after Collier's resignation, until 1954. At different points in his career McNickle worked as an educator in both community-based and university settings. There is particular interest in McNickle's community development and health education work with the Navajo community at Crownpoint, New Mexico, from 1953 to 1960, as well as in his work from 1956 to 1967 running summer leadership training workshops for American Indian college students. The summer workshops proved to be a catalyst for an emerging American Indian youth movement. In addition, McNickle is recognized as a significant force in American Indian political activism in the early post-War period. McNickle was a founding member of the National Congress of American Indians in 1944 and a primary architect of the "Declaration of Indian Purpose" produced during the 1961 American Indian Chicago Conference (which I discuss below).

The range of McNickle's work is far too extensive to adequately cover here. For the limited purposes of this chapter, I focus on the links between two of
McNickle's major works published during the first decades after the War, his work of anthropology and history, *They Came Here First: An Epic of the American Indian*, published in 1949, and his second novel, *Runner in the Sun: A Story of Indian Maize*, published for a juvenile audience in 1954. Critics have argued that McNickle's second novel is a "fictional equivalent" to his first book-length work of anthropology and history (Purdy 1990:86; Vest in Purdy, ed., 1996:160). Critics also have argued that *Runner in the Sun*, though set in the pre-contact southwest, expresses McNickle's contemporary concerns over federal termination policies (Ortiz 1988:239, 242). Little in the texts themselves support these conclusions. What these works do have in common is a focus on the least known and most contested era in American Indian history, those years and centuries and even millennia before European or American "contact." Like Deloria's historical novel *Waterlily*, McNickle's *They Came Here First* and *Runner in the Sun* invent compelling—if idealized—narratives of pre-contact Indian history, culture, and personality. But even more directly than Deloria's novel, McNickle's (pre)historical narratives insinuate themselves into the dynamics of change that characterize the post-War present. They do so not by creating specific analogies to the perceived evils of federal termination policies, but rather by demonstrating that, from the very beginnings of their history, American Indian communities and American Indian individuals have both initiated and actively responded to dramatic demographic transformations. Tenaciously, like the maize they cultivated into one of the world's primary staple foods, in McNickle's accounts American Indians survive, improve, and thrive over time.
McNickle divides They Came Here First into three parts that correspond to a fairly standard academic division of American Indian history, excluding the contemporary era. (Deloria's Speaking of Indians follows a similar division of American Indian history.) Part I, "Unsealing a Continent," covers the period of Indian "prehistory"; Part II, "New World Rediscovered," covers the period of Indians' early contacts with Europeans; and Part III, "Supplanting a People," covers the period of treaty making, the so-called "Indian wars," and the Indians' confinement to the reservations. What is not standard in McNickle's presentation of this history is his detailed development of Part I, the largely speculative period of American Indian prehistory. McNickle devotes almost a full third of his book to "Unsealing a Continent." In these ninety-one pages, he supports his title's claim that his book will serve as an American Indian epic. Rivaling the powerful popular legends of Columbus and Cortez, McNickle transforms archeological speculation about American Indian prehistory into a powerful legend of American Indian migrations into the Americas, full of drama and triumph. In this way Part I of They Came Here First begins the argument about American Indians' pre-contact transformations that McNickle develops more fully in his novel Runner in the Sun.

Consider Part I's opening paragraphs. Dynamic and ambiguous, these paragraphs employ unattributed dialogue, collective nouns and plural pronouns, and a limited omniscient point of view to invite readers to speculate about the identity of early migrants to a "new land":

"There is a new land over there. Across the water. Somebody has
been there, and come back again. So we hear. They had all the meat they could eat. It is a plentiful land. Life is easy."

The world was full of rumors just then. A marvelous thing had happened. A new land had been discovered, just when it was needed too. The people had wandered to the end of the world, in quest of food and safety.

Somewhere in their rear, in their dim racial memory, were scenes of mortal struggle, in which they had been vanquished and driven away. Somewhere back there was a fearful dream they wanted to escape from and forget. So they had worked their way northward, into the outer darkness. Life got thinner as they went along. Forests thinned, then disappeared. Game animals were found less easily. The people had to keep moving, and they had to divide their camps into even smaller numbers. Yet they could never turn back, but must move ahead, hoping to come upon a kindlier country. This wandering had continued, now, for generations so numerous the old people could not count them. It seemed to have lasted from the beginning of time.

Now, there were these rumors. A new land. A plentiful land . . . . (15)

As in the World Council of Indigenous Peoples' 1975 narrative definition of global indigenous identity, the protagonist in McNickle's legend of migration is collective rather than individual, designated simply as "the people." In these first paragraphs, it
is unclear where "the people" come from, but the opening dialogue establishes them as having aspirations similar to those attributed to the first European explorers and settlers of the Americas. And like the WCIP, McNickle is careful to suggest that "the people" are of ancient descent, possessing a "racial memory" that extends back into an even mistier past. Their movement into what becomes clear is the Americas is cast as one of a series of migrations; this is part of an ongoing story of moving to "new land" rather than a unique or fatal moment.

Unlike in Deloria's brief account of migration from Asia, in McNickle's extended narrative there is no note of loss or despair, no sense of crippling isolation from a larger humanity. The migrants' recognition of their new status as "a people apart" is triumphant:

Finally they were there. They knew the place at once, from the way it had been described. . . . After that first long look, they turned their eyes back upon each other. Perhaps then and there they saw each other for the first time and realized that they were a people apart. They had survived together and the knowledge of that would never leave them. . . . A handful of people standing in a new world! (16)

Moreover, unlike Deloria's, McNickle's early migrants do not participate in a pristine moment of first contact with a "new" landscape. McNickle refuses to establish an absolute point of American origins. His early travelers soon discover that others have been to the "new" continent before them:

It seemed at first that they had stumbled upon an entirely empty land.
... But wait! Here was an old campfire! And here, a rock shelter.

Someone had been there before them! The land was less lonely then.

(16-17)

The people's positive attitude toward finding evidence of prior inhabitants in their "new" land offers a subtle critique of the importance of first arrival in European and American legends of discovery. McNickle's alternative legend of migration situates American Indians in ongoing processes of transformation and narrative accounting, rooted in a landscape that tells stories of its own.

The rest of "Unsealing a Continent" is devoted, first, to a review of both the archeological and the indigenous oral evidence about the age of Indian communities in the Americas, and then to an argument that tradition and change are rival universal forces that affect all peoples. McNickle advances his argument that American Indians were never a "static" people by recounting the story of the Indians' cultivation of maize. In McNickle's account, the cultivation of this "noble grass"—widely depicted in American Indians' imaginative arts of song, dance, pottery decoration, legend, and ceremony—becomes a "transcendent symbol" of humankind's quest to "transform the natural into a humanly acceptable landscape" (74). Maize and its many representations thus become ever present reminders of humankind's purposeful transformations of and in the Americas. However appealing the stereotypical image, American Indian communities have never been simply "natural."

McNickle demonstrates that while corn has been improved over its generations, it remains recognizably and fundamentally maize. McNickle concludes
Part I by extending this idea of transformation without loss of essential identity to contemporary American Indian individuals and communities. In a powerful image, he compares the retention of American Indian conceptions of language and thought—vital but elusive "inner" qualities of American Indian identity—to a plant's ability to retain and replicate its essential qualities over time, even despite attempts to kill the plant. "Indians who are no longer hunters," McNickle writes, "who no longer even inhabit the hunting ground which was once theirs, still think and talk as their grandfathers thought and talked before them. Theirs is the secret of the twig that emerges ever green from the severed stump" (98-99). In the image of the severed stump and the evergreen twig, McNickle asserts the continuance—and renewal—of a distinctively "Indian" identity across generations, despite expropriation of land and despite drastic changes in lifeways. The processes of transformation continue, but so too do the essential characteristics of Indian peoples.

McNickle's novel *Runner in the Sun* refashions several of the basic arguments advanced in Part I of *They Came Here First*. That said, it is important to caution against reading *Runner* as the "fictional equivalent" to McNickle's earlier work of non-fiction, as some scholars have suggested. Parts II and III of *They Came Here First* detail the history of how American Indians were exploited by first Europeans and then Americans, a history *Runner* never directly engages. Whether or not *Runner* engages some of the issues involved in that history of Indian-White relations more obliquely is up for debate. Consider McNickle's dramatic--yet oddly agent-less--summary of the history of Indian-White relations at the end of *They Came Here First*:
What has been told follows the broad outline of the story of Indian-white relations in the New World.

First, there was wonder and delight, on both sides.

Then uncontrolled exploitation, resulting in practices of enslavement and wastage of human life.

Following that began the long and devious record of attempts to control exploitation, to govern the rights of ownership, and to work out a final adjustment between peoples of two widely different heritages.

Results would not have been easy to bring about under the best of circumstances. In man’s ignorance of man—not as of a century ago but as of today as well—it is astonishing that solutions ever rose above the level of murder and armed robbery. (286-87)

McNickle’s tone is clearly pessimistic. But in his attempt to write an even-handed account that will appeal to a White audience, McNickle refuses to blame or condemn anyone. Although he describes Indian-White relations as violent, McNickle recounts the history of that violence in the passive voice, as though it were a sequence of unavoidable natural occurrences rather than a narrative of actions designed and committed by specific actors. Now compare this passage to the opening paragraph of McNickle’s Foreward to *Runner*. Here the tone is upbeat, and the passage’s focus emphasizes rather than suppresses the idea of agency in American history. In fact, McNickle offers his presumably young audience a vision of American history as a complex, multifaceted story in which both American Indians and New World settlers
are equally actors:

Most of us grow up believing that the history of America begins with the men who came across from Europe and settled in New World wilderness. The real story of our country is much older, much richer, than this usual history book account. (vii)

Here is evidence of McNickle refashioning Part I of They Came Here First, not simply repeating its account of American Indian prehistory. McNickle offers his novel's readers an expanded notion of American history. Where in his earlier, nonfiction text McNickle describes "the people" as a rather exotic Other, in Runner McNickle offers American readers his protagonist Salt and Salt's southwestern people as heretofore unknown kin--symbolic if not blood--as heretofore unknown pieces of readers' own history as Americans. Like Bronson's direct plea in the final sentences of Indians Are People, Too, McNickle's subtle use of inclusive pronouns invites readers to consider their own lives and the lives of American Indians as connected. Unlike in They Came Here First, as presented in Runner the connections are all positive. In the remainder of his Foreward, McNickle briefly describes American Indians' contributions to the world, which include the domestication of corn and "the gift of peace on earth" (x). McNickle concludes his Foreward by stating that American Indians "belong to the great tradition we call American" (x).

McNickle maintains his focus on these gifts of the early American Indians--corn and the ability to live peaceably as a community--throughout the novel. Set in the pre-Columbian American southwest, Runner follows the adventures of its young
protagonist, Salt, as he undertakes a journey from the Valley of the White Rocks to the Fabled Land of Mexico in order to save his cliff-dwelling community from its agricultural and political problems. It is tempting to try to connect the novel’s opening description of Salt’s village to McNickle’s early-1950s context of Indian termination:

This is the story of a town that refused to die. It is the story of the angry men who tried to destroy, and of the Indian boy called Salt, in the language of his people, who stood against them. (1)

Alfonso Ortiz, for example, argues that the “town” may refer to “the Indian world in general,” and that the “angry men” "would fit a description of the behavior of white colonists from Jamestown onward, as well as proponents of the policies D’Arcy McNickle and other Indian leaders were fighting in the years just preceding and just after publication of Runner" (242). But the analogy between Salt’s pre-Columbian world and the termination era is at best strained, and neither Ortiz nor any other scholar offers textual evidence beyond McNickle’s opening description of the town in support of this reading.

If indeed McNickle’s story has a specific contemporary analogue—and I see no reason to assume there must be one—it seems more likely to be the general post-War context of strife between the generations in American Indian communities, strife, that is, between governing elders and younger men (and women) whose experiences during the War years prompted them to disregard or openly challenge their elders’ traditional authority. Details throughout the text support this reading. There is no
outside, alien culture threatening the Village of the White Stones. The "angry men" who wish to seize political control of the village from its traditional leaders are from the village's own Spider Clan; they are led by Dark Dealer, a man who has assumed a position of leadership and power that is inappropriate for someone his age. "Dark Dealer was not an old man," the narrator tells us, "yet he occupied a place of leadership which normally fell to only the oldest men in the clan" (40). Moreover, Dark Dealer produces dissension among even members of the ruling Turquoise Clan by suggesting that the old forms of government—and its aging leaders—are no longer useful in contemporary times.

Salt, our adolescent protagonist and hero, is positioned in the generation below Dark Dealer's: Salt is on the cusp of becoming a man. Early in the novel, when Salt's life is endangered, the male and female elders of the village, who represent the grandparent generation, place Salt under their protection. Eldest Woman orders that the kiva of the Turquoise Clan reverse the ceremony which has recently made Salt a man, and she immediately removes from Salt's neck the turquoise pendant that is the sign of his adulthood (36). Salt is demoted to the social status of a child, emphasizing that the novel's conflict is between generations. The village's elderly chief, called the Holy One, soon becomes Salt's mentor and grandfather figure. The Holy One makes Salt his apprentice and his proxy and he names Salt as his "successor" (58). Runner becomes a story about the difficulties of maintaining traditional forms of leadership, especially hereditary leadership, during a period of uncontrollable changes in the environment (the climate is becoming drier around the
Canyon of the White Rocks where the people live; their crops are producing weaker and weaker yields of corn) and political dissension within the human community (some in the middle generation seek to overthrow the old order). Salt's connection to the elder generation is made complete in a final act before he sets out on his journey to the south. The Holy One replaces Salt's turquoise pendant with his own. "The giving of the turquoise." McNickle writes, "was the most shattering experience of all that long day. Salt felt as if the image in which he had been born had been broken, and he had been born a new person" (166). In order to meet the challenges of the present and to ensure success in the future, Salt is reborn in the image of the ancestral. When Salt successfully returns from his long journey, he succeeds the Holy One as Village Chief. Traditional leadership is maintained. Dark Dealer is a ruined man and submits himself to Salt's judgement.

McNickle situates Salt's story within an ongoing story of American Indian transformations and accommodations. The story's concern is focused primarily on the village's ability to survive in the face of internal strife and environmental difficulty—but the story is not concerned, as Ortiz and other scholars contend, with the village's right to survive. Salt's people are not threatened with the kind of "termination" of corporate status that some American Indian nations faced in the 1950s and 1960s. Rather, the people of Salt's village are faced with the question of where they will live, who will govern them, and how political power will be passed on to the next generation. In other words, Runner is about sustaining continuity in the face of change.
It is no surprise that McNickle's narrative argues for the kind of modified traditional leadership that McNickle's former employer and mentor John Collier argued for in the 1930s. Less obvious, perhaps, is that McNickle was also following Collier's lead in looking toward Mexico as a positive inspiration for change in North American Indian communities. In the pages of *Indians At Work*, Collier advocated, among other things, that North American Indians should follow the positive examples of their racial relatives across the southern border in Mexico. In the issue dated 1 November 1933, for example, Collier wrote in his editorial that through the Indian Conservation Corps he had initiated "we are trying to help release the Indians' own powers and ambitions, that they may go on to conquer their own future--like Mexico's Indians 'with practical armament and with flying mystical banners'" (3). And in the issue dated 1 May 1934, Collier reprinted a talk he had given to American Indian students at Bacone College in Oklahoma. During the talk, Collier argued:

But looking with a wider sweep, you will find twenty million Indians in the hemisphere, an advancing population which, in our next-door republic, Mexico, has become dominant in government, in society and in economic life, and which is seizing for its use the most forward-reaching of the modern techniques, even while it goes on feeding a rich complex stream of tradition into the future Mexican civilization. You are not apart from this wider sweep of your race and of world-affairs but rather, here at a place like Bacone, you are made one with it. (31)

McNickle gestures toward Collier's ideas when he has Salt travel to the Land of
Fable, Mexico, to find a solution to his village’s agricultural and political problems. While in Mexico Salt meets the young woman Quail, who is a slave and who is slated to be ritually sacrificed. Salt rescues Quail and she travels with him to his village in the north. It is Quail who carries the seed corn that will rejuvenate the village’s agriculture. When the villagers see the mark of Quail’s slavery, they reinterpret the tattoo in the center of her forehead as "the mark of the sun," as a sign of her power to help them (226, 231). The villagers adopt Quail, giving her a new name—Red Corn Woman—and making her one of their own (231-32). Thus through her personal transformation Quail brings not only new agricultural stock but also new blood into the village community. In the end, under Salt’s leadership the people abandon their traditional home in the cliffs and move south “into the valley of the big fields” (233), where the new strains of corn produce “such harvests as had never been known” (233). To mark their transformation as a community, the people develop a new ceremony, which they call the Red Corn Dance (234).

Many readers will recognize Quail’s tattoo—“a small circle, with parallel lines shooting away in the four directions”—as the American Indian sun symbol used as an official emblem by the state of New Mexico. Perhaps this is McNickle’s subtle connection between prehistory and the present. If so, McNickle invites readers to expand their vision of "America" even further, to accommodate ongoing trade and movement between the Americas into their conception of American history.
A Declaration of Accommodation

There has been no prior effort in history to reach a consensus among all the Indians of the United States, and, until now, no prior occasion when such an effort might have succeeded. That there is now a chance for success, can be viewed as a culmination of the events of recent years.

--D'Arcy McNickle, "Indian Expectations," *Indian Truth*, June 1961

From June 13 through June 20, 1961, an unprecedented 460 American Indians representing 90 tribes gathered on the University of Chicago campus to participate in the American Indian Chicago Conference (AICC). Although the conference was coordinated by Dr. Sol Tax of the University of Chicago, almost all participants were American Indians. The National Congress of American Indians played a significant supporting role in endorsing and helping to organize the conference, and D'Arcy McNickle, a founding member of the NCAI, served as Chairman of the conference's Steering Committee. To prepare for the national conference in Chicago, Indian delegates first attended regional meetings, where they drafted a series of preliminary statements on federal Indian policies. Delegates worked to reach consensus on the regional policy statements over the course of their week together in Chicago. The revised statements were then collected into a single document, titled *The Voice of the American Indian: Declaration of Indian Purpose*.

It is useful to think of the American Indian Chicago Conference and the document it produced as marking the end of the immediate post-World War II era of American Indian activism and writing—rather than as marking the early beginnings of
the so-called American Indian renaissance that became fully evident in the mid- and late-1960s. As I discuss above, during the period of rapid demographic changes that began with American Indians' participation in the war effort, the primary defenders of Indian rights were "friends of the Indians" organizations, such as the Indian Rights Association, and the National Congress of American Indians. The former supported the efforts of both Christian missions and federally-funded projects designed to "civilize" the Indians; the latter drew many of its founding members from the growing pool of educated Indians employed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs or the tribal councils created under the Indian Reorganization Act. American Indian writers of the period—including Ruth Muskrat Bronson, Ella Cara Deloria, and D'Arcy McNickle—also were closely aligned with either the Christian missions or the Bureau of Indian Affairs, or both. Such alignments in no way diminish the important work accomplished by these organizations and individuals on behalf of American Indians in the post-World War II period. Such alignments do, however, distinguish these organizations and individuals from most of the American Indian activists and writers who became prominent in the 1960s and 1970s. As I discuss in the next chapter, in the latter period activists and writers openly expressed their loss of faith in the abilities of the federal government and its representatives of any racial background to solve Indian problems, and many openly denounced the assimilating influence of the Christian missions. The Chicago Conference's Declaration of Indian Purpose, although written twenty years after America's entry into World War II, exhibits many of the discourse habits that distinguish the work of activists and writers working on
behalf of American Indians in the 1940s and 1950s.

Several of the Declaration's specific points do embrace the ideals of the American Indian renaissance: the rejection of federal termination policies, the assertion of the continuing importance of traditional land bases to American Indian identity, and the argument for some level of Indian self-determination. But despite these specific points, in general the Declaration looks to federal policies developed before World War II to provide solutions for American Indians' contemporary and future problems. Throughout the document, one can sense the NCAI's pro-government timidity; and in specific passages, one can feel McNickle's hand in shaping a narrative of Indian survival through accommodation. Most telling is the Declaration's endorsement of the ideals of the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act, which promoted the creation of Western-style tribal governments and tribal constitutions, and which encouraged Indian nations to hold referenda to decide whether or not they wished to adopt new policies. To introduce its list of Legislative and Regulatory Proposals, the document states that "it is proposed that recommendations be adopted to strengthen the principles of the Indian Reorganization Act and to accomplish other purposes" (5). And further, while the document's Statement of Purpose argues that "our Indian culture is threatened by presumption of being absorbed by the American society," it offers as solution a New Deal-style policy of accommodation, concluding that "the Indians must provide the adjustment and thus freely advance with dignity to a better life" (4).

As in the other major non-fiction works produced in the immediate post-War
era, the overall structure and language of the Declaration is strikingly ambivalent. Parts of the document are clearly directed at Bureau of Indian Affairs personnel and other federal bureaucrats. These sections appropriate the discourse of federal policy-making and provide detailed recommendations for policy changes in the areas of the federal administration of American Indian affairs; federal health, welfare, housing, and education services provided for American Indians; and the relationship between state and federal law and order systems as they affect American Indian individuals and communities. Indeed, the document aligns itself with specific pieces of legislation, arguing that its recommendations are "comparable in scope and purpose to the Indian Trade and Intercourse Act of June 30, 1834 . . . and the Indian Reorganization Act of June 18, 1934, which recognized the inherent powers of Indian Tribes" (5). In this vein, the document expresses the desire of conference delegates to influence the federal legislative process.

Other parts of the document are directed at "the American people" more generally. These sections--particularly The American Indian Pledge, the AICC Creed, and the document's Concluding Statement--recast the legal issues raised in the delegates' specific policy recommendations as matters concerning the national conscience. "[W]e pose a moral problem which cannot be left unanswered," warns the Concluding Statement. "For the problem we raise affects the standing which our nation sustains before world opinion" (19). Throughout these sections, the document works to establish American Indians' moral footing by emphasizing the common ideology American Indians and other Americans supposedly share as members of a
single nation. The American Indian Pledge, printed inside the Declaration's front cover, begins this process. It states that, like "all other true Americans," American Indians declare their "absolute faith in the wisdom and justice of our American form of Government" and "join with all other loyal citizens of our beloved country in offering our lives, our property and our sacred honor in the defense of this country and of its institutions." Further, the Pledge states that American Indians "denounce in emphatic terms" the promotion of "any alien form of government" that might deny freedom to Americans or threaten "the peace and safety of mankind." And the Pledge reassures readers that diverse American Indians are united in a common loyalty to country, that they "arise as one in pledging to the President of the United States and to our fellow citizens our assurance that upon these principles we and our children shall forever stand." Put simply, the Pledge begins the document's more general work of moral suasion by offering non-Indian readers assurances of a common nationalism. As hard evidence of loyalty to country, readers are subtly reminded of American Indians' heroic sacrifices during World War II, a common strategy in the post-War period. And the Pledge echoes McNickle's Foreward to Runner in the Sun in its use of inclusive plural pronouns. Much of the Pledge's specific language, however, suggests a strategy specific to the early years of the Cold War. The Pledge's third and fourth points exhibit thinly disguised, McCarthy-era fears that conference delegates will be branded as political subversives. (It is useful to recall here that Bronson's involvement in Alaskan Indian affairs rendered her suspect of communist leanings.) Even before listing their document's table of Contents,
delegates to the AICC offer a preemptory pledge of American allegiance.

McNickle's influence is evident in both the AICC Creed and the Declaration's Concluding Statement. Structured as three statements of general belief, the Creed begins:

WE BELIEVE in the inherent right of all people to retain spiritual and cultural values . . . . It is a more complex world in which the Indians live today, but the Indian people who first settled the New World and built the great civilizations which only now are being dug out of the past, long ago demonstrated that they could master complexity. (5)

The first statement advocates the kind of cultural pluralism inherent in the Indian Reorganization Act. The statement justifies cultural pluralism on the basis of archeological evidence, restating McNickle's argument in both They Came Here First and Runner in the Sun that American Indian cultures are capable of accommodating change and developing their own lives in the contemporary context according to their own ideals. (This basic argument is advanced in Bronson's and Deloria's non-fiction works as well.) The Creed's second statement builds upon the first. In order for "the Indian [to] resume his normal growth and make his maximum contribution to modern society," the American public must understand that it has been federal policies—not innate Indian qualities—that have "produced uncertainty, frustration, and despair" in Indian communities. Indian success, in other words, rests upon the American public's willingness to remove such "destroying factors" (5). The third statement closes the Creed by focusing on the future and necessity of Indian-White
cooperation. Here the Creed echoes the opening passage in Bronson's book: "WE BELIEVE in the future of a greater America, an America which we were first to love, where life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness will be a reality" (5). Like the American Indian Pledge, the AICC Creed works to quell Cold War fears that angry "Red" Indians might prove unfaithful to dominant American ideals.

The Declaration's Concluding Statement can be divided into two parts. The first three paragraphs offer readers a highly condensed version of McNickle's account of American Indian history in They Came Here First. The remaining eight brief paragraphs argue the complexity of solving the "moral problem" now posed by the delegates to the AICC. The delegates compare their determination to hold on to the "scraps and parcels" of their land base and their indigenous cultures to the tenacity of "any small nation or ethnic group [that] ever determined to hold to identity and survival" (19). But the comparison does not embolden the delegates to offer any radical solution. In the final paragraph, they restate their commitment to the principles of the Indian Reorganization Act: "In short, the Indians ask for assistance, technical and financial, for the time needed . . . to regain in the America of the space age some measure of the adjustment they enjoyed as the original possessors of their native land" (20). Led by McNickle and the NCAI, delegates to the American Indian Chicago Conference quietly ask to receive "some measure" of self-determination.
From Accommodation to Renaissance

At first, we found ourselves parroting the words of Indian experts. This didn't do anyone much good. We spoke from our mouths only—not from our hearts. We received encouraging words from tribal leaders, but many of them were part of a tribal faction and did not have ambitions of real unity. The strongest unity seems to lie with the younger people. So, it is here that we must build that unity.

--Mel Thom, "The New Indian Wars"

Among the 460 names listed in the Declaration of Indian Purpose's Appendix 8: AICC Indian Registration are Mel Thom (Northern Paiute) and Clyde Warrior (Ponca). Unlike most of the older men and women attending the conference, who were connected to the NCAI or to the tribal councils, Thom and Warrior arrived at the Chicago Conference via the summer leadership training workshops for college age Indians that McNickle was running at the University of Colorado at Boulder. A year earlier, in 1960, Warrior had been elected president of the Southwest Regional Indian Youth Council, a pan-Indian organization founded in New Mexico in 1955 for the purpose of promoting Indian education. Thom had served as president of the Southwestern Youth Conferences. Like many other young, educated American Indians, Thom and Warrior were increasingly dissatisfied with the NCAI's tactics of accommodation. They left the Chicago Conference feeling that it was time to begin a new Indian organization, run on new principles. With the help of other young Indians, later in the summer of 1961 Thom and Warrior founded the National Indian Youth Council (NIYC).
As the NIYC grew from a membership of just several young Indians to a membership of several thousand, it helped influence the changing course of American Indian political and cultural activism. Over the decade of the 1960s, calls for American Indian "emancipation" were drowned out by young American Indians' calls for a "new tribalism." The NCAI's argument that American Indians possessed a "dual identity" as tribal Indians and individual Americans became more pointed and more complex as younger activists began to argue that they were tribal members first, Indians second, and Americans third. In the next chapter I investigate the "renaissance" in American Indian activism and writing that began as America prepared to wage--and American Indians became drafted into--a second unpopular war in southeast Asia. For the next generation of American Indian writers and activists, the national pride generated by Americans' collective achievements in World War II was no longer powerful enough to sustain a politics of accommodation.
Notes


2. Neihardt is, of course, best known for writing Black Elk Speaks (1932) and a series of epic poems about the American west.

3. In The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian From Columbus to the Present, historian Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr. demonstrates the power, appeal, and frequency of images of "the dying Indian" in American art and literature since the eighteenth century.

4. In the 1940s and 1950s, Orland Kay Armstrong, a veteran of World War I, published articles on a wide range of topics in popular journals like The Reader's Digest, Christian Century, and Nation's Business, as well as in a number of newspapers. Between 1945 and 1959, The Reader's Digest published additional articles by Armstrong that address American Indian issues. Like "Set the American Indians Free!", these argue for Indian "emancipation" from federal services and advocate the integration of Indians into mainstream American life. See "Let's Give the Indians Back to the Country" (April 1948), "Indians are Going to Town" (January 1955, written with Marjorie Armstrong), "Give the Indians an Even Chance!" (November 1955), and "The Navajos Feel the Wind of Progress" (March 1959, condensed from the Denver Post [15 February 1959]). For
a response to "Set the American Indians Free!", see "Freedom Or Exploitation! Is Mr. O. K. Armstrong's Recent Solution of the American Indian Problem Sound?" by Haven Emerson, M.D., then President of the American Association on Indian Affairs, published in the Association's journal, The American Indian (Fall 1945).

5. In Indians Are People, Too (1944), Ruth Muskrat Bronson makes the related point that most Americans assumed all Indians regularly received generous hand-outs from the government: "It is astonishing how widespread throughout the country is the erroneous belief that all Indians in the United States receive a comfortable monthly allowance from the Federal government in fulfillment of treaty obligations. This has never been true. Another false notion one meets frequently is that rations are still handed out indiscriminately as a treaty right" (18-19).

6. See also Cornell 120.

7. Bernstein quotes articles that appeared in the New York Times and the Buffalo, NY, Evening News on 14 October 1940, which reported that three member tribes of the Iroquois Confederacy claimed separate nation status and therefore exemption from the draft. See Bernstein 28-29.

8. Bernstein notes that "the largest of the military land deals involved the hasty purchase of over 400,000 acres on the Pine Ridge [Sioux] reservation in South Dakota" (81). And the February 1942 issue of Indians At Work reports that "the Crow Tribal Council voted
on January 6 to place the entire tribal resources of the Crow Indian Reservation, including mineral, oil, coal, and anything else that will be of value, in the hands of President Roosevelt 'to use as he sees fit in the prosecution of the war'" (12).

9. For a fuller discussion of Collier's goals for *Indians At Work*, see my Chapter Two.

10. After Congress established a peacetime draft in September 1940, Collier unsuccessfully lobbied for special treatment of Indian soldiers, arguing that they wanted to be separated into their own units. Later, after the draft was up and running, Navajo leaders attempted to create an all-Navajo division, but their efforts also failed. See Bernstein 22.


12. In its retelling of American Indian history, the poem appears another possible antecedent and possible literary source for the World Council of Indigenous People's 1975 "Solemn Declaration," which I discuss in Chapter One.

14. In 1943, the New York-based American Association on Indian Affairs, Inc., began publishing a quarterly journal, *The American Indian*. The journal ran until 1959 and featured the work of a number of well-known writers on American Indian cultures and affairs, including Oliver LaFarge, Clyde Kluckhohn, D'Arcy McNickle, Felix S. Cohen, and Sol Tax.

15. See my discussion in Chapter Five.

16. In the full speech, Allison notes specifically that "In your schools we have learned the Christian religion" and that, like other Christian Americans, "We believe that we should do unto others as we would have them do unto us" (24). More explicitly still, in another passage Allison states, "we have converted to your religion" (24). Though he states that, prior to conversion to Christianity, "Our God was nature" (23), Allison argues that the difference between Indians and Whites "has been chiefly a difference in dress" (24).

17. Biographical information on Deloria is taken from Agnes Picotte, "Biographical Sketch of the Author," and Raymond J. DeMallie, "Afterward," both of which are included as appendices to the published text of *Waterlily*.

18. Deloria's imaginative account of migration from Asia anticipates a similar imaginative account written by Deloria's contemporary D'Arcy McNickle in his first
book-length work of non-fiction, *They Came Here First: The Epic of the American Indian* (1949); see McNickle’s Chapter One and my discussion below. Deloria’s imaginative account also anticipates N. Scott Momaday’s controversial statement in an interview published in 1989 that he has “a [personal] sense of the Kiowas’ existence as a people from the time they lived in Asia to the present day” (21-22). "There are times," Momaday states further, "when I think about people walking on ice with dogs pulling travois, and I don’t know whether it’s something that I’m imagining or something that I remember. But it comes down to the same thing" (22); see Charles L. Woodard, *Ancestral Voice: Conversations with N. Scott Momaday*, and my discussion in Chapter Five.

19. In his Afterward, DeMallie reports that Ruth Benedict’s sudden death in 1948 "deprived Deloria of the professional assistance she needed" to get *Waterlily* published (240). In any event, Deloria’s own attempts to publish the novel in the late 1940s and early 1950s failed. Both commercial and university presses returned the manuscript, praising its ethnographic material but worrying that there was not a large enough reading public for such a book (240-41). After Deloria’s death in 1971, the manuscript was entrusted to the Dakota Indian Foundation in Chamberlain, South Dakota. Professor Agnes Picotte, director of the Ella C. Deloria Project, also in Chamberlain, brought the manuscript to the attention of the University of Nebraska Press in the 1980s.

20. American Indians also served in the Korean War (1950-1953) but, like other
Americans, their participation in this conflict appears to have been much less celebrated than their participation in the earlier War.
CHAPTER FIVE

Blood (and) Memory:

Narrating Indigenous Identity in the American Indian Renaissance

This is a call for Indian scholars to come together and take the lead in formulating clear-cut stands and goals on the issues. This is a call for Indian scholars . . . to demonstrate that we are not the inarticulate masses about whom so much benevolent concern has been voiced in the past.

--Steering Committee, First Convocation of American Indian Scholars, 1970

On the very first page of his ground breaking political and cultural critique, Custer Died For Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto, published in 1969, Vine Deloria, Jr. (Sioux) announces that "Our foremost plight [as contemporary American Indians] is our transparency." "To be an Indian in modern American society," Deloria continues, "is in a very real sense to be unreal and ahistorical" (2). Like the conveners of the First Convocation of American Indian Scholars a year later, Deloria begins his critique of the federal government's "disastrous" American Indian policies and his analysis of the current conditions under which American Indians must work to better their tribal and individual lives by first confronting Indian invisibility. Dominant American culture glories in seemingly endless "authentic" representations of nineteenth-century plains Indian warriors. Romanticized as distinctly Other yet characteristically "American" in their fighting spirit, these ghosts of an earlier century
are imagined as both noble and demonic—but always as vanquished, ultimately as vanished. Content with images of warriors massacred in the nineteenth century, by 1969 dominant culture was unable to see American Indians living in the twentieth, fighting a number of distinctly twentieth-century wars.

In this chapter I focus on the activist and literary strategies developed during the "American Indian renaissance" to increase American Indian visibility. The beginnings of the American Indian renaissance can be traced to about 1964. The first large-scale events of American Indian activism began that year, when "fish-ins" were held to protest treaty violations in the Pacific northwest. And the newly formed American Indian Historical Society launched its journal, *The Indian Historian*, in order "to correct the record, to write the history [of American Indians] as it should be written, [and] to interpret correctly the aboriginal past" ("Statement of Policy," v.1 n.1, October 1964). After 1964, and particularly after 1968, American Indian activism became increasingly visible, and American Indian activists, scholars, and creative writers began to publish a record number of articles, books of non-fiction, novels, short stories, and poems. I organize Chapter Five around four major strategies developed during this period across a range of writers and texts: 1) the innovation of the indigenous discourse of plains Indian pictographic writing so that "winter counts" and picture calendars bear the weight of narrative history, 2) the mobilization and revaluing of the dominant discourse of treaties, 3) the development of "blood memory" as a trope for indigenous identity and as a process for American Indian textual production, and 4) the deployment of "trickster discourse" to defuse the
controversy generated by blood memory. All four strategies, I argue, work to make American Indians and the complex realities of their ancestral, indigenous pasts visible in the American present.

**Broken Treaties, Broken Lives**

It is important to note that in our Indian language the only translation for termination is to "wipe out" or "kill off." We have no Indian words for termination.

--Earl Old Person, Chairman of the Blackfeet Tribe, Montana, speaking against the Omnibus Bill, 1966

As with Viet Nam, we felt that our Government should not be permitted to secretly conduct an undeclared war.

--Editorial Collective, *Voices From Wounded Knee 1973*

1964 can be considered an early watershed year in the so-called Native American renaissance. That year, the federal government prepared to send U.S. combat troops to fight in Vietnam. Before the American war in Vietnam was declared officially ended, these troops' ranks would include an estimated 42,000 American Indian soldiers stationed in Southeast Asia between 1965 and 1973 (Holm 122). Placed in its demographic context, this figure is startling. The total American Indian population during the Vietnam War era is estimated at less than one million. As Tom Holm (Cherokee/Creek) points out in his recent study of American Indian
Vietnam veterans, American Indians thus made up

nearly 1.4 percent of all the troops sent to Southeast Asia, while

Indians in general never constituted more than 0.6 percent of the total

population of the United States in the same period. Approximately one

out of four eligible Native Americans served in military forces in

Vietnam, compared to one out of twelve in the general population.

(123)

Of those 42,000 American Indian soldiers, 230 died in action overseas (Holm 11). Holm’s work chronicles the often devastating impact that involvement in Vietnam combat has had on returning American Indian veterans. But his study also argues convincingly that many American Indians were able to reinterpret their Vietnam experiences in terms of their tribe’s warrior traditions, thus converting that

generation’s most compelling "American" experience into an experience distinctively

Native. Many American Indian communities were able to help their veterans cope

with Vietnam War trauma by successfully mobilizing traditional ceremonials designed
to reintegrate the warrior who has seen battle back into active community life.

Further, Holm’s work demonstrates that significant numbers of American Indian

Vietnam veterans used the military, organizational, and cross-cultural skills acquired
during their national service to become effective tribal and pan-tribal warriors in an

ongoing war against the United States government that had been escalating back home

while they were away. Most notably, Holm shows, American Indian Vietnam

veterans participated in the armed occupation at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, in
1970s American Indian political activism, epitomized by the occupation at Wounded Knee, also had its roots firmly planted in 1964. That year, the American Indian vote emerged on a national scale for the first time. Vine Deloria, Jr., who would become a significant voice in American Indian political and cultural critique before the end of the decade, was elected Executive Director of the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI). In California, a group of Indian students briefly occupied Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay, a prelude to the signal occupation of Alcatraz by "Indians of All Tribes" in 1969. Perhaps most importantly, the National Indian Youth Council (NIYC), which had formed in 1961, initiated what is arguably the twentieth century's first nationally significant American Indian political protest by actively supporting the fishing rights demonstrations of the Puyallup-Nisqually peoples and other Indian nations in the Pacific northwest. Organized to protest state violations of federal treaty guarantees of Indian fishing rights forged in the mid-nineteenth century, these "fish-ins" were soon followed by local acts of political protest around the country, organized by Indian groups large and small, tribal and pan-tribal. Angered by the legacy of U.S. treaty violations and inspired by the successes of the ongoing Civil Rights and Black Power movements, Indians soon coined the phrase "Red Power." The relationship between the United States government, dominant American culture, and American Indian nations would never be the same.

Most commentaries on the American Indian renaissance understandably point
to 1968 as the significant watershed year. That year, President Johnson brought Indian issues to national attention when he delivered his special message to Congress on "The Forgotten American" and when he established the National Council on Indian Opportunity (NCIO). Congress passed the Indian Civil Rights Act, unilaterally extending to all Indian nations and individuals—and imposing upon them—the guarantees of the United States Constitution. In June 1968, a National Aborigine Conference was held in Oklahoma. In July, the urban-based, pan-tribal American Indian Movement (AIM) was founded in Minnesota. AIM soon developed into a national protest organization. In 1968 Stan Steiner published his important study, The New Indians, which, for the first time, documented in compelling detail twentieth-century Indian people's frustrations with federal Indian policies, as well as the growing numbers of Indian cultural revitalization and activist movements. Akwesasne Notes, published by the Mohawk Nation, emerged in 1968 as the first national Indian newspaper. With an estimated circulation of 50,000 in the early 1970s, Akwesasne Notes made political reporting and commentary from an Indian perspective more widely available to Indian people than ever before (Deloria 1974:35). And in 1968 N. Scott Momaday (Kiowa) published his first novel, House Made of Dawn, which would win the Pulitzer Prize in 1969 and which would usher in a new generation of American Indian writing that, by 1980, would irreversibly alter the landscape of American literary and ethnic studies.

The Pacific northwest "fish-ins" begun in 1964 gained momentum. In 1969, a decorated Vietnam combat veteran of Yakima and Cherokee descent, Private Sidney
Mills, dramatized the potential role Indians returning from Southeast Asia might play in events of political activism. While on leave in Washington state, Mills publicly resigned from the Army and committed himself to his people's struggle over Indian fishing rights. In his published statement (which was reprinted in various American Indian journals and anthologies), Mills declared that he owed "first allegiance to Indian people in the sovereign rights of our many Tribes" and that he had "served the United States in a less compelling struggle in Vietnam and [would] not be restricted from doing less for [his] people within the United States" (rpt. in Witt and Steiner 208-10). Holm's recent survey of American Indian Vietnam veterans suggests that Private Mills was not alone in realigning his national commitment. American Indian literary texts from the Vietnam era are similarly suggestive. Wendy Rose's (Hopi/Miwok) 1972 poem "The Long Root" emphasizes the parallels many American Indians felt between the contemporary Asian conflict in which they were being asked (or forced) to participate and the "Indian wars" fought against their own communities in the nineteenth century. "[A]nd no matter how I try," Rose writes, "there is no way to shake/ Cambodia from my Wounded Knee" (1994:4).

Now inspired as much by years of anti-war protest as by the Civil Rights Movement begun in the previous decade, beginning in 1969 Indian activism exploded onto the national scene in hard-hitting political writing and in large-scale protest demonstrations designed to capture media attention. A pan-tribal group calling itself the Indians of All Tribes successfully occupied Alcatraz Island from 20 November 1969 until 11 June 1971, when remaining protestors were physically removed by
federal agents. During the occupation, the Indians of All Tribes issued a "Proclamation to the Great White Father and His People," in which they reclaimed Alcatraz Island as Indian land "by right of discovery" and offered "the Caucasian inhabitants" of the island a parodic "treaty" (rpt. in Witt and Steiner 232-35). This and other documents issued by the protestors at Alcatraz appropriated and parodied dominant official discourses—including proclamations, declarations, and treaties—as part of the political- and ethno-drama of indigenous protest demonstrations. AIM supported the Indians of All Tribes, and the experience at Alcatraz paved the way, first, in 1972 for a pan-tribal, cross-country American Indian caravan and subsequent occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, DC, that would become known as The Trail of Broken Treaties; and second, in 1973 for the armed occupation at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, by Oglala Sioux, other Indian protestors, and non-Indian supporters.

In addition to these major events of political activism, American Indian groups staged a number of smaller protests during this period. In 1970, for instance, AIM participated in a capture of a replica of the Mayflower and Indian students in New York attempted to seize Ellis Island, two icons of European immigration to America. Around the country, Indians held sit-ins at various BIA offices, and in California, Pit River Indians occupied the Lassen National Forest. In 1971, AIM targeted an important icon of American political legitimacy, the Mount Rushmore national monument. In a dramatic demonstration, protestors reclaimed the granite heads of the four United States presidents as sacred Indian land.
Each of these protest events was designed to draw attention to centuries-old American Indian struggles for treaty, cultural, and land rights. As the work of Peter Matthiessen (1980), Joane Nagel (1982), Stephen Cornell (1988), Paul Chatt Smith and Robert Allen Warrior (1996), and others has documented, Indian activism in the late 1960s and early 1970s was also a direct response to termination and relocation policies enacted by Congress in the early 1950s in the federal government’s attempt to end its services to Indian nations and Indian individuals. In addition, protestors were responding to 1960s War on Poverty programs targeted toward a wide range of minority and economically disadvantaged groups, including both reservation and urban Indians. Expanded specifically for Indians in the early 1970s with the establishment of the Bureau of Indian Affairs’ Indian Business Development Fund (1971) and the passage of the Indian Education Act (1972) and the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act (1975), these programs provided activists with models of access to economic and political power. Often during this period, these models favored pan-tribal organization as well as the grieving of specific tribal claims (see Nagel 43). And there were some notable—if limited—American Indian victories during the early 1970s that offered hope that national sentiment and federal policy could be changed. Taos Pueblo, for instance, rejected a cash settlement and successfully lobbied to have their sacred Blue Lake returned to their control in 1970. In 1972, federal termination policies begun in 1953 were finally overturned. And in 1973, the Menominees, who had been terminated in 1954, were restored to federally-recognized tribal status.
Like the major events of Civil Rights protest in the 1950s and early 1960s, major events of Indian activism in the late 1960s and early 1970s were widely reported locally, nationally, and even internationally. During demonstrations, media presence helped keep local and federal attempts to suppress protestors somewhat in check. And, perhaps unwittingly, the media helped disseminate Indian-generated images of contemporary Indians. These television, radio, and newspaper images offered American and international audiences sharp contrasts to the extremely popular images of nineteenth-century plains Indian cultures and personalities celebrated (and sometimes fabricated) by dominant American culture in books like Dee Brown's account of the 1860s wars between western Indian nations and the U.S. cavalry, Bury My Heart At Wounded Knee, published in 1970, and the disingenuous "autobiography" of a hundred-year-old Sioux Indian, The Memoirs of Chief Red Fox, published in 1971. In addition to media attention, each of the major protest demonstrations mentioned above was followed by the publication of at least one commemorative or apologetic text, written or edited by American Indian participants or observers. Alcatraz Is Not An Island, edited by Peter Blue Cloud (Mohawk), was published in 1972, followed in 1974 by the publication of Behind the Trail of Broken Treaties by Vine Deloria, Jr. (Sioux) and Voices of Wounded Knee, 1973: In The Words Of The Participants by Akwesasne Notes. These and other texts offered contemporary Indian perspectives to balance accounts generated by the dominant media and by local, state, and federal governments. They also ensured that the political, racial, and social complexity of American Indian protest events would not be
forgotten by future generations.

With the publication of *Custer Died For Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto* in 1969, Vine Deloria, Jr., who had served as the executive director of the National Congress of American Indians from 1964 to 1967, emerged as the most important voice of American Indian political and cultural critique. He followed *Custer* with *We Talk, You Listen: New Tribes, New Turf* in 1970, *God Is Red* in 1973, and *Behind the Trail of Broken Treaties: An Indian Declaration of Independence* in 1974. In these works Deloria reminded readers of American Indians' long history of resistance and activism since Europeans first arrived on the continent. And he introduced into an evolving discourse of American Indian protest systematic and comprehensive critiques of historical and more recent United States federal Indian policies, of academic anthropological practices, of Christian doctrine and mission activities, and of the Civil Rights Movement—all from an Indian perspective. In addition, in 1971 Deloria edited *Of Utmost Good Faith*, a collection of documents vital to contemporary American Indian political and legal battles. In all of his work, Deloria is most concerned with living American Indian individuals and communities, in all their complex contemporary diversity, and how they are to construct viable futures as native peoples. Robert Allen Warrior (Osage) has recently argued that, like John Joseph Matthews (Osage) in the previous generation, Deloria contend[s] in [his] work that the success or failure of American Indian communal societies has always been predicated not upon a set of uniform, unchanging beliefs, but rather upon a commitment to the
Deloria has remained a prolific writer and commentator on American Indian affairs, and he has played a significant role in the development of the growing field of American Indian legal and political studies in the 1980s and early 1990s.

Calling Myself Home. Joy Harjo (Creek), another American Indian writer from Oklahoma, published her first poetry volume, *What Moon Drove Me To This?*, in 1979. Barney Bush (Shawnee/Cayuga) also published his first poetry volume in 1979, *My Horse and a Jukebox*. Two additional American Indian poets published first volumes in 1980, Ray A. Youngbear (Mesquakie) with *Winter of the Salamander* and Wendy Rose (Hopi/Miwok) with *Lost Copper*. That year, Hanay Geiogamah (Kiowa/Delaware) published several of his dramatic works as *New Native American Drama: Three Plays*.

During these years a large number of anthologies of American Indian traditional and contemporary poetry, short stories, essays, and oratory were published. In addition to Niatum’s important contribution, notable among these are Jerome Rothenberg’s anthology of traditional poetry, *Shaking the Pumpkin* (1972); Kenneth Rosen’s anthology of stories, *The Man To Send Rain Clouds* (1974), and his anthology of poetry, *Voices of the Rainbow* (1975); Dick Lourie’s anthology of poetry, *Come to Power* (1974); Shirley Hill Witt (Mohawk) and Stan Steiner’s *The Way: An Anthology of American Indian Literature* (1974); Frederick W. Turner’s *The Portable American Indian Reader* (1974); Abraham Chapman’s *Literature of the American Indians: Views and Interpretations: A Gathering of Indian Memories, Symbolic Contexts, and Literary Criticism* (1975); Alan R. Velie’s *American Indian Literature: An Anthology* (1979); and Geary Hobson’s *The Remembered Earth: An Anthology of Contemporary Native American Literature* (1979).

In addition, American Indian writers published poetry, fiction, and non-fiction
in a growing number of American Indian publications and newspapers. In 1967 the American Indian Historical Society transformed its mimeographed journal, *The Indian Historian*, into a substantial quarterly. In 1971 the Society added a juvenile magazine, *The Weewish Tree*, to its publications. *Whispering Wind Magazine* began in 1967. The Indian Historian Press started to publish a national newspaper, *Wassaja*, in 1973. And between 1964 and 1980 more than thirty newspapers, newsletters, and journals were begun by tribal councils and American Indian organizations around the country. American Indian writers also began to publish widely in mainstream American magazines and journals during this "renaissance."

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When the American Indian Historical Society formed in 1964, it chose its name "because of Indian traditional meanings: the tribal historians were the honored people of each tribe," the editors of *The Indian Historian* noted, "preserving the tribal traditions and history. A Society was part of the life of all the tribes, being either ritualistic, warrior, or honor societies" ("Days to Remember," v.2 n.2, Summer 1969:37). In the first issue of the Society's journal, the editors noted that it was produced "entirely by American Indians." Moreover, the editors linked the survival of American Indians as culturally distinct individuals and communities to the preservation of their memory of the past: "[The American Indian] doesn't forget. And this tugging at the soul, this urging of the spirit, makes it almost impossible to exterminate his independent mind, just as it was not possible to exterminate him as a human being" ("Statement of Policy," v.1 n.1). One of the Society's first significant
actions on behalf of American Indians exemplified its stated mission of preserving American Indian history and, like the Pacific northwest "fish-ins" that had gained the attention of the national media, marked the emergence of contemporary American Indian activism.

In January 1965, the American Indian Historical Society successfully acquired title to the Ohlone Indian Cemetery, located in Fremont, California. Members of the Miwuk nation, the Ohlone people had built the Mission of San Jose for the Spanish friars; in the early 1960s, the cemetery and the more than four thousand Indians buried there were still owned by the Oakland Catholic Diocese. After the transfer of title, the Society restored the two and a half acre site as the Ohlone Indian Memorial Park, open to the public. The Society hired a family of Ohlone Indians as caretakers. Over the next several years, *The Indian Historian* published a number of articles that described Ohlone culture and chronicled their long history.

The Society's efforts at preserving and publicizing the Ohlone site can be read as significant acts of American Indian ethno-drama. Their actions held up American Indian sacred landscape and American Indian ancestors as important links to the American Indian past and as important components of contemporary American Indian identity. The creation of the Memorial Park reinstates American Indian historic memory into the landscape of contemporary America. In this sense, the Society's actions anticipate the four strategies that stand out in American Indian texts published during the American Indian renaissance: the innovation of the indigenous discourse of plains Indian pictographic writing, the revaluing of the dominant discourse of treaties,
the development of "blood memory" as a trope for indigenous identity and as a process for textual production, and the deployment of "trickster discourse" to defuse the controversy generated by blood memory. All four of these textual strategies assert a significant relationship between contemporary American Indians, ancestral landscapes, and Indian ancestors. All insist on the reinstatement of American Indian historic memory into the American present.

The Discourse of Hides and Treaties: Reclaiming Textual Artifacts of American Indian Memory

The old Teton Sioux had a saying, "A people without history is like wind on the buffalo grass."

. . . "The picture [on the winter count] is the rope that ties memory solidly to the stake of truth," was the saying of the old band historians.

--Mari Sandoz, Introduction to Amos Bad Heart Bull, A Pictographic History of the Oglala Sioux

. . . . He promised that life would go on as usual, that treaties would be signed, and everyone--man, woman, and child--would be inoculated against a world in which we had no part, a world of money, promise and disease.

--James Welch, "The Man from Washington," Riding the Earthboy 40

During their nineteenth-month occupation of Alcatraz Island in 1969-1971, American Indian activists calling themselves "Indians of All Tribes" published a document in their protest newsletter titled "'We Hold the Rock': Alcatraz
Proclamation to the Great White Father and his People." In this document, Indian activists "reclaim" Alcatraz Island "by right of discovery," then present "the Caucasian inhabitants of this land" a parodic "treaty" in order "to be fair and honorable in our dealings with all white men." In mock treaty provisions, the activists offer to purchase Alcatraz Island for $24 "in glass beads and red cloth" and vow to establish a "Bureau of Caucasian Affairs." The treaty promises that this agency will set aside a portion of land for the benefit of Caucasians, "to be held in trust... in perpetuity--for as long as the sun shall rise and the rivers go down to the sea." In further provisions, the activists offer their Caucasian treaty partners "our religion, our education, our life-ways in order to help them achieve our level of civilization and thus raise them and all their white brothers up from their savage and unhappy state."

The parameters for a viable American Indian activist discourse had changed dramatically since 1961, when the American Indian Chicago Conference (AICC) adopted the "Declaration of Indian Purpose." As I discussed in the previous chapter, the AICC document begins with "The American Indian Pledge," a four-point statement of "absolute faith in the wisdom and justice of our American form of Government." Clearly, the AICC’s pledge is designed to assure "all other loyal citizens of our beloved country" that Red Power need not arouse a 1950s style red scare. By the end of the decade, the newly formed and contingent activist group Indians of All Tribes forgoes assurances of a common nationalism and offers their "Fellow citizens" instead the culmination of their worst fears of Indian separatism and
Indian historic memory.

In its specific language use, the Alcatraz Proclamation collapses the Dutch purchase of Manhattan Island in 1626 with the creation of the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1832 and the specific articles of nearly 400 treaties forged between the United States and various American Indian nations between 1788 and 1868. In so doing, the Alcatraz Proclamation embeds the contemporary activist occupation of Alcatraz Island in what I want to call "treaty discourse." Via that discourse, the Alcatraz Proclamation holds up a textual artifact of indigenous memory in order to convert "this tiny island" into "a symbol of the great lands once ruled by free and noble Indians" (234).

I define treaty discourse as having two related components. First, treaty discourse includes the particular language use, rhetorical constructions, and tropes employed in actual treaty documents. Specific features of this component include the exclusive use of English language and the detailed negotiation of what legal scholar Charles F. Wilkinson calls a "measured separatism." The explicit goal of treaties, Wilkinson argues, "as viewed both by Indian tribes and by the United States, [is not only] to limit tribes to significantly smaller domains but also to preserve substantially intact a set of societal conditions and tribal prerogatives that existed" at the time of signing (18). "The reservation system," Wilkinson explains, "was intended to establish homelands for the tribes, islands of tribalism largely free from interference by non-Indians or future state governments. This separation is measured, rather than absolute, because it contemplates supervision and support by the United States" (14).
In other words, in the complex rhetorical situation of treaty-making, if in few others, White Americans and American Indians agree upon, and the United States government promises to uphold, the essential—albeit supervised—sovereignty of Indian nations. As the Alcatraz Proclamation suggests, tension between separation and supervision remains at the heart of ongoing treaty disputes and, in many ways, defines the discourse of treaty documents.

The tension between separation and supervision is particularly acute in the discourse of those nearly 200 treaties forged in the mid-nineteenth-century, that is, in the years spanning the large-scale removals of southeastern Indian nations to the Indian Territory west of the Mississippi River and the final large-scale "Indian wars" fought on the central, southern, and northern plains. Typically, mid-nineteenth-century treaties open with a declaration of peace between the United States government and the specific Indian nation (if they have been at open war) or with a vow that both the government and the Indians desire "perpetual peace and friendship" and wish to "bind themselves to remain firm allies and friends." The government then agrees to the reservation of specified lands "set apart for the absolute and undisturbed use and occupation of the Indians," guarantees protection from "bad men among the whites," and promises the steady supply of annuities and necessary provisions—including expert personnel such as teachers, physicians, carpenters, farmers, blacksmiths, millers, and engineers—either for a specified number of years or in perpetuity. For their part, the Indian nations "relinquish all right to occupy permanently the territory outside their reservation," promise local submission to
the institutions of American "civilization"—schools, churches, trading posts, military posts, and government agencies—and give right of way through their remaining territories for "the emigrant trains, the mail and telegraph lines,"12 and for "all the necessary roads and highways, and railways, which may be constructed as the country improves."13 Wilkinson details how "the structure and words of the treaties" (15) resulted in "the idea that Indian treaties guaranteed a substantial separatism as well as federal protection and provision of services" and that this idea "has been embodied in the case law from the beginning" (16). Further, Wilkinson notes that even President Andrew Jackson, who opposed making treaties with Indian nations in principle and who was largely responsible for the implementation of Indian removal policies, "found nothing anomalous about recognizing and protecting tribal self-government in the new homelands. Thus he said that the Indians were to have 'governments of their own choice, subject to no other control from the United States than such as may be necessary to preserve peace on the frontier and between the several tribes'" (17).

Despite an often violent history of broken treaties, both the spirit and the specific provisions of these documents have remained an important basis for contemporary federal Indian policy and a powerful inspiration for contemporary American Indian cultural and political activism.

Second, treaty discourse also includes the ongoing tradition of language use, rhetorical constructions, and tropes that have become associated with treaties and with the treaty-making era in both American Indian and dominant American discourses and in the mass media. Specific features here include stilted metaphors—"the Great White
Father"--and the depiction of an idealized treaty moment. Often such a moment is constructed as a brief, rational pause between what is seen as the ignoble past of conquest and the present disaster of Indian policy. Despite vague references to treaties in popular accounts of American frontiers and in popular accounts of contemporary land rights and resources disputes, the sheer number of individual Indian treaties and their lack of representation in history textbooks and literature anthologies has meant that the majority of Americans--Indian and non-Indian alike--have read very few actual treaties. What most non-Indian Americans think they "know" about the discourse habits of treaties they have learned from several popular traditions, including dime novels and literary westerns, pulp journals devoted to "Cowboys and Indians" or the "True West," radio, television, and film westerns, and American history textbooks regularly assigned in the public schools.

For many American Indian individuals and communities, by the late 1960s treaties had come to be regarded as a significant public record and the clearest hard evidence of the sovereign nature of indigenous American nations, valid before the international community. In addition, many American Indians had long regarded treaties as a sacred covenant, a solemn pledge between their ancestors and the United States government made before the eyes of God. By the late 1960s, therefore, local, ongoing histories of treaty violations took on political and moral connotations that reached far beyond the reservation boundaries established in the provisions of specific documents. During the activist occupation at Alcatraz Island, for example, the Treaty of 1868, signed at Fort Laramie by representatives of various Sioux bands and their
allies the Arapaho, would be held up as symbolic of the sovereignty of all American Indian nations and of the continuing responsibilities of the federal government toward its treaty partners. This same treaty would be evoked again in 1973, during the armed occupation at Wounded Knee, to declare an independent Oglala nation (Deloria 1974:77-78).

The Alcatraz Proclamation makes clear that treaty discourse easily conflates a popularized version of treaties and treaty-making—in which the government pledges to uphold promises "for as long as the sun shall rise and the rivers go down to the sea"—with specific, far less colorful provisions in actual treaty documents. For American Indian activists, such conflation appears strategic, intended to counter typical deployments of treaty discourse by dominant American culture. Inevitably, dominant American culture has had to argue that treaty promises are a politically meaningless discourse in contemporary times, designed in the past to "pacify" Indians or to ameliorate their inevitable subjugation. In discussing historic treaties, dominant American culture has had to foreground the ideas that treaty documents were little more than bothersome formalities in the American conquest of the West, or that they were ruses designed to deceive American Indian leaders, or that, whatever the federal government's intentions at the time of signing, treaty promises are no longer practical for the nation. These ideas are held up as the important "truths" and relevant "realities" hidden beneath or behind the texts of actual treaty documents. Clearly, such arguments are intended to undermine the sovereignty of American Indian nations that is acknowledged in the language of specific treaties and by the treaty-making
process in general. To counter this dominant ideology, the Alcatraz Proclamation foregrounds instead the surface features of treaties—the style, figures of speech, and narrative devices of their preambles and specific articles. Though deployed as parody, the "treaty" sections of the Alcatraz Proclamation draw attention to the idea that treaties are the founding discourse for peaceful relations between American Indian nations and the United States government, and that treaties are undeniable records of binding agreements—whatever the federal government may have intended at the time of signing or may desire today. In these activists' hands, treaty discourse appropriates an official discourse of the United States government in order to foreground American Indian memories of their own sovereign nations and of the government's solemn promises to uphold that sovereignty.

American Indian poets and novelists have also mobilized the discourse of treaties in their attempts to represent contemporary American Indian identities as indigenous and American Indian nations as sovereign. One example is the little known historical novel Winter Count, written by Dallas Chief Eagle (Sioux). Winter Count was first published in 1967, two years before the activist occupation of Alcatraz Island and a year before the publication of N. Scott Momaday's Pulitzer Prize-winning novel, House Made of Dawn. Momaday's widely acclaimed literary achievement has almost completely overshadowed Chief Eagle's efforts, and to date Winter Count has motivated no major literary study. Most critics by-pass Chief Eagle in order to establish a genealogy for contemporary American Indian writers that begins with Momaday as significant patriarch. In Other Destinies: Understanding the
American Indian Novel (1992), for example, Louis Owens (Choctaw/Cherokee) incorrectly places Dallas Chief Eagle in a long list of American Indian writers who began publishing in the 1970s. Owens speculates that all of this writing—including Chief Eagle’s--was "triggered" by the publication of House Made of Dawn in 1968 (24).

To a certain degree, Chief Eagle’s obscurity in the American Indian canon is understandable. Compared to House Made of Dawn, Winter Count appears stylistically unchallenging, its narrative devices largely transparent and not particularly accomplished. Winter Count’s plot is straightforward and follows a strict, historically accurate chronology. The novel is set in the vast Sioux territory that, by the mid-nineteenth century, covered parts of Montana, Wyoming, North and South Dakota, and Nebraska, and its plot chronicles the fifteen difficult years of "Indian wars" that preceded the infamous massacre of over 200 Sioux men, women, and children at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, in the winter of 1890. Winter Count focuses specifically on the story of the dispossession and subjugation of the Teton Sioux between 1875 and 1890. In order to render this complex history manageable and in order to conform (at least partially) to Western narrative conventions, the novel centers on the adventures and eventual destruction of the fictional warrior Turtleheart and his wife Evensigh, a White woman raised by the Sioux from infancy (Evensigh is constructed explicitly as an orphan rather than as a captive). Turtleheart and Evensigh survive the depredations of Indian enemies, White gold miners, and the United States cavalry; and they adjust to a life confined to the reservation, only to die
tragically at Wounded Knee. Their infant child, Little Sun, survives the massacre unharmed, and the novel suggests that the author is a descendant of this survivor. Winter Count is easily classified as nostalgic and didactic, its primary purposes clearly moral, political, and historic rather than solely "literary."

On closer inspection, however, Winter Count just as clearly grapples with the difficult question of how best to represent the American Indian past so that it will remain relevant to the American Indian present and to an American Indian future. In addition, the novel grapples with the question of how to represent the Sioux past so that present and future Sioux generations will be able to interpret the novel’s meaning for their community. And in its particular strategies of mobilizing the textual artifacts of Indian historic memory, Winter Count anticipates not only the Alcatraz Proclamation, but also the powerful and highly regarded historical novel Fools Crow, published in 1986 by James Welch (Blackfeet/Gros Ventre). Like Winter Count, Fools Crow recreates the significant years leading up to an Indian massacre and, in its final pages, dramatizes the final, violent subjugation of a powerful plains Indian people—in Welch’s novel, the cavalry’s surprise morning raid on Pikuni Blackfeet camped on the Marias River in the hard winter of 1870. Mistaking the peaceful camp for one led by a Blackfeet “renegade,” the cavalry killed 173 Blackfeet at the Marias River, including significant numbers of women and children. A direct descendant of one of the few survivors, Welch grew up hearing his father retell his great-grandmother’s eyewitness accounts of the morning raid and of the Blackfeet’s subsequent confinement to the reservation.
Like Chief Eagle, in retelling historic events to yet another generation, Welch attempts to recreate a specific American Indian idiom of thought and speech in literary English. In a number of interviews Welch has commented that he tried to write *Fools Crow* "from the inside-out" (McFarland 4), "from the inside of [a Blackfeet] cultural point of view" (Coltelli 198), and that part of his aim was to present "a different type of reality" by presenting an exclusively Blackfeet perspective (Welch 1992:11). His strategies for creating this perspective include, first, translating and/or approximating Blackfeet personal names and Blackfeet descriptive names for natural and cultural phenomena into English and, second, embedding his realistic, historically-based narrative in Blackfeet storytelling and ritual traditions. The effect is similar to that of Latin American "magic realism": animal helpers speak to the young hero, ritual enables his personal growth and understanding, dreams and visions directly related to Blackfeet cosmology and myth traditions help guide his actions in the "real" world.

Similarly, Chief Eagle states in his novel’s dedication and acknowledgements page that "Approximately sixty-five percent of WINTER COUNT uses Indian thoughts and language which has been interpreted into English." Chief Eagle’s linguistic and stylistic techniques are less innovative and more subtle than Welch’s, but he, too, translates and/or approximates Sioux into English throughout the novel. And occasionally Chief Eagle represents the experience of Sioux cultural traditions from a distinctly Sioux perspective, most notably in the chapter describing Turtleheart’s vision quest (141-47). Toward the end of his four-day ordeal,
Turtleheart begins to feel "the sensation of little puffs of cool air touching at all points of his body" (146). The feeling grows stronger "until the strange sensation of flying birds was vivid in his mind. He could even hear the fluttering of wings as they breezed about his torso and the calves of his legs" (146). Finally, Turtleheart hears "the sweet melodious voice of Evensigh," who has been captured by White gold miners and sent to live as a White woman in St. Louis. Opening his eyes, Turtleheart discovers that

It was raining. The whole countryside was being rained upon, but none of it touched him. Where he stood there was no rain. Curiosity made him step forward and extend his hand out beyond the edge of his position. The drops of rain fell against his upturned palm, and he withdrew his hand to dab at his parched lips with the moistened fingers.

Turning, he went to the opposite side of his dry area and knelt to pull at the wet grass. The singing voice of Evensigh was wafted to him on the eastern breeze. Wonderment filled Turtleheart. He was having a vision. (147)

Chief Eagle's description of this spiritual event is restrained and carefully mimetic, and it reflects a sensibility about how best to represent the sacred that is different from Welch's but nonetheless presents an American Indian worldview "from the inside-out."

Most interesting for my purposes here, in their recreations of tragic American
Indian history, both *Fools Crow* and *Winter Count* foreground textual artifacts of Indian historic memory. Both novels prominently feature treaty documents and the intricate processes of treaty-making. In *Fools Crow*, Welch creates dramatic tension and powerful emotional effect by freighting the surface features of treaties—including the physical characteristics of the treaty document itself—with the power of historic witness. In the novel’s final pages, for instance, a survivor of the Marias River massacre relates:

"Curlew Woman says Heavy Runner was among the first to fall. He had a piece of paper that was signed by a seizer chief. It said that he and his people were friends to the Napikwans. But they shot him many times." (383-84)

Welch’s detail of the "piece of paper that was signed by a seizer chief" resonates in this scene as irrefutable evidence of White treachery in treaty negotiations.18

In *Winter Count*, Chief Eagle establishes the treaty context of his story in a formal four-page Introduction. After a brief synopsis of how the Sioux received their common name and an explanation of the extent of the Sioux’s traditional territories, Chief Eagle states that "In the book WINTER COUNT, we are concerned with the Sioux of the west who were known as the Tetonwan or simply the Teton Sioux. This segment consisted of seven bands who collectively recognized the sovereignty of the United States Government in 1825. In this peace treaty, both parties obliged themselves to keep the peace" (i). Chief Eagle then explains the circumstances that led to the signing of subsequent treaties in 1851 and 1868—and their violation by
White settlers and the United States government. "It is little matter for surprise," Chief Eagle writes, "that in consequence of the many broken treaties, the invasion of the Indian lands and destruction of Indian property and buffalo, many white men lost their lives. The wonder is, why did the Indian use constraint instead of proceeding to extreme measures in the annihilation of the unjust transgressors who were allowed to over-run their homeland in violation of the treaties" (ii). Chief Eagle ends his Introduction by quoting Chief Red Cloud, who refused to join other Sioux in their 1876 declaration of war against the government: "[Red Cloud's] words were, 'I have signed the treaty of 1868, and I intend to keep it.' In point of honor," Chief Eagle reminds us, "[Red Cloud] towered far above the five generals who signed the treaty with him" (iv).

Throughout Winter Count, the federal government's representatives are portrayed as hypocritical and deceptive in their treaty negotiations. At one point, federal agents ply the Sioux men who are already corralled on the reservation with whiskey in order to get them to sign away their rights to the Black Hills (191-194). Chief Eagle opens the chapter following this scene by writing that "Civilization, which was to be brought to the Indians by the 'Great White Father', in exchange for the land and freedom of the people, now appeared to be merely courtship promises which never were intended to be kept" (200, emphasis mine). The image of treaties as "courtship promises" clearly is meant to encourage readers to view the love relationship between Turtleheart and his White bride Evensigh as a contrast to Indian-White treaty relations. These lovers are able to uphold their promises despite racial
difference and despite difficult circumstances beyond their control because they share cultural convictions, including the importance of honor. Their positive example of Indian-White relations is echoed in the character Hidetrader, a White trader who marries an Indian woman and successfully integrates into Sioux society while remaining a cultural go-between. When his Sioux wife and child are killed and scalped by Whites after the battle of the Little Big Horn, Hidetrader declares White society "evil" and rejects it completely (127). Chief Eagle ends his novel with the massacre at Wounded Knee, where a reunited Turtleheart and Evensigh are both killed. As treaty analogy, their unprovoked and shamefully unnecessary murder signals the larger significance of the massacre for all Indian peoples.

In addition to the dominant discourse of treaties, both Welch and Chief Eagle represent an indigenous American discourse tradition in their historical novels that evokes the textual artifacts of Indian historic memory: the pictographic writing system of the plains Indian "winter count." Before and well into the reservation period, plains Indian cultures employed a variety of pictographic writing systems as memory aids, personal communications, biographical and tabulary records, geographical charts, chronologies and records of exploits, as well as for decoration on tipis and shields. A winter count is a pictographic calendar in which each year or "winter" is recorded as a pictograph that represents a significant event in the life of the tribe or, more commonly, a particular band. Traditionally, band historians recorded their symbols for each year on tanned buffalo, elk, or deer hides. After White encroachment on the plains and after the overhunting of buffalo, elk, and deer made
hides less available, winter counts were drawn or painted on cloth and paper. Pictographs typically are arranged either in a spiral formation that begins in the center and moves out and around either clockwise or counterclockwise, or in a series of rows back and forth across the hide, cloth, or paper canvas. Some Sioux winter counts are known to have depicted more than three hundred years of history.

Several features distinguish the discourse of pictographic winter counts from Western-style records of history. First, the year symbols drawn or painted on a traditional winter count are ideographic rather than illustrative. Typically, a single image portrays the idea for the entire year. Individual pictures may be highly schematic and stylized or more idiosyncratic to the particular band historian, but each represents a complete idea. Second, to western sensibilities accustomed to narrative traditions of recording community history, winter counts can appear "incoherent," because "in no sense do they aim at narrative; their chief concern is the erection of calendric milestones," "a trustworthy supplement to the memory" (Bad Heart Bull 24, 26). The pictographs collected on a given winter count show no continuity of emphasis from year to year. And third, band historians choose to represent events that are considered outstanding or facts that are considered of interest and significance to their particular community rather than to the tribe or the larger confederation of tribes. In other words, "they are not bodies of general history but are, rather, individual records of an individual group" (Bad Heart Bull 23). This feature in particular marks winter counts as providing an exclusively American Indian point of view of the years in which particular bands were in contact with Whites.
In *Fools Crow*, Welch innovates the traditional winter count for his specific dramatic purposes. During his protagonist's extended dream/vision toward the end of the novel, Welch uses the painted designs on a yellow animal skin to foreshadow tragic events that lie in the future for his nineteenth-century characters but that lie in the past for his twentieth-century readers (see 353-59). In the dream/vision, the painted designs begin to move across the skin as though the images are alive; later, they also produce sound. *Fools Crow* tries to flee the frightening vision, but he finds he cannot move. Welch writes that "He [is] powerless to keep from seeing" (354). *Fools Crow*’s ability to interpret the moving pictures on the skin increases as he watches the designs change and he becomes attuned to their method, and thus readers receive increasingly detailed—and increasingly recognizable—descriptions. The skin becomes a readable, multi-dimensional text targeted at multiple audiences inside and outside the narrative. For late-twentieth-century readers, the skin bears historic witness to American Indian memories of events that occurred after 1870, outside the scope of the novel's immediate plot. Thus the innovated winter count allows Welch to embed his narrative of 1867-1870, the final years of a fully independent Blackfeet cultural system, within the larger scope of contemporary American Indian history. Like the novel's protagonist, readers exposed to the decorated skin are "powerless to keep from seeing" the larger significance of Welch's unfolding story.

In a similar way, Leslie Marmon Silko innovates southwestern pictographic traditions of sand painting and shield painting in her widely acclaimed novel *Ceremony* (1977). Silko repeats the motif of a "star map of the overhead sky in late
September" (214) in the medicine man Betonie’s ceremonial sand painting, in the design painted on an old war shield (constructed, like a traditional winter count, from an animal hide), and finally in the sky itself during the novel’s climax. As in Fools Crow, in Ceremony the significance of these American Indian textual traditions lies in the "convergence of patterns" (254) and in the protagonist’s ability to interpret the patterns within changing cultural and historical contexts. When Silko’s mixed-blood Laguna protagonist sees the star pattern in the sky itself, he realizes that "The stars had always been with them, existing beyond memory, and they were all held together there. . . . Accordingly, the story goes on with these stars on the old war shield" (254). In both Fools Crow and Ceremony, representations of American Indian pictographic traditions serve as metonyms of indigenous memory in the contemporary written text. They evoke the continuity of indigenous memory across generations and the endurance of indigenous historic memory despite cultural change.  

Chief Eagle’s novel Winter Count employs two types of traditional winter count calendars in its plot, though it offers the second type, a personal "exploit skin," as an innovation of the winter count concept in order to meet the novel’s particular dramatic and political purposes. Chief Eagle has his character Blue Thunder, an elder Yuwipi man and tribal spiritual leader, explain to the younger men that winter counts portray history. . . . All bands have to have some sort of calendar, a method of recalling events of the past. . . . In each band, the keeper of the calendar consulted with the elders to decide the most notable event for that year. When this was done, he drew a
Chief Eagle's protagonist, Turtleheart, inherits the responsibility for keeping his band's winter count when his grandfather dies. In addition to the band winter count, however, Turtleheart's grandfather has left him a "smaller winter count . . . [his] own personal calendar" (75). In the novel, no other Sioux appears to possess a personal calendar. Blue Thunder finds the small winter count "interesting" and "different," explaining that "It does not tell of the band, but of Turtleheart. It is his personal history" (138). Turtleheart's good friend, the White-educated warrior Strong Echo, remarks, "Hah. It is a crude way to keep a history, but I can see where it can be favored by an individual" (138). Though Chief Eagle suggests that the personal winter count is an innovation, in fact "picture autobiographies" or "brag skins" were quite common among the Sioux. Usually they were created by the warriors themselves, in order "to make heroes of the autobiographers" (Bad Heart Bull xx). Chief Eagle's innovation is that Turtleheart's grandfather has kept a personal winter count for his grandson since his infancy--a personal biography that Turtleheart will continue as an autobiography as an adult.

As Chief Eagle's plot develops, the personal winter count plays a crucial symbolic role, and its strategic placement suggests Chief Eagle's attempt to authenticate his novel as Indian memory. Turtleheart carries his personal winter count with him at all times. At Wounded Knee, already shot and bleeding to death, Turtleheart searches for his infant child. When he discovers Little Sun, Turtleheart reaches beneath his shirt and "[takes] out his winter count and form[s] a shield for
Little Sun's face" before cradling the baby in the sling of his arm and beginning his desperate journey away from the massacre and toward the reservation mission. As he walks through the winter storm, Turtleheart "reach[es] the point of being halfway between self and unconsciousness, and memories of his life w[ind] in and out of his mind. The vision quest, the sun dance . . . " (229)—his mind replaying the significant events recorded on his personal winter count. Turtleheart reaches the mission and is able to give to the priest his son, who Turtleheart has wrapped in the personal winter count. The novel ends with Turtleheart's death outside the mission. The priest interprets Turtleheart's final action and final words as a conversion to Christianity. But the significant action of wrapping Little Sun in the winter count—and the novel's title—suggests that, despite tragic loss and irreversible cultural change, Turtleheart's Sioux memory has been preserved through the textual artifact of the personal winter count.

Chief Eagle's novel was published in 1967. Coincidentally, 1967 also saw the delayed publication of *A Pictographic History of the Oglala Sioux*, drawn and annotated by Amos Bad Heart Bull, an Oglala of the Hunkpatila band. Bad Heart Bull's pictographic record of the Oglala includes over 400 pictures recorded in a ledger book. Drawn between 1890 and Bad Heart Bull's death in 1913, the pictures cover the period beginning about 1856, through the turbulent years of wars with the United States cavalry, the Wounded Knee massacre, and the transition to reservation life. Bad Heart Bull's manuscript was well-known to people living on the Pine Ridge Reservation, but it was not revealed to the outside world until 1926, when Helen
Blish, an anthropology graduate student at the University of Nebraska, learned of its existence from officials at the Pine Ridge Agency. After securing permission from Bad Heart Bull's family, Blish worked at interpreting the Bad Heart Bull manuscript until her untimely death in 1941. In 1927, the first year Blish "rented" the ledger book from Bad Heart Bull's family, the entire book was photographed. When Bad Heart Bull's sister, Dollie Pretty Cloud, died in 1947, the ledger book was interred with her body as a cherished personal possession, according to Sioux custom. It would take more than two decades for the University of Nebraska Press to publish the photographed manuscript of Bad Heart Bull's pictures with Blish's interpretive text and an introduction by Mari Sandoz.

Beyond the coincidence of its publication date, the Bad Heart Bull manuscript suggests the significance of Chief Eagle's novel as an attempt to translate Sioux pictographic traditions into the conventions of western history and literature. Blish's interpretation stresses that the Bad Heart Bull manuscript is not a traditional winter count, "which are ideographic and purely chronological in character" (18). Rather, Bad Heart Bull's pictures are "illustrative, detailed and realistic" (22). Bad Heart Bull's pictures "give the full action of the story in illustrative style. . . . The whole scene is suggested . . . something is actually taking place" (27). Most remarkably, the manuscript as a whole has a high narrative content. As Blish explains,

In purpose and character, the Bad Heart Bull document is quite different from the winter counts. In the first place, it gives full historical and cultural detail; and in the second place, that detail is
given in generally chronological and coherent sequence, with interruptions only to allow for a complete "discussion" of some phase of tribal life or organization—social, religious, political—and then only as that "discussion" belongs integrally to the action. The design... is narrative rather than calendric. The record is intended to give a full and authentic account of the tribal life of the Oglala Dakotas during that period of stress and strife and rebellious readjustment which falls within the sixty or seventy years covered by the record. (27)

Blish's account of the Bad Heart Bull manuscript would serve well as an account of Chief Eagle's historical novel.

Further, Blish's account of Bad Heart Bull's influences and purposes in putting together his pictographic record is highly suggestive of the hybrid nature of Chief Eagle's work. Blish recounts that "According to the uncle, the boy [Amos] for some time had been interested in treaties and other official documents concerning Indian-federal government relations and had been collecting them; as a result, he possessed a considerable number of books and published reports, which, incidentally, he could not read himself" (8). Bad Heart Bull was also greatly interested in Sioux histories, and Blish reports that sometime before 1891 Bad Heart Bull "had drawn a complete winter count... of the Oglala Dakotas, which covered some three hundred years" (8). According to Blish, it was during the completion of this project that Bad Heart Bull realized the limitations of the pictographic method of winter counts. "Prompted by a real historical and sociological sense," Blish writes, "he decided that it was most
desirable to make a more complete record" (8). Bad Heart Bull had no formal schooling. He taught himself to draw, and later to write fluently in Lakota and, after contact with Whites while he was enlisted as a scout for the United States Army, to write at least a little in English. His detailed illustrations of Oglala life often include detailed annotations in Lakota and occasional brief notations in English—a multiply hybrid text.

In addition to treaties and other documents, Bad Heart Bull may have consulted older winter counts for information about events in Sioux history before his own lifetime. He relied upon his own memory for those years and events in which he had himself participated. But much of his historical narrative, Blish argues, was based upon the recited memories of Bad Heart Bull's father and uncles and other older Sioux. And many of his detailed, dynamic pictures of Sioux exploits, Blish argues further, were the result of "the constructive powers of his own imagination" (59, emphasis mine). Bad Heart Bull's accomplishment, in other words, represents the recording and passing on of history, Oglala traditions, and specific family memories. Like Chief Eagle's and Welch's historical novels—which also are based in both historical documents and tribal and family memories--Bad Heart Bull's pictographic record is a hybrid work of imaginative literature based in indigenous historic memory. Both of these textual forms--pictographic and literary--maintain and assert indigenous difference through linguistic, stylistic, and content markers of indigenous identity. At the same time, both of these textual forms insist on remembering the cross-cultural and cross-national agreements forged between Indian leaders and the United States
government. In all of these texts, indigenous identity becomes wedded to the government's solemn pledges of continued American Indian sovereignty. That identity gets expressed in the confluence of personal memory, oral tradition, and official records written in complementary traditions of ink and paper, paints and skins.

Quantum Fitness: Repoliticizing Blood, Imagination, Memory

Are you a real Indian
they sometimes ask
Children in
school classrooms
Wondering why I don’t
scalp someone.
How much Indian blood do you have?

--Jack D. Forbes, "Beyond the Veil"

Our treaties say nothing about your having to be such-and-such a degree of blood in order to be covered. No, when the federal government made its guarantee to our nations in exchange for our land, it committed to provide certain services to us as we defined ourselves.

--Russell Means

In Chief Eagle's and Welch's historical novels, American Indian racial identity and racial distinctiveness remains intact and unquestioned for the vast majority of these writers' nineteenth-century characters. Both novels do, however, raise issues of cultural and racial hybridity. Winter Count features two White characters who live as Indians, as well as their mixed-blood children. Fools Crow includes the historically-
based character Joe Kipp, the mixed-blood son of a Blackfeet woman and a White trader. Kipp finds his position "between" worlds difficult to navigate, and he makes a place for himself in the Montana Territory's turbulent 1860s by serving as a scout and interpreter for the United States cavalry. By contrast, in most other American Indian novels, short stories, poems, and essays produced during the American Indian renaissance—and especially in those set in contemporary times—issues of racial hybridity and Indian authenticity are central. They open upon these pages as painful personal wounds.

Whereas local, state, and federal policies have subjected African-American citizens of the United States to a "one drop" rule of exclusionary racial identification that privileges their non-European heritage, local, state, and federal policies have subjected American Indian citizens to an inclusive standard of "blood quantum" or "degree of Indian blood" that privileges instead the admixture of European bloodlines. A standard of racial identification, blood quantum originally served as a device for documenting "Indian" status for the federal government's purposes of dividing and subsequently alienating collectively-held Indian lands. Blood quantum enshrines racial purity as the ideal for authentic American Indian status; tabulations of blood quantum thus emphasize the genetic hybridity of most contemporary United States citizens who claim American Indian identity. In effect, mixed-blood American Indians are considered genetically estranged from their full-blood indigenous ancestors once a certain "degree" of mixing with Europeans, White Americans, African-Americans or others has been passed. American Indian activist and scholar M. Annette Jaimes has
traced the federal government’s standard of blood quantum to 1887 and the passage of the General Allotment Act (also known as the Dawes Act). Indians were required to prove one-half or more Indian blood in order to receive allotments; "surplus" lands were then made available to non-Indians (126). As Jaimes documents, after the success of allotment policies at making Indian lands available to White settlers--between 1887 and 1934 the already degraded Indian land base was "legally" reduced by another staggering 90 million acres--the standard of blood quantum was developed into a taxonomy of variable Indian identity that came to control Indian access to all federal services, including commodity rations, annuity payments, and health care (126). Indian identity became subject to a genetic burden of proof. Indians who did not "look" Indian enough were--and are today--particularly suspected of falsifying indigenous identity. Indians of mixed tribal descent can find themselves "full-bloods" who do not qualify for Indian services because they do not meet specific half- or quarter-blood requirements for inclusion in a particular tribe or nation. Indians who were "adopted out" as infants often do not know their tribal affiliations, and Indians whose ancestors did not enter their names on the allotment rolls in the nineteenth century often do not qualify for official tribal membership. Any of these reasons can be used to disqualify Indian individuals from federal Indian status. And in the second half of the twentieth century, it is not only the federal government or White Americans who ask American Indians "How much Indian blood do you have?" As competition for limited federal monies and services has increased, Jaimes notes with obvious despair, "Indians themselves have increasingly begun to enforce the race
codes excluding the genetically marginalized from both identification as Indian citizens and consequent entitlements" (129).

For Jaimes and for many American Indian activists, standards of blood quantum represent a fundamental attack on the sovereignty of American Indian nations. Federal degree-of-blood criteria prevent Indian nations from determining their own criteria for tribal membership. In the works of many American Indian writers produced during the American Indian renaissance, the issue of blood quantum or degree of Indian blood is a site of personal and social conflict. Perhaps paradoxically, in many of these works blood quantum is also a source of potential power. Whether addressed directly or hidden in elaborate metaphors, blood quantum stands as a metonym for the "problem" of defining contemporary American Indian identity. "Mixed" blood can mean denigrated status in both Indian and White communities, a sense of belonging nowhere and to no one. But once identified, knowledge of specific Indian bloodlines--ties to specific nations, bands, families, and individuals, particularly to living elders or to illustrious ancestors--can serve as a catalyst for the recuperation of an integrated and successful contemporary American Indian identity.

Arguably, the most recognizable trope deployed in American Indian literary texts published after 1968 is memory in the blood or blood memory. Coined by N. Scott Momaday in his Pulitzer Prize-winning first novel, House Made of Dawn, the trope's provocative juxtaposition of blood and memory reaches beyond a western sense of figurative speech, beyond most White Americans' commonsense
understandings of the folk expression that certain personality traits can be passed down the generations "in the blood." For careful readers—Indian and non-Indian alike—the trope blood memory both intensifies the standard meanings of its juxtaposed terms and conspicuously alters those standard meanings. Through the trope blood memory, Momaday's and other American Indian writers' narrators and characters work toward solving the "problem" of defining contemporary American Indian identities as indigenous identities in the United States. More often than not, contemporary persons and communities who identify as American Indian are of mixed genetic descent and mixed cultural heritage, and they are situated in predominantly urban environments away from traditional tribal land bases and communities. In this context, far removed from dominant culture's stereotypical images of "real" or "authentic" native North Americans, the trope blood memory boldly asserts that American Indian "blood"—in virtually any "quantity"—both retains the memory of Indian indigeneity and holds or has access to ancestral and thus authentic Indian memories. In this sense, the trope blood memory functions in contemporary American Indian writing similarly to deployments of the discourse of plains Indian pictographic writing and to deployments of the discourse of treaties I discuss above. For this reason, memory in the blood has become not only one of the most well-known tropes in contemporary American Indian literature, but also one of the most controversial. For unlike the discourses of winter counts or treaties, which are grounded in the material textual artifacts of indigenous historic memory, blood memory relies upon at least three less tangible elements: an unmediated relationship
to indigenous land bases, the continuation of oral traditions, and the "constructive powers" of the writer's imagination.

To read and reread the body of Momaday's work, both in and out of the order of its publication, is to encounter a palimpsest and a palindrome. The novels, essays, traditional stories, personal reflections, and poems all return to a set of familiar images, characters, and narratives, often reworking the same material in several forms and various combinations. The trope blood memory appears in all of Momaday's significant work to date, and in many ways blood memory has become Momaday's literary and imaginative signature. Momaday's explicit references to blood memory form an unfolding and self-reflexive discourse on the complex potential meanings of contemporary American Indian identities based in indigenous "memory."

Like ceremonial formulae repeated with slight but significant variation, this palimpsestic, unfolding discourse presents a building theme and a persistent argument.

Consider the following passages. First, from the "Priest of the Sun" section of *House Made of Dawn* (1968), the character Tosamah's speech about his Kiowa grandmother:

> Though she [the grandmother] lived out her long life in the shadow of Rainy Mountain [Oklahoma], the immense landscape of the interior--all of its seasons and its sounds--lay like memory in her blood. (129)

Second, a very similar passage repeated almost verbatim in Momaday's 1969 hybrid text, *The Way to Rainy Mountain*. Here Momaday describes his own Kiowa grandmother, Aho, recently deceased:
Although my grandmother lived out her long life in the shadow of Rainy Mountain, the immense landscape of the continental interior lay like memory in her blood. She could tell of the Crows, whom she had never seen, and of the Black Hills, where she had never been. I wanted to see in reality what she had seen more perfectly in the mind's eye. . . . (7)

Third, two passages from Momaday's now famous address to the First Convocation of American Indian Scholars in 1970, "The Man Made of Words":

I am interested in the way that a man looks at a given landscape and takes possession of it in his blood and brain. (53)

And in the racial memory, [the old Kiowa woman] Ko-sahn had seen the falling stars [in 1833]. For her there was no distinction between the individual and the racial experience, even as there was none between the mythical and the historical. Both were realized for her in the one memory, and that was of the land. (54)

Fourth, several selections from Momaday's powerful memoir *The Names*, published, perhaps ironically, during the 1976 United States Bicentennial celebrations:

Some of my mother's memories have become my own. This is the real burden of the blood; this is immortality. I remember. . . . (22)

Mammedaty was my grandfather, whom I never knew. Yet he came to
be imagined posthumously in the going on of the blood, having
invested the shadow of his presence in an object or a word, in his name
above all. He enters into my dreams; he persists in his name. (26)

[Pohd-lohk] opened the book [a pictographic calendar history of the
Kiowa people] to the first page, and it was Da-pegya-de Sai.
November, 1833, and the stars were falling. He closed his eyes, the
better to see them. . . . But as he watched, dreaming, the stars were at
last nothing he had ever seen or should ever see beyond this, the havoc
he imagined and remembered in his blood. (48)

And her grandson Huan-toa [Momaday’s father] had taken his child to
be in Tsoai’s [“Rock Tree”; Devil’s Tower] presence even before the
child could understand what it was, so that by means of the child the
memory of Tsoai should be renewed in the blood of the coming-out
people [the Kiowa]. (55)

Fifth, from Momaday’s short essay “Personal Reflections,” published as part of the
collection The American Indian and the Problem of History, edited by Calvin Martin
in 1987:

... my experience, my deepest, oldest experience, the memory in my
blood. (157)

Sixth, from Momaday’s second novel, The Ancient Child, published in 1989:
Koi-ehtm-toya's great-great-grandson became a renowned maker of shields. He never saw Tsoai, but he knew Tsoai in himself, its definition in his mind's eye, its powerful silence in the current of his blood. . . . In his old age he dreamed of things that happened before his time. (315)

And seventh, from Momaday's 1992 collection of selected and new poems, *In the Presence of the Sun*, the short poem "Carnegie, Oklahoma, 1919":

This afternoon is older
than the giving of gifts
and the rhythmic scraping of the red earth.
My father's father's name is called,
and the gift horse stutters out, whole.
the whole horizon in its eyes.
In the giveaway is beaded
the blood memories of fathers and sons.
Oh, there is nothing like this afternoon
in all the miles and years around,
and I am not here,
but, grandfather, father, I am here. (136)

In these passages, memory in the blood tropes significant relationships between narrative, geography, and transformative (spiritual) power. Blood memory also tropes the synthesis of these relationships, their contemplation in the human
imagination and their subsequent recollection in human memory. In his 1970 address, "The Man Made of Words," Momaday wrote that "An Indian is an idea a given man has of himself"; such an idea liberates Momaday's own and other American Indians' identities from imposed definitions of Indian authenticity, including blood quantum.

In a 1987 interview, Momaday told his friend Charles Woodard, a professor of English at South Dakota State University,

> There are times, Chuck, when I think about people walking on ice with dogs, pulling travois, and I don't know whether it's something that I'm imagining or something that I remember. But it comes down to the same thing. (22)

What is at issue in this passage is the relevance of particular experience, recently or distantly past, lived physically or imaginatively, to personal and communal identity. In other words, Momaday emphasizes the processes of imagination and memory in the expression of a successful and meaningful idea of the self. As Momaday states succinctly in "The Man Made of Words," "The greatest tragedy that can befall us is to go unimagined" (55).

The poem "Carnegie, Oklahoma, 1919," quoted above in full, exemplifies the process of blood memory as a process for contemporary textual production. The poem is a condensed and companion version of a story Momaday tells more elaborately in his memoir, The Names (see 93-97). In this section of The Names, Momaday remembers himself as a young boy, visiting his grandmother in Oklahoma. He then imagines himself as that boy, who begins to wonder about his dead
grandfather, whom he never met; the boy then imagines himself alive in 1919, when his grandfather, Mammedaty, was given a horse. The boy Momaday has imagined knows the details of the ritual giveaway because his father has told him the story of how his grandfather was honored. In order to imagine himself as part of that ritual, the boy first imagines himself as part of a vision experienced by his grandfather, the story of which Momaday’s father has also recounted to the boy. In the story of the vision, which Momaday retells in full as part of *The Way to Rainy Mountain*, Mammedaty is looking out at the high summer grass, listening to the meadowlarks "calling all around":

> There was nothing but the early morning and the land around. Then Mammedaty heard something. Someone whistled to him. He looked up and saw the head of a little boy nearby above the grass. He stopped the horses and got down from the wagon and went to see who was there. There was no one; there was nothing there. He looked for a long time, but there was nothing there. (*Rainy Mountain* 72)

In *The Names*, the boy Momaday has imagined stands outside his grandmother’s house in Oklahoma and experiences Mammedaty’s vision himself: “I see a boy standing still in the distance, only his head and shoulders visible above the long, luminous grass, and from the place where he stands there comes the clear call of a meadowlark” (94). The boy Momaday has imagined becomes that boy in his grandfather’s vision. Momaday then describes the landscape in further detail, using this description of landscape as a transition to the next phase in the boy’s imagined experience:
and there in the roiling dust a knoll, a gourd dance and give-away, and Mammedaty moves among his people, answers to his name; low thunder rolls upon the drum. A boy leads a horse into the circle. . . .

Finally, the boy imagines himself as the boy leading the horse, as a vital part of the ceremony honoring his grandfather:

It is good and honorable to be made such a gift—the gift of this horse, this hunting horse—and honorable to be the boy, the intermediary in whose hand the gift is passed. My fingers are crisped, my fingertips bear hard upon the life of this black horse. *Oh my grandfather, take hold of this horse.* (94-96)

In *The Names*, a photograph of Mammedaty wearing traditional dress and holding a feather fan is inserted as page 95; the reader literally sees Mammedaty’s image as Momaday describes himself as a boy imagining himself as part of the giveaway that honored his grandfather. The poem "Carnegie, Oklahoma, 1919" illustrates the process of blood memory by demonstrating how landscape, storytelling, and memory become compressed into the representation of a single "afternoon." Momaday’s father told him the stories of his grandfather’s life, pointed out the places in the Oklahoma landscape where these events occurred. Momaday situates himself (physically and imaginatively) in this landscape, remembers the stories, and imagines himself as taking part in them—making the stories his own, part of his own memory, part of his own identity as Kiowa. Blood memory thus tropes the collapse of
storytelling, imagination, memory, and genealogy into a single moment in the landscape, "beading" together the "memories of fathers and sons" so that they become a single, integrated text. "And I am not here," Momaday is enabled to write, "but, grandfather, father, I am here."

Read together, *The Way to Rainy Mountain* (1969), "The Man Made of Words" (1970), and *The Names* (1976) demonstrate in detail Momaday's development of the process of blood memory as a method for re-collecting and re-membering an indigenous identity as text during the early years of the American Indian renaissance. The whole of *Rainy Mountain*, for instance, can be read as an exercise in blood memory. The book begins with a poem titled "Headwaters." The reader's attention is focused on the idea of beginnings and sources; Momaday refers to "the log, hollow and weather-stained" featured in the Kiowa story of creation, in which the people emerge into this world--and now into this work--through a hollow log (perhaps a metaphor for Momaday's pen?). The Kiowa creation story resonates throughout the text as a metaphor for Momaday's own emergence into light and knowledge as he recounts his experience of physically retracing the Kiowa's historic migration from the mountains onto the plains and his experience of imagining the lives of the Kiowa through oral narrative, historical accounts, and personal reflection. The creation story thus also resonates throughout the text as a metaphor for the process of blood memory.

In the Prologue, Momaday sets up and justifies the layout of *Rainy Mountain*'s chapters, in each of which Momaday juxtaposes short representations of "landscape,"
"time," and "the human spirit"—that is, short accounts translated from the Kiowa oral tradition, short accounts from the historical record, and short accounts from Momaday's personal experience and reflection during his physical and imaginative journey. In "The Man Made of Words," Momaday designates these categories as "the mythical, the historical, and the immediate" (59). Together, these elements comprise what Momaday calls "the whole memory, that experience of the mind which is legendary as well as historical, personal as well as cultural" (Rainy Mountain 4). This memory is thus imaginative, making the journey "anew each time the miracle comes to mind" (4).

In the Introduction, Momaday focuses attention on the role of his grandmother, Aho, as his direct link to the Kiowa past and to the Kiowa oral tradition. Through a series of associations, Momaday projects himself back in time through Aho's lifespan and beyond to the golden age of Kiowa history:

She had lived to be very old and at last infirm. Her only living daughter was with her when she died, and I was told that in death her face was that of a child.

I like to think of her as a child. When she was born, the Kiowas were living the last great moment of their history. For more than a hundred years they had controlled the open range. . . . (5-6)

Momaday associates Aho's old age with the look of childhood; in turn, he associates Aho's childhood with the final moments of classic, pre-contact Kiowa culture; the latter association allows Momaday to evoke the full flowering of pre-contact Kiowa
history. Momaday then refers explicitly to Aho's "memory in the blood" (7; see full quotation above) and states "I wanted to see in reality what she had seen more perfectly in the mind's eye" (7). Momaday's physical pilgrimage across the Kiowa's ancestral landscape, coupled with his knowledge of extant Kiowa oral narratives, is designed to develop in his own memory what the Kiowa oral tradition, still fully operative in his grandmother's lifetime, had developed as Aho's "memory in the blood." Momaday demonstrates these connections in the Introduction by recounting his experience of seeing Tsoai, Devil's Tower, in the Black Hills. There, in the presence of Tsoai, the "Rock Tree." Momaday recalls and retells the story of the monolith's creation that his grandmother had told him as a boy:

*Eight children were there at play, seven sisters and their brother. Suddenly the boy was struck dumb; he trembled and began to run upon his hands and feet. His fingers became claws, and his body was covered with fur. Directly there was a bear where the boy had been. The sisters were terrified; they ran, and the bear after them. They came to the stump of a great tree, and the tree spoke to them. It bade them climb upon it, and as they did so it began to rise into air. The bear came to kill them, but they were just beyond its reach. It reared against the tree and scored the bark all around with its claws. The seven sisters were borne into the sky, and they became the stars of the Big Dipper.* (8, italics in original)

The story connects Momaday to the landscape and to Kiowa tradition, and it helps
him imagine the Kiowa's significant spiritual transformation as they migrated out of
the mountains and onto the plains.

The book's three chapters are organized to reflect both the Kiowa's ancestral
journey and Momaday's contemporary physical and imaginative journeys: "The
Setting Out," "The Going On," and "The Closing In." In each section, Momaday
stages a set of juxtapositions of Kiowa oral traditions, historical accounts, and
personal reflections. In each set, the oral tradition stands alone on the left-hand page
of the open book; the historical account and personal reflection stand together on the
facing page; together, they balance and respond to the oral narrative. Perhaps the
best known (and certainly the most often reprinted) of the Kiowa oral narratives is the
story of the arrowmaker (46). In the story, a Kiowa arrowmaker and his wife are
alone in their tipi at night when the man realizes that someone is watching them
through a small opening where the tipi's hides are sewn together. The arrowmaker
pretends to speak to his wife but actually addresses the unknown person outside,
asking him to speak his name if he understands what is being said to him in Kiowa.
All the while the arrowmaker points his arrow in various directions around the tipi as
though testing its aim. When he realizes the man outside does not understand Kiowa
--and is thus an enemy--the arrowmaker aims for the opening in the tipi and kills the
intruder. Momaday himself retells and interprets the story of the arrowmaker in his
address, "The Man Made of Words" (59-62). Literary scholars often note the story
for the connections it draws between language and identity: the arrowmaker identifies
his enemy through language use, and he and his wife then defeat this enemy through a
ruse of language. On its own, the story of the arrowmaker is compelling. Read alongside its companion historical and personal texts, however, it becomes part of a demonstration of the process of blood memory. The historical passage establishes the role of arrowmakers in the Kiowa community and notes the traffic in arrows between the older generation of arrowmakers and the younger generation of warriors. The personal reflection then recounts a story told to Momaday by his father about an old Kiowa arrowmaker who visited the family when Momaday’s father was a boy. Momaday writes: "In my mind I can see that man as if he were there now. I like to watch him as he makes his prayer. I know where he stands and where his voice goes on the rolling grasses and where the sun comes up on the land" (47). Together, the three accounts link Momaday to Kiowa ancestors and Kiowa traditions of language use, warfare, and exchange through genealogy, storytelling, and imagination—all grounded in specific landscape.

Finally, in the Epilogue, Momaday evokes one of the tangible artifacts of Kiowa historic memory, their pictographic calendars. He notes that one of the earliest events recorded on the Kiowa calendars is the great meteor shower that was observable across the United States in 1833 (85). Momaday then asserts that the event is within the reach of memory still, though tenuously now, and moreover it is even defined in a remarkably rich and living verbal tradition which demands to be preserved for its own sake. The living memory and the verbal tradition which transcends it were brought together for me once
Momaday ends *Rainy Mountain* by remembering the hundred-year-old Kiowa woman that he knew as a child, Ko-sahn. Ko-sahn had told him a story from her own childhood, an account of the Kiowa Sun Dance. Preparing for the ceremony, an old woman carries a bag of sandy earth to sprinkle across the dance arena. After recounting Ko-sahn's story, Momaday wonders if Ko-sahn ever imagined herself as the ancient woman of her own youth, and he wonders, "in her mind, at times, did she see the falling stars?" (88). As in his prologue, in his epilogue Momaday imagines Kiowa elders in order to project himself back through their lifespans and beyond to even older Kiowa memories.

Momaday returns to the imagined figure of Ko-sahn in "The Man Made of Words." Here, the evocation of Ko-sahn is emblematic of the process of blood memory and, in many respects, of the project of much of contemporary American Indian literature written in this period: Momaday uses language and contemporary writing practices in English to conjure an indigenous ancestor into present reality. Most startling, Momaday describes his encounter with the conjured Kiowa ancestor Ko-sahn as occurring *through* and *upon* the written page of Momaday's literary work, drawing clear connections between an emerging American Indian literature and the recovery of an indigenous American Indian identity.

After a brief introduction about "the relationship between language and being," in "The Man Made of Words" Momaday tells his audience the "story" of how he finished writing *The Way to Rainy Mountain*. Momaday describes how "I had
projected myself—imagined myself—out of the room and out of time. I was there with
Ko-sahn in the Oklahoma July’ (51). He then describes how, after he had imagined
the old Kiowa woman and he had imagined himself as part of her story, Ko-sahn
literally emerged from his written text:

    My eyes fell upon the name Ko-sahn. And all at once everything
    seemed suddenly to refer to that name. The name seemed to humanize
    the whole complexity of language. All at once, absolutely, I had the
    sense of the magic of words and of names. Ko-sahn, I said, and I said
    again KO-SAHN.

    Then it was that that ancient, one-eyed woman Ko-sahn stepped
    out of the language and stood before me on the page. I was amazed.

    Yet it seemed to me entirely appropriate that this should happen. (51)

Momaday’s scene offers an explanation of its own workings: he conjures Ko-sahn
through the magic of words and names. Ritually, he repeats her name and she
appears. But Momaday’s “magic” also lies in the scene’s careful construction and
subtle rhetorical devices. Momaday plays with the pun in English between “eye,” the
subject of seeing, and “I,” the subject of being. Momaday focuses his “eye”--and
thus concentrates the reader’s attention--on the inscription of the ancient Kiowa name,
Ko-sahn. Momaday then states that "everything seemed suddenly to refer to that
name," not that the name seemed suddenly to refer to everything. In other words,
with his "eye" focused thus, the whole of his hybrid text seems to refer to the name
of the indigenous ancestor. In that moment, the name Ko-sahn becomes a metonym
for Momaday's meditation on the relationships between landscape, imagination, and memory, for "the whole complexity of language." Distinctions between seeing and being collapse in Momaday's concentration upon the name, and Ko-sahn, the "one-eyed" woman, steps "out of the language" to stand before Momaday--and, if his literary magic works, before his readers--"on the page." The process of Momaday's prose creates a communion with the ancestor.

Having brought forth Ko-sahn through the power of language, Momaday reports that their short verbal exchange explores the nature of imagination. When Momaday protests that "this has taken place--is taking place in my mind," Ko-sahn responds, "You imagine that I am here in this room, do you not? That is worth something. You see, I have existence, whole being, in your imagination. It is but one kind of being, to be sure." Ko-sahn continues, "but it is perhaps the best of all kinds. If I am not here in this room, grandson, then surely neither are you" (51). Momaday has imagined Ko-sahn as sly, the moment of their encounter as humorous. But the moment also evokes a profound statement about the relationship between ancestral and contemporary American Indians. Before receding back into Momaday's text, Ko-sahn relates her own experiences of imagining the Kiowa past beyond her own lifetime and memory: "There are times," she remarks, "when I think that I am the oldest woman on earth. You know, the Kiowas came into the world through a hollow log. In my mind's eye I have seen them emerge . . ." (52). Later in his address, Momaday explains Ko-sahn's process of imagining herself as part of the ancient Kiowa past as a process of appropriation: "For it remained to be
imagined. She must at last deal with it in words; she must appropriate it to her understanding of the whole universe" (55). Momaday, of course, is explaining his own process of blood memory. He follows this explanation with a passage in which he projects himself into the Kiowa past through a first-person recitation of Ko-sahn’s own imagined memories, assuming an oral story-telling persona that some anthropologists have termed the "kinship I" (55).25

In "The Man Made of Words," Ko-sahn becomes an emblematic figure for the textual process of blood memory and its power to evoke the racial past in the present. Momaday’s description of the overriding concern of the oral tradition is equally applicable to this process of blood memory: "We are concerned here not so much with an accurate representation of actuality, but with the realization of the imaginative experience" (56). And like the oral tradition, the process of blood memory offers contemporary American Indians a means for bearing a history of "defeat," "humiliation," and "suffering" (57). "The imagination of meaning was not much, perhaps," Momaday writes of his Kiowa ancestors, who imagined that the falling stars they beheld in 1833 foretold their own fall as a culture, "but it was all they had, and it was enough to sustain them" (57).

In his memoir, The Names, Momaday continues and expands his project of demonstrating the process of blood memory and its power for constructing a viable indigenous identity in contemporary times. Before the Prologue, Momaday states clearly that "In general my narrative is an autobiographical account. Specifically it is an act of the imagination." Here Momaday also announces his Kiowa name, Tsoai-
talee, and that it was given to him by the "the storyteller Pohd-lohk," who believed "that a man's life proceeds from his name, in the way that a river proceeds from its source." Momaday's references to names and sources link his memoir back to the projects of both *The Way to Rainy Mountain* and "The Man Made of Words." And it is in the imagining of the story of his own name, its source and its meaning, that Momaday most fully explores the textual process of blood memory.

Momaday sets up the story of his Kiowa name with a significant juxtaposition. First, he reprints "a notarized document issued by the United States Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Anadarko [Oklahoma] Area Office." The brief document notes the date of Momaday's birth and establishes his blood quantum: "Novarro Scott Mammedaty was born February 27, 1934 at Lawton, Oklahoma and is of 7/8 degree Indian blood, as shown on the Kiowa Indian Census roll opposite Number 2035" (42). Immediately following the reprinted document, Momaday writes:

The first notable event in my life was a journey to the Black Hills. When I was six months old my parents took me to Devil's Tower, Wyoming, which is called in Kiowa Tsoai, "rock tree." Here are stories within stories; I want to imagine a day in the life of a man, Pohd-lohk, who gave me a name. (42)

The juxtaposed document and story of Momaday's Kiowa name represent culturally divergent ways of defining Momaday’s "authentic" American Indian identity. Momaday is silent on the issue of his official blood quantum. He devotes the next
section of his memoir to imagining how Pohd-lohk decided to give him the Kiowa name Tsoai-talee.

Momaday constructs his imagined story of a day in the life of Pohd-lohk as part of the extended ritual of his naming. Early in the account, Momaday imagines the old Kiowa man remembering a story associated with his own name:

Once as a young man he had heard in the high wind the whimper of young wolves, hectic and hollow, and he had known at once, instinctively, where and what they were, and he went to them quietly, directly, so that there should be almost no fear on either side, singing lowly to them. . . . And he shielded them for a time with his hands and wanted so much to touch them, to hold the soft warm shapes close against him, but he dared not touch them, for fear that he should leave a scent like doom upon them, and after a while he left them alone, as he had found them.

_Pohd-lohk, old wolf_. (46)

Next, Momaday imagines Pohd-lohk remembering and imagining "the dead . . . who they were and what had happened to them" as he prepares for the day ahead (46). This leads Pohd-lohk to review a Kiowa calendar history, which begins in 1833. Like the Oglala Amos Bad Heart Bull, discussed above, Momaday describes Pohd-lohk as having a "special regard for history" (47). The calendar includes pictures copied from "an older calendar, a painted hide, then things that had been told to him by his elders or that fell within the range of his own memory" (47). Momaday imagines
Pohd-lohk looking "backwards in time" and connecting himself to earlier times by means of the calendar:

It was an instrument with which he could reckon his place in the world; it was as if he could see in its yellow, brittle leaves the long swath of his coming to old age and sense in the very nature of it—the continuity of rude images in which the meaning of his racial life inhered—a force that had been set in motion in the Beginning. The calendar was a story, or the seed of a story, and it began a hundred years in the past. Beyond that, beyond the notion of a moment in 1833, there was only the unknown, a kind of prehistoric and impenetrable genesis, a realm of no particular shape, duration, or meaning. It was an older, larger story, a story of another people, another reality at last. He believed in it, but he could not take hold of it and set it down. . . . But it was all one moment to Pohd-lohk, as if everything, the whole world, had been created on an afternoon in 1830 or 1832. (48)

Momaday reviews the process of blood memory here, adding the pictographic calendar to earlier accounts of the oral tradition, the landscape, and living elders as vehicles for projecting oneself back through time. Pohd-lohk's imagined review of the calendar locates Momaday's naming within the Kiowa historical context; Momaday's naming becomes a part of the Kiowa's ongoing story.

After reviewing the calendar, Momaday imagines that Pohd-lohk visits Momaday's great-grandmother, the blind Keahdinekeah. When Pohd-lohk announces
that he is on his way to see her great-grandson, Momaday imagines that
Keahdinekeah "thought of Tsoai and of her great-grandson. Neither had she ever
seen, but of Tsoai she knew an old story" (55). Momaday then retells the story of
the monolith Tsoai, the "Rock Tree," which he recounts in his grandmother's voice in
the Introduction to *The Way to Rainy Mountain*. Then, through Keahdinekeah's
imagined thoughts, Momaday reveals the significance of his parents taking him to
visit Tsoai: "And her grandson Huan-toa [Momaday's father] had taken his child to be
in Tsoai's presence even before the child could understand what it was, so that by
means of the child the memory of Tsoai should be renewed in the blood of the
coming-out people" (55). Momaday's name will bind him to landscape significant in
the Kiowa memory and to the stories associated with that landscape. In giving the
name, Momaday imagines that Pohd-lohk speaks "as if telling a story, of the coming-
out people, of their long journey." He imagines that Pohd-lohk tells "how it was that
everything began, of Tsoai, and of the stars falling or holding fast in strange patterns
in the sky." Finally, "Pohd-lohk affirmed the whole life of the child in a name,
saying: Now you are, Tsoai-talee" (57).

Later in *The Names*, Momaday writes that "Notions of the past and future are
essentially notions of the present. In the same way an idea of one's ancestry and
posterity is really an idea of the self" (97). In the Epilogue, Momaday tells part of
the story of his journey retracing the Kiowa migration left out of the account given in
*The Way to Rainy Mountain*, his return to Tsoai as an adult. "This strange thing," he
writes, "this Tsoai, I saw with my own eyes and with the eyes of my own mind"
This statement is perhaps the clearest, most succinct description of the process of blood memory, the overlay and interpenetration of experience and imagination in language and in memory.

American Indian writers following Momaday have explored and developed the possible meanings of the trope blood memory in their own works. Reading James Welch's first novel, *Winter in the Blood* (1974), for example, scholars generally focus on the anonymous narrator's quest to remember or to find his Blackfeet identity (e.g., Lincoln 1983, Ruoff 1990, Owens 1992). The narrator begins to find such an identity when he discovers that the blind Blackfeet elder, Yellow Calf, is actually his grandfather. The narrator visits Yellow Calf on the occasion of his hundred-year-old grandmother's death; he wants to know if Yellow Calf knew her. The old man is able to tell her story, and as the grandmother's story unfolds her life takes on new significance for the narrator and Yellow Calf becomes increasingly implicated in the old woman's and now the young narrator's life. As in Momaday's *The Way to Rainy Mountain*, the grandmother's death prompts an investigation of the narrator's connection to his indigenous past. In Yellow Calf's "distant" blind eyes, Welch's narrator begins to see "a world as clean as the rustling willows, the bark of a fox or the odor of musk during mating season" (151)—that is, the Blackfeet world before the corruptions brought on by White invasion. As Yellow Calf recounts his story of how he and the narrator's grandmother survived the hard winters and the cavalry attacks of their youth, the narrator slowly realizes his connection to the old man. With the narrator's realization, the winter landscape suddenly comes to life with the Blackfeet
And so we shared this secret in the presence of ghosts, in wind that called forth the muttering tepees, the blowing snow, the white air of the horses' nostrils. The cottonwoods behind us, their dead white branches angling to the threatening clouds, sheltered these ghosts as they had sheltered the camp that winter. But there were others, so many others.

The narrator realizes that when his father took him to visit Yellow Calf when he was a boy, "he had taken me that snowy day to see my grandfather" (162). Other characters in the novel have assumed that Yellow Calf is dead, but Yellow Calf and his world have become very much alive for the narrator. So much so, in fact, that for a moment after his visit with Yellow Calf the narrator forgets that his grandmother has passed on (162). In the final, comic scene of the funeral, the narrator acknowledges the Blackfeet world to which he has become newly reconnected by gesturing toward the traditional Blackfeet practice of burying the dead's significant possessions with them. He tosses the grandmother's tobacco pouch into the grave he has helped to dig, offering readers hope that the hapless narrator has found a means for building an integrated Blackfeet future for himself.

In *Ceremony* (1977), during her protagonist Tayo's significant journey into the mountains, Silko attributes blood memory to animals as well as to humans: "Maybe the dawn woke the [horse's] instinct in the dim memory of the blood when horses had been as wild as deer and at sunrise went into the trees and thickets to hide" (182-83).
While in the mountains, Tayo experiences a Laguna sense of time strikingly reminiscent of Momaday's collapsing of present, past, and future in the process of blood memory:

The ride into the mountain had branched into all directions of time. He knew then why the oldtimers could only speak of yesterday and tomorrow in terms of the present moment: the only certainty. . . .

(192)

After he has successfully completed his journey and fought the witchery, Tayo realizes that nothing has been lost, because the landscape remains: "The mountain outdistanced their destruction, just as love had outdistanced death. The mountain could not be lost to them, because it was in their bones" (219). Tayo realizes that the Laguna community's "vitality" is "locked deep in blood memory, and the people were strong, and the fifth world endured, and nothing was ever lost as long as the love remained" (220). Silko makes clear that her mixed-blood protagonist's success becomes possible because he is able to tap into this "blood memory," because he is able to finally see

the pattern, the way all the stories fit together--the old stories, the war stories, their stories--to become the story that was still being told. He was not crazy; he had never been crazy. He had only seen and heard the world as it always was: no boundaries, only transitions through all distances and time. (246)

In Joy Harjo's poems collected in *She Had Some Horses* (1983), journeys
through ancestral landscape also evoke blood memory. In the poem "New Orleans," for instance, Harjo's Creek narrator searches the deep South "for evidence/ of other Creeks, for remnants of voices" (42). Mid-poem, the narrator confesses,

I have a memory.

It swims deep in blood,

a delta in the skin. It swims out of Oklahoma,

deep the Mississippi River. It carries my

feet to these places. . . .

My spirit comes here to drink.

My spirit comes here to drink.

Blood is the undercurrent. (42)

Harjo's narrator finds "voices buried in the Mississippi/ mud" and "stories here made of memory" (43). Having journeyed from Oklahoma, where the Creeks were forcibly removed in the 1830s, to the Creek's ancestral southern landscape, Harjo's narrator is able to recover pieces of the indigenous Creek past and to "remember DeSoto" (43). Similarly, in the poetry of Barney Bush (Shawnee/Cayuga), the midwestern landscape of the Ohio River valley evokes blood memory in poems titled "Directions in Our Blood" and "The Memory Sire." In the poem "Taking a Captive/1984," Bush's turns of language summarize blood memory's tropic power for recuperating an integrated contemporary American Indian identity. Like Momaday, Bush's narrator imagines an indigenous past for his young son as "continuous/ memory absorbed into blood" (rpt. in Niatum 1988:189).
Trickster's Healing Dialogue Between the Margins

Survival is imagination, a verbal noun, a transitive word in mixedblood autobiographies; genealogies, the measured lines in time, place, and dioramas, are never the same in personal memories.

--Gerald Vizenor, "Crows Written on the Poplars"

Momaday's trope blood memory has incited considerable controversy among scholars of American Indian literatures. The origin of the controversy, however, lies not in Momaday's early literary or autobiographical works but in a more recent essay published in *The American Indian and the Problem of History*, a collection of essays edited by Calvin Martin in 1987. Momaday's brief essay is titled "Personal Reflections" and is largely autobiographical. But early in this "personal and . . . straightforward" piece, Momaday remarks that it is "an obvious and foregone conclusion" that "the Indian and the white man perceive the world in different ways" (156). Herein lies the controversy. In his Epilogue to the collection, Martin explains that his intention in putting the volume together has been to suggest that what he calls the West's "enslaving philosophy" of "anthropological time" is at best limited, and that it should be rejected for an awareness of a different notion of time perceived by Indian peoples, what Martin designates "biological time" (219-20). Momaday does not employ Martin's specific vocabulary, but he qualifies his remark about disparity between American Indian and White perception by building on his by now well known trope memory in the blood. Momaday posits "the existence of intrinsic
variables in man's perception of his universe, variables that are determined to some real extent on the basis of his genetic constitution" (156). New to Momaday's trope for memory and perception is the word *genetic*, a decidedly non-Indian, non-literary or poetic concept, clearly in the realm of Western science. Momaday crosses a certain border with the word *genetic*, and he does so at some risk. But *genetic* does suggest *narrative* is a very broad sense, and it is possibly what Martin means by "biological."

In his extended 1987 interview with Woodard, Momaday further qualifies his idea of intrinsic variables:

M: I think each of us bears in his genes or in his blood or wherever a recollection of the past. Even the very distant past. I just think that's the way it is.

[. . .]

W: You have a primordial memory?

M: Oh, I think everyone does. Yes. It's probably more pronounced in small, closely defined ethnic groups, but yes, I think I have it and I think you do.

W: Is that burden more pronounced in older people?

M: That's where it's most in evidence, I think. But it's also present in young people. It's not something you acquire in your lifetime. It's a given. You come into the world with it. (21)

In other words, "primordial" or "genetic" memory is potentially accessible to all
willing to imagine such an idea of themselves.

Momaday's use of *genetic* did not go unnoticed or unchallenged. Arnold Krupat, a non-Indian literary critic often considered a pioneer in the application of critical theory to the study of American Indian literatures, responded directly to Momaday's statement in his 1989 book *The Voice in the Margin: Native American Literature and the Canon*. Krupat labels Momaday's "assertion" of intrinsic variables "absurdly racist." He goes on to state flatly that "there is no gene for perception, no such thing as memory in the blood" (13). Krupat characterizes Momaday's idea of intrinsic variables and his trope blood memory as a "mystification" of Indian perception, one which Krupat believes places "unnecessary obstacles in the way of a fuller understanding and appreciation of Native American literature" (13). Strategically, Krupat positions his reproach of Momaday's word choice prominently in his Introduction.

Krupat's critique need not concern us if it challenges nothing more than Momaday's diction. But Krupat also appears to challenge Momaday's authority to comment on Indian identity and Indian spirituality, and his right to make such comments in the academic arena. In other words, Krupat appears to challenge Momaday's entrance into academic discourse. With Krupat's published remarks, the argument cannot be viewed simply as a debate over the nature or definition of blood memory. It becomes as well an argument over potential and potentially irreconcilable disparities between Indian and non-Indian categories of "truth" and truth's close cousin, "authenticity." Moreover, it becomes an argument over our ability as critics
from diverse backgrounds to define and account for the literatures of diverse, often multiply hybridized cultures. Ultimately, it becomes an argument over who in late-twentieth-century America may assume the authority to speak "truthfully" or "authentically" about American Indian perception.

Krupat's response to Momaday is atypical of his generally positive responses to American Indian writers. It is not difficult, I think, to hear in Krupat's uncharacteristic challenge a certain post-Holocaust Jewish anxiety over the idea of fixed racial or "blood" categories--however justified or unjustified Krupat's criticisms of Momaday might prove to individuals or to communities of readers. It is far more difficult to imagine the tenor of a potential response to Krupat from Momaday. When in 1992 I had the opportunity to ask Momaday about his reaction to Krupat labeling his conception of blood memory as racist, Momaday's response seemed appropriate to the literary artist. He told me that he did not "hunt down criticism" and that he had not read Krupat.

This is where contemporary trickster Gerald Vizenor (Chippewa) enters the argument, and, characteristically, Vizenor enters the argument over blood memory and the possibility of intrinsic variables from the side, creating a discourse of his own. In his 1991 novel *The Heirs of Columbus*, Vizenor pushes the idea of blood memory to one of its potential extremes. Claiming that their blood courses with both indigenous stories and the genes of Columbus, in Vizenor's novel American Indian "crossbloods" establish a genetic research center in order to isolate "the genetic signature of survivance" and "the genes that heal." In a scene that is both surprising
and scandalous, Vizenor alerts readers to his project of responding directly to Krupat. During a trip to England to recover the stolen bones of Pocahontas, crossblood Felipa Flowers meets with Pellegrine Treves, a European antiquarian book collector whose interests have turned to acquiring American Indian works and their associative texts. Treves’ collection includes a first edition of Krupat’s *The Voice in the Margin*, with the added attraction of notes written in the margins by none other than Momaday himself. But the marginal notes turn out actually to have been produced by a hand other than Momaday’s. Treves confides to Felipa that the notes were written by “another distinguished novelist who pretended to be Momaday” (110). When Felipa asks, “What Momaday might have written?” Treves answers, “Indeed” (110). But he insists that the identity of the notes’ novelist author must remain “confidential” (111).

Vizenor’s scene works beyond the merely partisan—it doesn’t simply take sides—and it is indicative of Vizenor’s celebrated brand of “trickster discourse.” In his 1990 essay titled “Trickster Discourse,” Vizenor writes that the American Indian trickster is necessarily multivocal. “The trickster is a communal sign,” Vizenor writes with characteristic opacity, “never isolation; a concordance of narrative voices” (284). Vizenor insists on his right and his ability, possibly his necessity as trickster, to speak from several positions simultaneously. Vizenor refuses to comply with the reductionism he sees at work in critical interpretations of tribal narratives based on structuralism or social science theories. The numerous pejorative references to “social science theories” in Vizenor’s work take on greater significance in the argument over blood memory when we consider Krupat’s description of his own
critical method. In a "self-interview" with Brian Swann in 1989, Krupat writes, "I tend to think of literary criticism in social scientific terms rather than in terms of the traditional humanities" (146). In the same piece Krupat criticizes Vizenor's "postmodern" approach to American Indian texts as "very much a mistake for this body of work" (143). Vizenor has defended his "postmodern" stance on a number of occasions. In his 1987 essay "Crows Written on the Poplars: Autocritical Autobiographies," Vizenor announces his approach to autobiography in terms of imagination and history—like Momaday—and as opposed to the stance assumed by the "institution." Writing about himself in the third person, Vizenor states:

Gerald Vizenor believes that autobiographies are imaginative histories; a remembrance past the barriers; wild pastimes over the pronouns. Outside the benchmarks the ones to be in written memoirs are neither sentimental nor ideological; mixedbloods loosen the seams in the shrouds of identities. Institutional time, he contends, belies our personal memories, imagination, and consciousness. (101)

Unlike in Krupat's, in Vizenor's discourse there is no understanding of time to which we all agree; there are distinctions to draw. "barriers" and "benchmarks" to discuss. In Vizenor's formulation, autobiographies, like all written histories, are fruitfully subject to point of view, to imagination and personal consciousness. Midway through "Crows," Vizenor again sets his third person persona against the "alien speakers in the academies," which we can read as including Krupat with his self-described social scientific approach. "The mixedblood autobiographer is a word hunter in transitive
memories," Vizenor writes, "not an academic chauffeur in the right lane to opposition" (106). Obviously building on Momaday's work, part of Vizenor's autobiographic agenda is the location of adequate figures for memory, imagination, consciousness, and perception. His description of memory as "transitive" is suggestive of Momaday's process of textual production through the re-collection and re-membering of the past. In his trickster discourse, Vizenor necessarily overturns figures and processes as soon as he finds them.

Vizenor imitates Momaday's voice in Krupat's margins in order to further the debate over blood memory. In The Heirs of Columbus, Treves tells Felipa that "Krupat's discussion of 'racial memory' drew the sharpest marginal responses... The novelist noted, 'Krupat gives head to footnotes, how would he know about tribal memories?" (111). Vizenor's response to Krupat's attack on Momaday is scandalous and suggestively ambiguous. The phrase "gives head to" begs to be read first as insulting profanity. The language games at play in Vizenor's trickster discourse expose body parts typically covered and suggest sexual activity typically absent from scholarly exchange. Vizenor immediately juxtaposes his scandalous language with the language of properly certified academia, "footnotes." The first effect of Vizenor's scene is bawdy humor at Krupat's expense. But "gives head to" can also be interpreted as a more subtle and more credible critique of Krupat's scholarship, appropriate to Vizenor's stated agenda of working counter to the "alien speakers in the academies" (1987:109). Vizenor's marginal comments attack Krupat's scholarly method where it is perhaps most vulnerable from an American Indian perspective, in
its endless citations of non-Indian texts and authors. We might also read "gives head to footnotes" as "gives head to foot notes." Similarly and more descriptively a critique of Krupat's supposedly endless citations. However, in trickster fashion, the unnamed novelist's final question, "how would he know about tribal memories?" potentially undercuts the humor entirely. If Vizenor is aware of Krupat's Jewish anxiety over fixed racial, "blood," or "tribal" categories--as I suspect he is--the unnamed novelist's question inserts an ironic critique of Momaday into Momaday's supposed rejoinder to Krupat.

As the above account makes clear, Vizenor's trickster discourse is rarely as simple as straightforward critique, and the scene does not end here. Felipa's response to the novelist's voice in Krupat's margins is unexpected, as is Treves's, overturning any easy assessment of Vizenor's position in the argument over blood memory:

"Krupat would be the trickster on the margins," said Felipa.

"The book is great, and the notes are cruel," said Treves. (111)

In the dialogue staged between Vizenor's own margins, nothing is absolutely clear. In trickster fashion, the insult and the critique have been launched and then immediately called into question. The exchange ends with Felipa putting Momaday and Krupat and the unnamed novelist all into a larger perspective that encompasses both Krupat's anxieties as well as Momaday's recoveries: "The politics of tribal creation stories never ends" (111). The argument over primordial or racial memory has indeed become political. Ultimately, it has become a struggle for the certain political power to speak what counts as the "truth" in particular historical contexts.
As in contemporary politics, in Vizenor's text no one walks away clean. Everyone leaves the scene sullied: Momaday's great poetic voice has been rendered adolescent and profane, and potentially ignorant of his work's larger historical implications; Krupat's significant scholarship has been mocked as self-serving and absurdly academic, his critical methods dismissed as alien and inappropriate to his chosen texts; and Vizenor's trickster discourse has been shown fickle and cruel. But however dirty, everyone leaves the scene intact, and the argument has, in trickster fashion, been genuinely furthered through upset rather than provisionally decided through partisan association. Vizenor has played many of the roles traditionally associated with American Indian tricksters: lecher, clown and, most importantly, bricoleur.

Vizenor's marginalia pieces together Momaday's and Krupat's opposing positions in the argument over blood memory. Read independently, Momaday's and Krupat's highly charged positions shut out the possibility for dialogue, leaving room only for dismissive ridicule or serious accusation or avoidance. Vizenor's narrative manages to sling mud in all directions, to implicate all sides, by staging the very dialogue Momaday's and Krupat's separate works prevent. Vizenor stages the unlikely dialogue between Felipa Flowers, an American Indian crossblood in search of stolen bones (read Momaday) and Pellegrine Treves, a sympathetic European collector of American Indian texts (read Krupat). Vizenor's narrative bricolage suggests dialogue is not only possible between disparate ways of perceiving the world, but desired. "We heal with opposition," the character Stone Columbus says toward the
end of *The Heirs of Columbus*, "we are held together with opposition, not separation, or silence, and the best humor in the world is pinched from opposition" (176). Unlike Krupat's academic discourse, which pits disparate positions against each other in a battle over "truth" and "authenticity," Vizenor's text, pinched from that opposition, calls into question the efficacy and very possibility of resolved categories.

**Destruction into Survival, Fabrication into Truth:**
**Indigenous Identity as Public Memory**

During that time [the thirty-year span between 1860 and 1890] the culture and civilization of the American Indian was destroyed. . . .

--Dee Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* (1970)

CHIEF RED FOX, as this, his book, goes to press, prevails among the Sioux Indians as a statuesque, historical figure, an advocate of their ancestral rights and a recorder of their place among the races of man. Born on July 11, 1870 . . . . Here is the recital of his long and interesting life as a lone Red Man drifting across the prairies of White civilization and exchanging greetings with kings, scientists, writers, and artists who were flexing their intellectual and physical muscles in the cultural centers of the world.

--from the Introduction to *The Memoirs of Chief Red Fox* (1971)

When the American Indian renaissance began, American Indian activists and writers worked in a frustrating context of transparency and misrepresentation.
Dominant American culture had fallen in love with a powerfully romantic vision, "objectively" told by outside experts, that all the real American Indians had perished at the end of the nineteenth century. And dominant culture preferred the fabricated tales of a supposedly hundred-year-old living Indian relic, a last Noble Red Man, to realistic accounts of contemporary reservation life, urban poverty, or events of political activism. In a climate of willful ignorance and selective amnesia—in a climate of "imperialist nostalgia" (to borrow Renato Resaldo's phrase) in which dominant culture seemed to enjoy mourning that which it had itself destroyed—American Indian activists and writers worked to reinstate the indigenous into America's performance of a triumphantly settler present.

Like their Maori counterparts in New Zealand, during this period of "renaissance," American Indian activists and writers devised narrative tactics that create metonymic connections to the indigenous past. The preceding sections demonstrate how American Indian activists and writers employed discourse variance in order to innovate or revalue existing indigenous and non-indigenous discourses so that they might become appropriate for representing mostly private American Indian memories—of struggle, of perseverance, of survival—as public memory. Activist proclamations, essays, memoirs, novels, and poems render public both the painfully intimate and the joyfully intimate dimensions of contemporary indigenous life in North America. Overwhelmingly self-reflexive, these works foreground the moral implications of literature and politics. They commemorate the significant events in the lives of American Indian individuals and communities, and they consciously bear
historic witness to present and future generations. Against the odds, they invest contemporary texts with ancestral power, indigenous presence.
Notes


2. It is important to note the high level of disagreement among American Indian leaders, scholars, and activists over the meaning and usefulness of the term "Red Power." Some conservative Indians, for instance, worried about the term's potential Communist connotations. Others thought "Red Power" described a Black Power-style militancy, whereas a term like "Indian Power" described action guided by more traditional American Indian methods. See Beatrice Medicine, "Red Power: Real or Potential?"


5. The United States government ceased contracting new treaties with American Indian nations in 1871. The government did, however, continue to make official "agreements" with Indian nations.
6. American Indian activists and writers are not alone in their mobilization of treaty discourse in order to promote indigenous causes. In New Zealand, Maori activists and writers have mobilized the discourse of the bi-lingual Treaty of Waitangi. See my discussions in Chapter Three and Chapter Six.

7. Wilkinson describes the complexity of treaty documents and their negotiations well: "These documents, and the discussions leading up to them, have an opaque quality that evidences the obstacles facing federal and tribal representatives in the field. The difficulties far outstripped the fact that the negotiations usually were required to be conducted through interpreters. Well beyond that, these negotiators were people with radically different world views. They had fundamentally divergent ways of conceptualizing the very things that had forced them together: land, religion, trade, political power, family, and natural resources. . . . In the largest sense, there was a gulf that no document could bridge" (15).

8. Article 1, Treaty with the Creeks, Washington [DC], 1866, in Rifle, Blanket and Kettle: Selected Indian Treaties and Laws, ed. Frederick E. Hosen (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1985), 109. Similarly, Article 1 of the Treaty with the Western Shoshoni, 1863, begins "Peace and friendship shall be hereafter established and maintained between the Western Shoshonee nation and the people and Government of the United States" (105). Article 1 of the Treaty with the Blackfeet, 1855, begins "Peace, friendship and amity shall hereafter exist between the United States and the aforesaid nations and tribes
of Indians, parties to this treaty, and the same shall be perpetual" (99).


10. Treaty with the Sioux and Arapaho, 1868, in Hosen, 123.

11. Treaty with the Sioux and Arapaho, 1868, in Hosen, 128.

12. Treaty with the Western Shoshoni, 1863, in Hosen, 105.


14. In *Textbooks and the American Indian* (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1970), the American Indian Historical Society presents the findings of its examination of more than 300 textbooks then in use in public primary and secondary schools. "Not one," it reports, "could be approved as a dependable source of knowledge about the history and culture of the Indian people in America" (11). Describing a government and citizenship textbook used not only in public schools but also in schools run by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, for example, the Society reports that "There is no mention of treaties and treaty making with the Indians" (124).
15. It is interesting to note that the endpapers of American Indian activist Russell Means's recent autobiography, Where White Men Fear To Tread (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), feature copies of original pages from the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty. Means establishes his authority to speak publicly by literally slipping his words between the sheets of this document.

16. One of the few critics to engage Winter Count is Charles R. Larson, who includes Chief Eagle's novel in his early study of American Indian Fiction (Albuquerque: U of New Mexico P, 1978). See especially 100-112. In Medicine Talk: a guide to walking in balance and surviving on the earth mother (New York: Doubleday, 1975), Brad Steiger includes a personal interview he conducted with Chief Eagle in 1973 (this interview is the basis for much of Larson's commentary). Steiger reports that Chief Eagle wrote Winter Count over a period of four years and that he is also an accomplished painter. Chief Eagle was born on the Rosebud Sioux Reservation in South Dakota. During World War II, he served in the Marine Corps from 1942 until 1945. At the time of the interview with Steiger, Chief Eagle was living in Pierre, South Dakota, working as Director of Tourism for the Development Corporation of the United Sioux Tribes of South Dakota.

17. In his interview with Steiger, Chief Eagle attributes his bi-lingualism to his upbringing. Since he was orphaned as a child, Chief Eagle told Steiger, he was raised by his Sioux elders: "Those who brought me up taught me not to accept the non-Indian
ways of life. They would not even let me learn English" (114).

18. The available historical record supports Welch’s depiction of this event on the Marias. In *The Blackfeet: Raiders on the Northwestern Plains* (Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1958), John C. Ewers reports that "The Indians have claimed that as soon as Heavy Runner learned troops were approaching [his camp on the Marias River], he walked out alone to meet them, and that he was holding up his hands and waving his identification paper when a soldier shot him dead" (250). Other American Indian novelists have followed Welch’s lead in depicting the cavalry’s disregard for treaties. In his 1993 novel *Green Grass, Running Water* (New York: Bantam), which is set in contemporary times, Thomas King (Cherokee) similarly mobilizes the surface features of treaties as historic witness to violence. In a pivotal scene, King’s character Eli Stands Alone remembers participating in the Blackfoot sun dance as a boy. The children, Eli recalls,

> would stand in a pack and wave pieces of scrap paper at the dancers as the men attacked and fell back, surged forward and retreated, until finally, after several of these mock forays, the lead dancer would breach the fortress of children and fire the rifle, and all the children would fall down in a heap, laughing, full of fear and pleasure, the pieces of paper scattering across the land. (150)

The children’s actions evoke the futile attempts of nineteenth-century Indian leaders to wave white flags and to display signed treaty documents to protect their people against cavalry attacks.

20. The original Viking hardback and the subsequent Penguin paperback editions of *Ceremony* include an illustration of the "star map" as page 179. The original Viking hardback and the Penguin paperback editions of *Fools Crow* include six winter count illustrations by the artist Dana Boussard.


22. In the 1990s, such policies are changing—a fact that is both celebrated and lamented in American Indian communities. A 27 January 1997 Associated Press article reports that, because of "generations of intermarriage . . . many tribes are easing membership requirements just to survive" (B2). So that their own children and grandchildren will qualify as tribal members, the article reports, some tribes are reducing blood quantum requirements of one-half, one-quarter, or even one-eighth down to one-sixteenth. In addition to survival as distinct communities, the article cites American Indian casino profits as a possible motive for increased numbers of Americans of marginal Indian blood
quantum claiming Indian status. See "Tribes Have New Look With Mixed Bloodlines."

23. Mallery provides illustrations of Dakota (Sioux) pictographs for the 1833 meteor shower in his detailed interpretations of nineteenth-century winter counts drawn by Lone Dog, a Dakota of the Yanktonais tribe, and Battiste Good, a Brule. See Mallery's *Picture-Writing of the American Indians*, vol. 1, especially 280 (Fig. 218, 1833-'34, "The stars fell") and 320 (Fig. 390, 1833-'34, "Storm-of-stars winter").

24. As in New Zealand Maori writing from this period, the relationship between the ancestral and the contemporary is figured as the grandparent-grandchild relationship.

25. In the New Zealand Maori context, historian Judith Binney has noted that "In the oral form of telling history, the narrative belongs to the narrator. This can be seen most clearly when the narrator tells the story as events in which he or she participated, but which occurred before the narrator was born" (24). Binney attributes the term "kinship 1" to anthropologist J. Prytz Johansen, *The Maori and his Religion in its Non-Ritualistic Aspects* (Copenhagen, 1954). See Binney's "Maori Oral Narratives, Pakeha Written Texts: Two Forms of Telling History."

26. I am indebted to Annette Kolodny for the insight that in his repudiation of Momaday's use of the word *genetic* Krupat may be defending against an unfortunate echo of Nazi racialist belief in the power of Jewish "blood" to defile and endanger the purity of Aryan "blood" and thus to defile and endanger the Aryan race and nation. For a full

27. Momaday visited the "Poetics and Politics" seminar led by Professors Larry Evers and Ofelia Zepeda at the University of Arizona on 30 March 1992.
CHAPTER SIX

Cautious Theory

A Wounded Knee Memorial would honor the names of those [Sioux] who were murdered by the soldiers; the shadows of the ancestors could come to their names in the stone to hear the stories of survivance.

--Gerald Vizenor, *Manifest Manners: Postindian Warriors of Survivance*

In the centre of the house is the poutokomanawa, the heart pole of Maori tradition. This pole represents the language and its cultural applications and relevancies. It indicates the inseparable connection between the language, the people, and their history. . . . So long as the whare whakairo [carved house] is there to provide a context linking contemporary Maori people to their ancestors, Maori culture will not be swamped by the dominant culture.

--Hirini Melbourne, "Whare Whakairo: Maori 'Literary' Traditions"

In the five chapters preceding this conclusion, I have taken the liberty of reading across a wide range of texts produced in New Zealand, the United States, and elsewhere: literary texts, including examples of indigenous Maori and American Indian genres, as well as contemporary poems, short stories, novels, memoirs, and hybrid works; works of historical and anthropological writing; political activist writing, including the official declarations and proclamations produced by activist
organizations, as well as books, essays, and editorials produced by individuals; events
of cultural and political activism as they have been represented in a variety of media,
including oral accounts, journalistic accounts, written histories, photographs, and
films; and works of literary, art history, political science, and cultural criticism. Up
to this point, I have avoided raising the complex issue of representivity. How
representative are any of these texts of the views or ideals of New Zealand Maori or
American Indians? If any, which particular Maori or American Indian constituencies
do specific texts represent, and to what degree? In other words, do the texts I discuss
in the preceding chapters actually represent the worldviews, memories, fantasies,
aspirations, or political interests of New Zealand Maori or American Indians during
the first four decades after World War II?

In her work on "Political Representivity and Indigenous Minorities in Canada
and Australia," political scientist Sally M. Weaver distinguishes between three
meanings of representivity that seem relevant to the New Zealand and U.S. contexts I
discuss in earlier chapters. In the first meaning, an indigenous organization is
considered representative by national governments and by national publics if it has
been authorized by a particular constituency to convey their views and if the
organization is then held accountable to members of this particular constituency. In
the second meaning, an indigenous organization is considered representative if it is
seen as representative of its constituency; that is, if the organization is seen as a social
microcosm of its constituency’s members, replicating their politically important social
characteristics (e.g., a community’s racial, gender, age, and class distinctions, as well
as its geographical, linguistic, and political diversity). And in the third meaning, an indigenous organization is considered representative if it is not only held accountable to its constituency but is also actively responsive to members' changing needs (for Weaver's full definitions, see 114). As Weaver defines them, all three meanings depend upon the national government's and the national public's clearly idealized expectations about what should constitute a legitimate political organization in a contemporary Western democracy. It appears that national governments and national publics do not take into account diverse indigenous traditions for determining political representivity—if national governments and national publics are aware of these indigenous traditions at all. Weaver thus argues that "particularly at the national level of native organizations, representivity can be a government-assigned status rather than a native-achieved status" (116). Weaver's point is essential for any analysis of indigenous minority political activism, since it cautions against the easy assumption that nationally (or, for that matter, internationally) recognized indigenous organizations in fact always represent the felt needs or real aspirations of local indigenous communities or individuals. Moreover, Weaver's point is highly suggestive about the potential representivity of nationally recognized indigenous literary texts like Leslie Marmon Silko's *Ceremony* in the United States or Keri Hulme's *The Bone People* in New Zealand. Is it possible to draw distinctions between literary texts whose national status as "representative" of indigenous voices is "native-achieved" and those whose representivity has been conferred by a predominantly non-indigenous reading public or cadre of enthusiastic literary critics?
And, if it is possible to draw such distinctions, should they in fact be drawn?

While the simplicity of Weaver's either/or paradigm of "government-assigned" and "native-achieved" representivity is attractive, it may not adequately describe the situations of specific indigenous organizations in particular historical contexts—or the situations of specific indigenous texts. I would argue, for example, that in the first decades following World War II, representivity was both government-assigned and native-achieved for organizations like the Maori Councils and the Maori Women's Welfare League in New Zealand and the National Congress of American Indians in the United States. In order to influence national legislation and in order to remain viable during a period of demographic upheavals, these organizations attempted to balance the national government's and the national public's expectations with the expectations of their diverse—and changing—indigenous constituencies. My investigation in Chapter Two of the government-sponsored journal *Te Ao Hou/The New World* also reveals the largely successful attempt by sympathetic Pakeha editors and emerging Maori writers to balance governmental expectations with indigenous aspirations and indigenous critiques in the immediate post-War period in New Zealand.

That said, it is important to note that Weaver is aware that the leaders of indigenous political organizations are often caught up "in the process of creating commonly held goals and of creating a constituency. For these reasons," Weaver argues, "the demands of the new [indigenous] leaders [do] not [always] reflect solely the views of their constituents" (118). The more politically "radical" the indigenous
leaders, the more likely it is that they will have to create a constituency; and the more likely it is that governments will be able to use national standards of representivity as a strategic weapon against them (see 144). I would add that, at least in part, this explanation helps to account for the recurring inability of many indigenous organizations in both New Zealand and the United States to sustain constituencies beyond specific activist events (e.g., Te Roopu O Te Matakite’s immediate disintegration into rival factions following its successful staging of the 1975 National Land March, and Indians of All Tribes’ more protracted disintegration during and after their occupation of Alcatraz Island in 1969-1971). It may be necessary, therefore, to think beyond an either/or paradigm for the political representivity of national indigenous minority organizations in New Zealand and the United States. National governments and national publics often ignore or misunderstand the diversity inherent in the American Indian and New Zealand Maori national communities when they choose to recognize or not recognize the political representivity of particular organizations or individuals. But such diversity may mean that, beyond the local level, anything more than provisional representivity may have been an impossibility for New Zealand Maori or American Indian organizations in the first four decades after World War II. Continuing diversity within indigenous communities may mean that sustained representivity remains an inappropriate goal for national American Indian and New Zealand Maori political organizations.

In the course of her analysis, Weaver notes that the demands made by indigenous political leaders are "often symbolic and ideological rather than pragmatic
and substantive as governments prefer" (119). Weaver’s observation helps articulate the intersections I see between events of indigenous political activism, indigenous political activist texts, and indigenous literary texts. Through different forms and through different genres, by means of both overt and subtle rhetorical strategies of appropriation and revaluing, "texts" in each of these categories advance the "symbolic and ideological" demands made by indigenous minorities. And many specific examples can be read as working to "create" common goals for indigenous people(s) and, at the same time, as working to "create" political activist or reading constituencies—or both. These intersections provide one rationale for reading events of indigenous political activism as events of "ethno-drama"—and therefore as texts—and, conversely, for reading indigenous political and literary texts as activist events with the potential for disrupting dominant discourses. Moreover, such intersections suggest that Weaver’s observations about the relative representivity of national indigenous political organizations can be usefully extended to the question of the representivity of indigenous literary and political activist texts. Weaver’s analysis helps articulate why there are no simple answers to the question of a particular text’s representivity. My own analyses in the preceding chapters suggest, further, that any answers put forward must be situated within appropriate historical and cultural contexts. Despite the ideals of Western democracies, political representivity is always contingent and never absolute. So too ethnic or cultural representivity. No matter how vast the array of indigenous minority texts one might gather together, all resultant critical narratives and/or theories will remain partial and, at best,
provisionally representative of the diversity of contemporary indigenous minorities.

A consideration of the issues involved in representivity raises the further—and equally vexed—question of the usefulness of literary, cultural, art history, and political science theories developed both outside and within indigenous communities for reading contemporary indigenous minority texts. The passages I quote at the head of this chapter, for instance, are taken from two "indigenous" theorists, the American Indian writer and scholar Gerald Vizenor in the United States and the Maori poet and scholar Hirini Melbourne in New Zealand. Vizenor and Melbourne are "representative" of the emerging body of Fourth World or indigenous theory in at least two respects. Both insist on the importance of placing indigenous texts in their multiple, even contradictory contexts. This is especially true of Vizenor, who typically approaches American Indian texts with an unapologetically "postmodern" critical stance (see my discussion in Chapter Five). And both emphasize in their critical practice the process of locating in contemporary indigenous writing and activism the traces of tribal survivals and tribal innovations—not simply locating the more obvious presence or absence of purely indigenous forms. In my specific analyses in the preceding chapters, I have found these approaches especially fruitful for illuminating the narrative tactics encoded in indigenous minority texts.

As Vizenor's and Melbourne's works exemplify, indigenous theory has as one of its goals the explication of indigenous writers' complex responses to the settler nation. Dominant cultures in First World settler nations negotiate their collective identities through strategies of performance and articulation of the "national present"
(see Anderson, Bhabha). In First World settler nations like the United States and New Zealand, such performances necessarily marginalize potential counter-performances of an alternative "indigenous present" rooted in indigenous pasts. In order to bolster the legitimacy of dominant power, dominant performances of the national present strategically "forget" dominant culture's own memories of oppressive encounters with the indigenous, as well as indigenous cultures' memories of themselves and their encounters with what has become dominant culture (see Anderson 199-201). At the same time, dominant discourses work to appropriate the "indigenous," promoting their own partial and distorted representations of indigenous peoples, cultures, and histories, and assigning indigenous peoples minor roles in their national histories. As a counter measure, indigenous theory seeks to explain how indigenous minority texts work to interrupt--and potentially disrupt--national performances of a monocultural present.

Another way to conceptualize the above statements is to consider how dominant culture in both the United States and New Zealand has typically disavowed its persistent role as "colonizer" vis-a-vis indigenous peoples while foregrounding its own transforming roles vis-a-vis imperial Britain. Broadly speaking, in both countries dominant culture popularly conceives its history as a clear and consistent movement away from the status of British colony toward the status of independent First World nation. Indigenous peoples play a relatively minor role in this popular, dominant paradigm. When their role is considered beyond the period of first contact, indigenous peoples are popularly conceived either as impediments to settler
"progress," or as the recipients of settlers' gifts of enlightened religion, proper
government, and personal "freedoms." Both conceptions of indigenous peoples—as
impediments or as recipients of gifts—mask the settler's role as colonizer. For
members of dominant culture, the relationship between their roles vis-a-vis imperial
Britain and vis-a-vis indigenous peoples—the first foregrounded, the second
disavowed—might be diagramed thus:

    colonial subject/colonizer → post-colonial settler/colonizer → First
    World citizen/colonizer.

The persistent role of "colonizer" vis-a-vis indigenous peoples is disavowed because it
calls into question the supposed moral and ethical victories of dominant culture's
transformations vis-a-vis imperial Britain. The roles of indigenous peoples in the
United States and New Zealand can be diagramed using similar sets of terms, one
transforming over time, one persistent, the first foregrounded by dominant culture,
the second disavowed:

    indigenous citizen/colonized → colonial subject/colonized → post-
    colonial "ward" of the government/colonized → First World citizen/
    colonized.

These diagrams are highly generalized and in no way illustrate the complexity of the
histories of either colonizing settlers or colonized indigenous peoples in the United
States or New Zealand. But they do illustrate an important point about the
relationship between settlers and indigenous peoples in these countries. Though over
time other roles have changed for both settlers and indigenous peoples—and continue
to change—the basic relationship between colonizer and colonized persists. At
different times, the persistence of this relationship is manifested in different forms and
in different public and private spheres: in reservation policies, in land rights
legislation, in treaty violation claim settlements, in leasing agreements, in systems of
blood quantum, in certification systems for indigenous art, in racial slurs, in sports
team logos, and so forth.

Indigenous theory has as one of its goals the remembrance of the disavowed
terms in the settler-indigenous relationship. In the passages from Vizenor’s and
Melbourne’s works quoted above, such remembrance is performed at the intersection
of textual production and specific, historically dense geography. Vizenor’s Wounded
Knee Memorial is powerfully reminiscent of the Vietnam War Memorial constructed
in Washington, DC. A stone wall engraved with the names of the fallen dead
confronts viewers physically and emotionally. The names invite viewers to remember
and mourn the dead, to commune with the ancestors, and to remember their own
survivals beyond this tragedy. In Vizenor’s formulation, such communion is bi-
directional. The readable text—these names engraved in stone—creates a place in the
landscape for the spirits of Sioux ancestors to meet with their descendants and to
listen to their descendants’ stories of survival. It is here that Vizenor’s imagining of a
Wounded Knee Memorial is most obviously and most radically an event of ethno-
drama and Fourth World activism: the indigenous past becomes a manifest and
meaningful presence in the national present. Melbourne describes one of the central
contemporary functions of the carved ancestral house for Maori. Like Vizenor’s
memorial, the carved house is situated in specific geography dense with history. As readable text, the carved house functions as a vehicle for communion between Maori ancestors and their descendants, for interaction between ancestral traditions and contemporary lives. In both Vizenor’s and Melbourne’s representations, memory is the safeguard for indigenous survivals, readable texts the repositories for memory.

Toto Me Korero/Blood As Narrative:
Colonial Hybridity and the Discourse of Treaties

I paint about the Treaty now, wishing for the ideals of racial harmony, equal opportunity, recognition of a pact for partnership to become a reality.


Baby, come make me promises, tell me you’ll love me as long as
the winds blow
the grasses grow
the rivers flow.

--Sherman Alexie, "The Native American Broadcasting System," First Indian on the Moon

In the Preface, I suggested that the "post" in the term post-colonial is often considered inappropriate for describing the contemporary situations of indigenous minorities like New Zealand Maori and American Indians. Both indigenous and non-indigenous scholars argue that indigenous peoples living in First World settler nations experience an ongoing rather than a post-colonial situation. In the section above, my
diagrams of settlers' and indigenous peoples' roles make a similar argument. But the
distinctions between "post" colonialism and "ongoing" colonialism—or other versions
of these terms, such as "neo" colonialism—are complex in the contemporary Fourth
World context, and not easily resolved. As generalizations, any of these terms are
useful only to a point. It is worth repeating that, while they illustrate a general truth,
the diagrams I draw in the section above cannot represent the complexity of the
histories of either colonizing settlers or colonized indigenous peoples. Neither can the
terms "post-colonial" or "ongoing colonialism."

Part of the complexity of the Fourth World situations of the United States and
New Zealand is demographic. In addition to the high rates of racial mixing, at least
since World War II, large numbers of New Zealand Maori and American Indian
individuals, families, and whole communities have become imbricated with dominant
culture, becoming increasingly urban and increasingly occupying a wide range of
class positions, including the well educated, middle class of government officials and
university professors. In the United States, a number of American Indian reservation
communities, traditionally the poorest and least developed parts of the country,
recently have used their federal status to develop highly profitable gaming institutions
in states that otherwise do not permit gambling. In New Zealand, a number of iwi
groups have developed lucrative tourist venues on their marae, protected lands, and
beaches. And in both countries, certain indigenous artists and writers regularly
receive national acclaim and handsome compensation for their works and
performances. My point, quite simply, is that just as there is no single "indigenous"
cultural status in New Zealand or the United States, there is no single "indigenous"
individual economic or political status either. It makes little sense, therefore, to assign countries
like the United States or New Zealand a single "colonial" designation. Certainly it
makes little sense to employ colonial designations which rely on a model of
uninterrupted linear development over time (see McClintock). Rather, what appears
to be needed is a situational model of Fourth World colonialism able to take into
account the diverse and fluid circumstances of specific indigenous individuals and
communities.

One of the clearest examples of the ways indigenous minorities in New
Zealand and the United States continue to engage and reassess the question of their
own collective political status vis-a-vis colonizing powers is the deployment of what I
have called treaty discourse. There are subtle but significant differences between how
New Zealand Maori and American Indians deploy the discourse of treaties in
contemporary texts. In New Zealand, deployments of treaty discourse by activists
and writers tend to be allegorical. This strategy is made possible by the fact that only
the one treaty was signed in New Zealand—albeit one treaty with Maori and English
language versions. As I discuss in Chapter Three, Te Tiriti o Waitangi/The Treaty of
Waitangi is generally considered New Zealand's founding document, a charter for
relations between the British Crown, immigrant Pakeha settlers, and indigenous
Maori. As a result, the Treaty of Waitangi is as well known in New Zealand as the
Bill of Rights is known in the United States, and it is much written about in New
Zealand's historical, political, legal, and popular discourses. For Maori activists and
writers, the Treaty provides a "silent second text" against which their contemporary works can be read and interpreted. In particular, Maori activists and writers often evoke the Maori language version of the Treaty's Second Article, which explicitly guarantees continued Maori authority over their lands, homes, and "treasured possessions"—in other words, over all their property. Emphasis on this particular article of the Maori language version of the Treaty stages a competition between foundational texts, offering a strategic counter to Pakeha reliance on the English language version of the Treaty, in which the Maori cede sovereignty.

In contrast, deployments of treaty discourse by American Indian activists and writers tend to be metaphorical or metonymic. Since so many individual treaties were signed in the United States, no single treaty document is enough well known to support allegory for a national audience. Instead, American Indian activists and writers evoke the discourse of treaties as a metaphor for Indian-White relations, or represent treaty documents in their texts as metonyms for those promises made—and most often broken—by the federal government to American Indian nations. As a result, as I discuss in Chapter Five, American Indian activists and writers tend to foreground the surface features of treaties—including the physical characteristics of the treaty document itself and the text's rhetorical style, figures of speech, and narrative devices. This move is obviously strategic, since dominant American culture has typically foregrounded the context of treaties in order to disavow their discourse, in order to argue, that is, that treaties are fundamentally temporal artifacts, bound to the exigencies of particular eras or even of a particular moment of necessary negotiation.
with indigenous peoples. Both metaphorical and metonymic uses of treaty discourse assert the continuing relevance of the basic relationship between American Indians and the federal government established in the treaty-making process, that is, a relationship between equal sovereignties.

Despite tactical differences, American Indians and New Zealand Maori engage the discourse of treaties in order to create similar effects. Both deploy treaty discourse in order to re-establish treaties as the foundational discourse for relations between indigenous peoples and imperial or settler governments. In many of the texts I discuss in the preceding chapters, representations of contemporary New Zealand Maori or American Indian identities as indigenous identities become wedded to—and to some degree dependent upon—the imperial or settler government's solemn pledges to uphold Maori or American Indian sovereignty. The deployment of treaty discourse thus marks one of the ways New Zealand Maori and American Indian writers and activists engage colonial issues of hybridity—but with a difference particular to the Fourth World context.

In critiquing and revising Edward Said's theory of colonialism as a discursive formation, Homi Bhabha has emphasized the ambivalence inherent in "colonial discourse" and argued that "natives" or indigenous "subalterns" have been able to effectively de-center European colonial discourses from their positions of power and authority in India, Africa, and the Caribbean. In Bhabha's influential essay "Signs Taken For Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority Under a Tree Outside Delhi, May 1817," first published in 1985 and reprinted in 1994 in Bhabha's The
Location of Culture, Bhabha details historical and literary events in which British colonial discourse is "displaced." In its displacement, Bhabha argues, the basis of this colonial discourse—its "rules of recognition"—is "estranged." As I understand it, the thrust of Bhabha's complicated argument is that this process of displacement is paradigmatic of the indigenous encounter with colonial discourses. Bhabha's argument is attractively optimistic (especially as a counter to Said's more gloomy conclusions about the pervasive power of colonial discourses), but it is untenable as a generalization across diverse cultures and across diverse histories of colonial encounters. The indigenous minority encounter with treaty discourse in New Zealand and the United States, to look at only two potential examples, has operated quite differently from Bhabha's paradigm, and to opposite ends.

Almost as soon as the ink was dry, dominant culture in both New Zealand and the United States disavowed the discourse of treaties, arguing that the promises inscribed in treaty documents and the recognition of sovereignty inherent in the treaty-making process are not binding on the settler nation. In other words, in both New Zealand and the United States dominant power has attempted through its disavowal of treaty discourse to transform treaty documents and events of treaty-making into mere abstractions—often into mere platitudes of good intentions or mere understatements of treachery—with no concrete relevance for the contemporary nation. New Zealand Maori and American Indian appropriations of treaty discourse mark the revaluing of the dominant discourse of treaties. But unlike Bhabha's paradigm of native appropriation of colonial discourses, treaty documents are not "transformed" or
"transfigured" by New Zealand Maori or American Indian activists and writers; rather, the disavowed discourse of treaties is reified, reclaimed from the realm of abstraction and once again rendered concrete. Indigenous minority deployments of treaty discourse insist that dominant power remember the cross-cultural and cross-national agreements it forged with indigenous nations during earlier eras. Such deployments work, therefore, to re-center the discourse of treaties as a dominant discourse, to re-establish treaty documents as both powerful and authoritative, as binding on the contemporary settler nation.

Narrative As Blood/Korero Me Toto:
Ethno-Dramas, Indigenous Identities, Texts

If we revitalize our oral story-telling and use this as the basis to create our own literature, we will . . . regain ourselves and our identity. . . .

--Merata Mita, "Indigenous Literature in a Colonial Society"

In an Indian tent he was born.
In a crowded school he was alone.
In a modern world his legs would bend.
Only on canvas and paper he lives his heritage.

--Dallas Chief Eagle

Distinguishing differences within indigenous minority communities in First World nations is a political act. Often, the inscription of such difference marks an event of political activism. Although the term ethno-drama implies the dramatization of "racial" or "cultural" essentialisms, ethno-drama is not simply the display or
enactment of unifying ethnic markers. Ethno-drama is also a playing field and a field of operations for the dramatization of multiple and specific indigenous identities. Definitions of who counts as tangata whenua or wina·má·bakaπya, "people who belong to the land" (Sarris 71), clan or hapu identifications, and indigenous individualism are all brought into play during events of ethno-drama. This is why indigenous ethno-drama is potentially so disturbing—or incomprehensible—for members of dominant culture. In the Fourth World, dominant culture reinvents its diverse "settlers" as a single category of New World "natives"; multiple indigeneities or indigeneity specific to particular geography is not considered an option. The dramatization of specific indigenous identities is also potentially disruptive for dominant discourses. Typically, these rely on established and repeatable signs of difference between insiders and outsiders, self and Other. Fluidity and variance in representations of indigenous identities challenge the stability of fixed signs and the very systems of representation in which they operate. Every indigenous text is not a rehearsal of the World Council of Indigenous People's 1975 Solemn Declaration of capital / Indigenous identity. To the contrary, the vast array of indigenous minority texts produced in New Zealand and the United States and elsewhere—I engage only a small number of these in the preceding chapters—assert and negotiate incomprehensibly various indigenous identities, all with small 's, all with specific differences and multiple intersections with each other, with settler populations, and with manifestations of dominant culture.

Specific indigenous minority identities can be represented as texts and in texts through the evocation of specific geography. The indigenous mobilization of the
dominant discourse of treaties is one manifestation of this representational maneuver. Treaties almost always include a cartographic function of differentiation between what will be designated Our geographic space and what will be designated Yours—the creation, in other words, of clearly delimited "islands of tribalism" on the reterritorialized maps of the settler nation. Another manifestation of this representational maneuver is a text produced by a specific, localized indigenous community, such as *Between Sacred Mountains: Navajo Stories and Lessons from the Land*, published by Rock Point Community School at Chinle, Arizona, in 1982. The book's title clearly anchors Navajo identity in Dine Bikéyah, Navajo geography as remembered and recorded in Navajo rather than dominant U.S. discourses. Titled simply "Land," Chapter One of *Between Sacred Mountains* begins, "A piece of land is like a book" (1), making clear in its culturally hybrid statement the potential discursive functions of an indigenous community's evocation of its "country." In this maneuver, the indigenous homeland is rendered simultaneously familiar and unfamiliar to outsiders as it becomes a readable text. Narrating the story of the indigenous community's longevity in the land and its survival on the land, the tactic of rendering the homeland as readable text inscribes the identity of the indigenous community into the land's very surface and geologic underlayers—estranging it from beneath the eyes and feet of settlers even as the stories explain the land's multiple significances for Diné. Deploying a related tactic, the anthology *The South Corner of Time: Hopi, Navajo, Papago, Yaqui Tribal Literature*, published as part of the University of Arizona's Sun Tracks Series in 1980, represents several indigenous
identities together on a regional basis. Here, rather than evoke the land's geologic memory of indigenous identity, the book's title evokes the land's relationship to cosmic time—and the relationship of that intersection to the survival of the indigenous peoples who traditionally inhabit this landscape. The anthology's general editor Larry Evers writes in the introduction, "Place, time, and literature came together in very particular ways in native American communities. . . . The track of the sun marks place, time, identity in the four literatures we gather here too. So it is that we choose to locate this collection by the sun's rising, at the time when the winter solstice marks a special storytelling time for native American communities. During that special literary season, they say, the sun is in the south corner of time" (4).

Specific indigenous minority identities can also be represented through tactics of exclusive language use, by mobilizing indigenous languages (where extant), regional dialects, code switching, or hybridized forms of English with distinctly indigenous inflections. I explore some of these possibilities in the New Zealand context in Chapters Two and Three. Some Maori activists and scholars, including Merata Mita and Hirini Melbourne, argue that "So long as Maori can only assert the values and attitudes of their culture in English, they necessarily remain victims of the colonial legacy" (Melbourne 129). Timoti Karetu complicates the argument by pointing out that Maori oral traditions continue to thrive in specific forms, especially in original waiata (song) and haka (chant with movements) compositions, which are featured at regional and national Maori cultural competitions. "It is unfortunate that much of what the Maori world has to say in Maori is available for Maori
consumption only—that is, for speakers of Maori," Karetu writes. "Therefore much of what is said in the dance arena is available to only a limited audience, an elitist group, those who speak and understand Maori" (Karetu 162). The question of producing public texts in indigenous languages has become largely moot in the United States, where the loss of indigenous languages has been severe, although there are notable exceptions among the larger American Indian nations. In the southwest, contemporary Navajo poets Rex Lee Jim and Luci Tapahonso, for instance, compose in both English and Navajo; Tohono O'odham poet and linguist Ofelia Zepeda writes in English and O'odham. But the reading publics for American Indian languages are even smaller than the reading public for New Zealand Maori. Most indigenous texts produced in the United States that have attracted readers from the dominant culture have used indigenous languages sparingly, often, as in N. Scott Momaday's House Made of Dawn, as opening or closing moves.

Vizenor's and Melbourne's critical works make clear that specific indigenous language use and specific indigenous geography can be brought together meaningfully in the production of contemporary indigenous texts. Dallas Chief Eagle makes a similar point in his poem's four powerful lines, quoted at the beginning of this section: for some contemporary indigenous minority peoples, without access to traditional lands or native languages, texts become the only landscapes upon which they can live their indigenous heritage. Narrative becomes a primary marker of contemporary indigenous identity: who tells what stories and how. And thus it has become imperative that indigenous theories be developed that legitimize contemporary
indigenous modes of expression and literary production. Dominant culture continues to prefer stereotypical images and representations of pristine indigenous cultures frozen in the past. In his essay "A Culture Under Glass: The Pomo Basket," American Indian writer and scholar Greg Sarris writes, "But talk about pristine or pre-contact Pomo culture has ultimately the same effect as the museum exhibition [of Pomo baskets]: a renunciation of the present, and hence, of history" (57). In New Zealand, Sidney Moko Mead makes a similar point about the West's desire to preserve Maori art objects while letting the ideas and culture associated with those objects disappear (1984a:20). Both writers express the need for developing contemporary aesthetics for experiencing and appreciating indigenous artifacts—including written texts—which link art to its history and specific cultural contexts.

Since the early 1980s, both New Zealand and the United States have seen a proliferation of poems, short stories, novels, essays, books of critical non-fiction, and hybrid works written by indigenous writers both established and new. In addition, indigenous filmmakers are producing increasing numbers of short, feature, and experimental films; and indigenous recording artists are creating new categories of popular music—from the reservation rap of Litefoot to the haka boogie of Moana and the Moa Hunters. The diversity of indigenous identities represented in these new texts makes clear the impossibility of one text speaking for all indigenous voices in contemporary New Zealand or the United States, or in the contemporary international community. In these exciting times, there is great need for emerging fields of post-colonial and indigenous theory to become cautious.
Notes

1. Quoted in Steiger, 121.

2. See Young for a discussion of colonial "territorialization" (169-174).
APPENDIX A

Integrated Time Line, World War II to 1980

National and International Government Actions, Political Activism, and Publications Relevant to American Indians, New Zealand Maori, and Other Fourth World Peoples

1939

NZ establishes volunteer Maori unit, subsequently known as 28th Maori Battalion
Over 17,000 Maori enlist during WWII and 11,500 Maori work in essential industries (Maori population estimated 82,000 in 1936)
First Young Maori Conference

1940

American Indian population estimated 345,252; Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) claims a "legal" American Indian population of 360,500 under its jurisdiction
Congress enacts America’s first peacetime draft
Four Arizona Indian tribes ritually foreswear the use of swastika designs
Publication of Indian Rights Association, The Indian Today

1941

Congress declares war December 8

1942

Marine Corps organizes an all-Naöajo signal unit of "Code Talkers"
War Relocation Authority leases Indian lands for Japanese internment camps
Publication of Felix S. Cohen, Handbook of Federal Indian Law

1943

18,000 Indians reported serving in US military service
Publication of The American Indian (quarterly), American Association for Indian Affairs
1944

25,000 Indians reported serving in US fighting forces
First meeting of National Congress of American Indians (NCAI)
Publication of Ella Cara Deloria (Sioux), Speaking of Indians (non-fiction)
Publication of Ruth Muskrat Bronson (Cherokee), Indians Are People Too (non-fiction)

1945

Indian Office reports more than 40,000 Indians have left reservations for war work
John Collier resigns as Commissioner of Indian Affairs
Publication of BIA pamphlet, Indians in the War
Publication of John Joseph Matthews (Osage), Talking to the Moon (autobiography)

New Zealand Maori population estimated 100,000
Passage of Maori Social and Economic Act leads to formation of the Maori Council

SIGNING AND RATIFICATION OF UNITED NATIONS (UN) CHARTER; UN FOUNDING MEMBERS INCLUDE US AND NZ

1946

Passage of Indian Claims Commission Act
Congress passes legislation requiring compulsory school attendance for Indian children

Publication of Pei Te Hurinui Jones (Waikato/Tuwharetoa/Maniopoto), Te Tangata Whai-rawa o Weniti (Maori translation, The Merchant of Venice)

UN FIRST GENERAL ASSEMBLY; CREATION OF UN COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

1947

HR 1113, the so-called "Indian Emancipation Bill," is narrowly defeated in Congress
Publication of NCAI Bulletin (newsletter)
Publication of Smoke Signal (newspaper), Federated Indians of California

Department of Native Affairs replaced by Department of Maori Affairs

CREATION OF UN SUB-COMMISSION ON PREVENTION OF DISCRIMINATION AND PROTECTION OF MINORITIES
1948

BIA initiates off-reservation job placement program for single Navajo men
Arizona and New Mexico grant Indians voting rights
Completion of Ella Cara Deloria's manuscript Waterlily (novel); published 1988

*Founding of Maori Community Center, Auckland*

**UN Decolonization Mandate**
**UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights**

1949

Publication of D'Arcy McNickle (Cree/Salish), *They Came Here First* (non-fiction)

*Founding of Kauhanganui (Maori Independence Movement)*
*Publication of Te Rangi Hiroa/Peter Buck (Taranaki/Ngati Mutunga), The Coming of the Maori (non-fiction)*

1950

American Indian population estimated 357,499
BIA extends off-reservation placement services to other Indians

1951

Indian Claims Commission reports 370 petitions, representing 852 separate claims
BIA establishes Field Relocation Offices in Denver, Salt Lake City, Los Angeles, Chicago; offices subsequently added in Oakland, San Jose, Dallas, Cleveland

*New Zealand Maori population estimated 115,000*
*Founding of Maori Women's Welfare League, first national Maori organization*
*Teaching of Maori language begins at Auckland University*
*Publication of Reweti Kohere (Ngati Porou), The Autobiography of a Maori*

**Ratification of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide**

1952

BIA provides transportation, placement, and subsistence help under Indian Voluntary Relocation Program; 868 Indians placed

*Publication of Te Ao Hou/The New World, Department of Maori Affairs (national*
1953
Passage of House Concurrent Resolution 108 and Public Law 280: US Indian Termination Policy begins
Congress repeals liquor laws that discriminate against Indians

*Passage of Town and Country Planning Act, Maori Affairs Act, Maori Trustee Act*

1954
Termination of Menominee Indians
NCAI organizes emergency conference in Washington, DC
Publication of D'Arcy McNickle, *Runner in the Sun* (juvenile novel)

*Queen's visit inspires celebration of 6 February, Waitangi Day, as national pageant*

1955
Indian health services transferred from BIA to Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Publication of *Makah Newsletter*, Makah Nation

1956
Passage of Indian Vocational Training Act
BIA reports over 5,000 Indians participating in Voluntary Relocation Program

*New Zealand Maori population estimated 137,000*

*Formation of Nordic Sami Council*

1957
*Ratification of UN Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade and Institutions and Practices similar to Slavery*

*International Labour Organization (ILO) adopts Convention 107, Protection and Integration of Indigenous and Other Tribal and Semi-Tribal Populations in Independent Countries*
1958

*Publication of A. T. Ngata (Ngati Porou), ed., Nga Moteatea I (traditional)*

1959

Publication of D’Arcy McNickle, *Indians and Other Americans* (non-fiction)
Publication of *Navajo Times* (newspaper), Navajo Nation

**FOUNDED OF FEDERAL COUNCIL FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF [AUSTRALIAN] ABORIGINALS AND TORRES STRAIT ISLANDERS**

1960

American Indian population estimated 532,591
Publication of *Ute Bulletin* (newspaper), Uintah and Ouray Nations

*Department of Maori Affairs issues “Hunn Report”
Department of Maori Affairs institutes urban relocation programme*

**UN DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES; US ABSTAINS FROM VOTING**

1961

Secretary of Interior Stewart Udall appoints Task Force on Indian Affairs
"Declaration of Indian Purpose" prepared during American Indian Chicago Conference

**Founding of National Indian Youth Council (NIYC)**
Publication of *Indian Voices* (newspaper), NIYC

*New Zealand Maori population estimated 167,000*

1962

BIA founds Institute of American Indian Arts, Santa Fe, New Mexico
Publication of D’Arcy McNickle, *Indian Tribes of the United States* (non-fiction)
Publication of *Jicarilla Chieftain* (newspaper), Jicarilla Apache Nation

*Publication of John Waititi (Whanau-a-Apanui), Te Rangatahi I (Maori language text)*
1963

Founding of New Zealand Maori Arts and Crafts Institute, Rotorua
Publication of Te Kaunihera Maori (quarterly), New Zealand Maori Council

1964

Indian vote emerges on a national scale
Vine Deloria, Jr. (Sioux) elected Executive Director of NCAI
NIYC supports fishing rights demonstrations ("fish-ins") in the northwest
First Indian invasion of Alcatraz Island
Publication of Gerald Vizenor (Chippewa), Raising the Moon Vines (poetry)
Publication of Indian Historian (quarterly), American Indian Historical Society

Publication of Hone Tuwhare (Ngapuhi/Ngati Tautahi/Te Popoto), No Ordinary Sun (poetry)
Publication of Joan Metge, A New Maori Migration (non-fiction)
Publication of John Waititi, Te Rangatahi II (Maori language text)

1965

Taos Pueblo rejects Indian Claims Commission's cash settlement for sacred Blue Lake
Publication of Gerald Vizenor, Seventeen Chirps (poetry)

Opening of first urban marae, Te Puea, Auckland suburb of Mangere

The Cook Islands, formerly a New Zealand Trust, becomes self-governing

1966

New Zealand Maori population estimated 201,000
Opening of Te Unga Waka, Catholic-initiated Maori community center

1967

Passage of Indian Resources Development Act
BIA reports 5,800 Indians participating in Voluntary Relocation Program
Publication of Dallas Chief Eagle (Sioux), Winter Count (novel)
Publication of Emerson Blackhorse Mitchell (Navajo), Miracle Hill (novel)
Publication of Gerald Vizenor, Empty Swings (poetry)
Publication of Whispering Wind Magazine (monthly)
Publication of American Indian Crafts and Culture (newsletter)
Publication of Cheyenne-Arapaho Bulletin (newspaper), Cheyenne-Arapaho Nation
Passage of Maori Affairs Amendment Act
Founding of Maori Organization On Human Rights (MOOHR)
Publication of Joan Metge, The Maoris of New Zealand (non-fiction, revised 1976)

FOUNDING MEETING OF NATIONAL INDIAN BROTHERHOOD (NIB), CANADA

1968

President Johnson delivers special message to Congress on "The Forgotten American"
Establishment of National Council on Indian Opportunity (NCIO)
Passage of the Indian Civil Rights Act
Founding of the American Indian Movement (AIM)
National Aborigine Conference, Oklahoma
Publication of N. Scott Momaday (Kiowa), House Made of Dawn (novel)
Publication of Stan Steiner, The New Indians (non-fiction)
Publication of Akwesasne Notes (national newspaper), Mohawk Nation
Publication of Americans Before Columbus (newspaper, formerly Indian Voices), NIYC

Publication of Te Hokioi (underground newsletter)
Publication of MOOHR, Maori Organization on Human Rights (underground newsletter)
Publication of Erik Schwimmer, ed., The Maori People in the Nineteen-Sixties (non-fiction)

FOUNDING OF INTERNATIONAL WORK GROUP ON INDIGENOUS AFFAIRS (IWGIA), DENMARK

1969

"Indians of All Tribes" occupy Alcatraz Island (20 November 1969 - 11 June 1971)
Founding of Americans for Indian Opportunity
N. Scott Momaday wins Pulitzer Prize for House Made of Dawn
Publication of N. Scott Momaday, The Way to Rainy Mountain (hybrid)
Publication of Vine Deloria, Jr. (Sioux), Custer Died For Your Sins (non-fiction)
Publication of Duane Niatum (Klallam), Ascending Red Cedar Moon (poetry)
Publication of Leslie Fiedler, The Return of the Vanishing American (non-fiction)
Publication of Cherokee One Feather (newspaper), Tribal Council of the Eastern Bank of Cherokee Indians
Publication of Indian Voice (newspaper), Small Tribes of Western Washington

Cook Bicentennial Celebrations
Publication of Te Maori (quarterly, formerly Te Kaunihera Maori), New Zealand Maori Council
Ratification of UN International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination

Founding of Survival International (SI), Britain

Founding of Gesellschaft fur bedrohte Volker [Organization for Endangered Peoples], Germany

Founding of Committee for Original People's Entitlement (COPE)

1970

American Indian population estimated 792,730
President Nixon calls for Indian policy of "Self-Determination without Termination"
Restoration of Blue Lake to Taos Pueblo
AIM participates in capture of replica of the Mayflower
Indian students in New York attempt to seize Ellis Island
Sit-ins held in several BIA offices
Pit River Indians occupy Lassen National Forest, Burney, California
First Convocation of American Indian Scholars, Princeton University
N. Scott Momaday delivers address, "The Man Made of Words"
Publication of Martin Cruz Smith (Senecu del Sur/Yaqui), The Indians Won (novel)
Publication of Duane Niatum, After the Death of the Elder Klallam (poetry)
Publication of Dee Brown, Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee (novel)
Publication of Vine Deloria, Jr., We Talk, You Listen (non-fiction)
Publication of D'Arcy McNickle and Harold Fey, Indians and Other Americans (non-fiction)
Publication of Angie Debo, A History Of The Indians Of The United States
Publication of Indian Education (journal), National Indian Education Association
Publication of Yakima Nation Review (newspaper), Yakima Nation
Publication of Four Winds (monthly), Confederated Indian Tribes Council at the Washington State Penitentiary at Walla Walla

Ranginui Walker (Whakatohea) organizes Young Maori Leadership Hui, Auckland University
Emergence of activist group Nga Tamatoa (The Young Warriors)
Maori "gangs" begin to draw national attention
Nga Pitoiirangi/Rowley Habib (Ngai Tawharetoa) becomes first Maori to win New Zealand Literary Fund award
Publication of Hone Tuwhare, Come Rain, Hail (poetry)
Publication of Margaret Orbell, ed., Contemporary Maori Writing (anthology)

Ratification of UN Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes against Humanity
George Manuel (Shuswap) elected President of National Indian Brotherhood, Canada
1971

Passage of Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act
Founding of Native American Rights Fund (NARF)
AIM demonstrates at Mount Rushmore
Publication of James Welch (Blackfeet/Gros Ventre), *Riding The Earthboy* 40 (poetry)
Publication of Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., ed., *Red Power* (collected articles)
Publication of Vine Deloria, Jr., ed., *Of Utmost Good Faith* (collected documents)
Publication of D'Arcy McNickle, *Indian Man: A Biography of Oliver La Farge*
Publication of Hazel Hertzberg, *The Search for an American Indian Identity* (non-fiction)
Publication of Earl Shorris, *The Death of the Great Spirit: An Elegy for the American Indian* (non-fiction)
Publication of *Highlights* (monthly), National Tribal Chairman's Association
Publication of *Weewish Tree* (juvenile magazine), American Indian Historical Society
Publication of *Sun Tracks* (annual), University of Arizona Amerind Club
Publication of *Choctaw Community News* (newspaper), Choctaw Nation, Mississippi
Publication of *Indian Courts Newsletter*, American Indian Court Judges Association

New Zealand Maori population estimated 227,000
Passage of Race Relations Act
Nga Tamatoa protest Treaty of Waitangi celebrations, calling for day of mourning
Formation of Te Reo Society, Victoria University, Wellington

**GEORGE MANUEL MEETS WITH INDIGENOUS LEADERS AND ACTIVISTS IN NEW ZEALAND AND AUSTRALIA**

1972

Passage of Indian Education Act
Final overturning of US termination policy
Trail of Broken Treaties caravan and occupation of Bureau of Indian Affairs headquarters, Washington, DC
*Akwesasne Notes* wins Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Foundation Journalism Award Citation
Publication of John (Fire) Lame Deer (Sioux) and Richard Erdoes, *Lame Deer, Seeker of Visions* (life history)
Publication of Peter Blue Cloud (Mohawk), ed., *Alcatraz Is Not An Island* (hybrid)
Publication of Hyemoyohsts Storm (Cheyenne), *Seven Arrows* (novel)
Publication of Denton R. Bedford (Munsee), *Tsali* (novel)
Publication of Jerome Rothenberg, ed., *Shaking the Pumpkin* (poetry anthology)
Publication of Gerald Vizenor, *The Everlasting Sky* (non-fiction)
Publication of Marion Gridley, *Contemporary American Indian Leaders* (non-fiction)
Establishment of Race Relations Office, Auckland
Nga Tamatoa sets up "Maori Embassy," Te Whare o Te Iwi (The House of the People), on steps of the Parliament House
Maori activists protest at Raglan Golf Course
Publication of Witi Ihimaera (Atanga-a-Mahaki/Rongowhakaata/Ngati Porou), Pounamu, Pounamu (stories)
Publication of Hone Tuwhare, Sapwood and Milk (poetry)

FOUNDOING OF CULTURAL SURVIVAL, CAMBRIDGE, MA
GEORGE MANUEL MEETS WITH IWGIA IN COPENHAGEN, SI AND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY IN LONDON, AND WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES IN GENEVA
AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINAL PEOPLES ERECT TENT EMBASSY ON PARLIAMENT GROUNDS

1973

Occupation at Wounded Knee, South Dakota (71 days)
Passage of Menominee Restoration Act
Publication of Duane Niatum, Taos Pueblo (poetry)
Publication of Thomas E. Sanders (Nippawanock/Cherokee) and Walter W. Peek (Metacomet/Narragansett), eds., Literature of the American Indian
Publication of Vine Deloria, Jr., God Is Red (non-fiction)
Publication of D'Arcy McNickle, Native American Tribalism (non-fiction)
Publication of Kirke Kickingbird (Kiowa) and Karen Ducheneaux (Sioux), One Hundred Million Acres (non-fiction)
Publication of Wassaja (national newspaper), associated with Indian Historian Press
Publication of Spirit of the People (newsletter), Association on American Indian Affairs
Publication of /9-Pueblos News (newspaper), All-Indian Pueblo Council
Publication of Qua Toqtii (newspaper), Hopi Nation
Publication of Ni-Mah-Mi-Kwa-Zoo-Min (newspaper), Cass Lake Chippewa
Publication of Carolina Indian Voice (newspaper), Lumbee Tribal Publishing Company
Publication of Turtle Mountain Echo (newspaper), Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa

First Maori Artists and Writers Conference, Te Kaha marae
Publication of Witi Ihimaera, Tangi (novel)

UN DECLARES DECADE AGAINST RACISM

1974

First Boldt decision on American Indian fishing rights
Founding of Women of All Red Nations (WARN) in affiliation with AIM
AIM sponsors first large-scale meeting of Indian representatives, leading to formation
Publication of James Welch, Winter in the Blood (novel)
Publication of Janet Campbell Hale (Coer d’Alene/Kootenai), Owl’s Song (novel)
Publication of Leslie Marmon Silko (Laguna), Laguna Woman (poetry)
Publication of N. Scott Momaday, Angle of Geese and Other Poems (poetry)
Publication of Kenneth Rosen, ed., The Man To Send Rain Clouds (story collection)
Publication of Frederick W. Turner, ed., The Portable American Indian Reader (collection)
Publication of Shirley Hill Witt (Mohawk) and Stan Steiner, eds., The Way: An Anthology of Indian Literature
Publication of Robert K. Dodge and Joseph B. McCullough, eds., Voices From Wah’kon-tah: Contemporary Poetry of Native Americans
Publication of Vine Deloria, Jr., Behind the Trail of Broken Treaties (non-fiction) and The Indian Affair (non-fiction)
Publication of Akwesasne Notes, Voices From Wounded Knee, 1973 (non-fiction)
Publication of Indian Law Reporter (monthly), American Indian Lawyer Training Program
Publication of Indian Family Defense (quarterly), American Indian Affairs
Publication of Indian America (quarterly, formerly American Indian Crafts and Culture)
Publication of United Tribes News (newspaper), United Tribes Educational Technical Center, North Dakota

Maori youth groups initiate Maori Language Day
Second Maori Writers and Artists Conference, Wairoa marae
Publication of Witi Ihimaera, Whanau (novel)
Publication of Harry Dansey (Ngati Tuwharetoa/Te Arawa), Te Raukura/The Feathers of the Albatross (drama)
Publication of Hone Tuwhare, Something Nothing (poetry)
Publication of MOOH, Te Karanga a Te Kotuku (hybrid)
Publication of Marae Magazine (3 numbers)
Publication of Rongo (newspaper), Te Huinga Rangatahi o Aotearoa (NZ Maori Students’ Federation)

UN Economic and Social Council grants NIB non-governmental organization (NGO) observer status
Preparatory meeting for World Council of Indigenous Peoples, Guyana
Publication of George Manuel, The Fourth World (non-fiction)

1975

Passage of Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act
Publication of Duane Niatum, ed., Carriers of the Dream Wheel (poetry anthology)
Publication of Kenneth Rosen, ed., Voices of the Rainbow (poetry anthology)
Publication of *American Indian Journal* (monthly), Institute for the Development of Indian Law
Publication of *Confederated Umatilla Journal* (newspaper), Cayuse, Walla Walla and Umatilla Nations

**Passage of Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 establishes Waitangi Tribunal**

Te Roopu o te Matakite sponsors National Maori Land March and Tent Embassy on Parliament grounds

**Third Maori Writers and Artists Conference, Waitara marae**

Publication of Patricia Grace (Ngati Raukawa/Ngati Toa/Te Ati Awa), *Waiariki* (stories)

Publication of Heretaunga Pat Baker (Whakatohea/Ngati Kahungunu), *Behind The Tattooed Face* (novel)

Publication of Pei Te Hurinui Jones, Nga Rupai’aha a Oma Kai’ama (Maori translation, The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam)

Publication of Witi Ihimaera, Maori (non-fiction)


Publication of Anne Salmond, *Hui* (non-fiction)

**FIRST MEETING OF WORLD COUNCIL OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES (WCIP), NOOTKA RESERVE, PORT ALBERNI, VANCOUVER, CANADA**

UN grants International Indian Treaty Council NGO observer status

**FIRST CONFERENCE FOR NUCLEAR-FREE PACIFIC HELD IN FIJI**

**1976**

Celebration of United States Bicentennial

Passage of Indian Crimes Act and Indian Health Care Improvement Act

Publication of N. Scott Momaday, *The Names* (memoir) and *The Gourd Dancer* (poetry)

Publication of Simon Ortiz (Acoma), *Going for the Rain* (poetry)

Publication of Peter Blue Cloud (Mohawk), *Turtle, Bear, and Wolf* (poetry)

Publication of James L. White, ed., *The First Skin Around Me: Contemporary American Tribal Poetry* (anthology)

Publication of *Tsistsistas Press* (newspaper), Northern Cheyenne Tribal Council

Publication of *E’Yanpaha* (newspaper), Devil’s Lake Sioux

Publication of *Sota Eye Ye Yapi* (newspaper), Sisseton-Wahpeton Sioux

Publication of *Menominee Tribal News* (newspaper), Menominee Nation

Publication of *Spilyay Tymoo* (newspaper), Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs, Oregon

Publication of *Koru: The New Zealand Maori Artists and Writers Annual Magazine, vol. 1*
Publication of Leslie Marmon Silko, *Ceremony* (novel)
Publication of Martin Cruz Smith, *Nightwing* (novel)
Publication of Simon Ortiz, *A Good Journey* (poetry)
Publication of Duane Niatum, *Digging out the Roots* (poetry)
Publication of Peter Blue Cloud, *White Corn Sister* (poetry)
Publication of Mary Tall Mountain (Athabascan), *Nine Poems*
Publication of Elizabeth Cook-Lynn (Sioux), *Then Badger Said This* (poetry)
Publication of Joseph Bruchac (Abenaki), *This Earth Is a Drum* (poetry)
Publication of *Indian Natural Resources* (quarterly), Association on American Indian Affairs
Publication of *Cherokee Advocate* (newspaper), Cherokee Nation, Oklahoma
Publication of *Osage Nation News* (newspaper), Osage Nation
Publication of *Makah Viewers* (newspaper, formerly *Makah Newsletter*), Makah Nation

*Orakei Maori Action Group* sponsors occupation of Bastion Point (506 days)
*Founding of Te Ika a Maui Players*, Maori theatre group

SECOND GENERAL ASSEMBLY WCIP, KIRUNA, SWEDEN
GEORGE MANUEL NOMINATED FOR NOBEL PEACE PRIZE
FIRST INUIT CIRCUMPOLAR CONFERENCE
NGO CONFERENCE ON DISCRIMINATION AGAINST INDIGENOUS PEOPLES OF THE AMERICAS, GENEVA
ESTABLISHMENT OF DOCUMENTATION CENTRE FOR INDIGENOUS PEOPLES (DOCIP)
FORMATION OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES’ NETWORK (IPN)
UN GRANTS INTERNATIONAL INDIAN TREATY COUNCIL NGO STATUS

1978

Passage of American Indian Religious Freedom Act and Indian Child Welfare Act
Disbandment of Indian Claims Commission
US Supreme Court rules in favor of limited Indian sovereignty in *United States v. Wheeler*

Formation of Indian Law Resource Center (ILRC)
Posthumous publication of D’Arcy McNickle, *Wind from an Enemy Sky* (novel)
Publication of Gerald Vizenor, *Darkness in Saint Louis Bearheart* (novel) and *Wordarrows* (non-fiction)
Publication of Simon Ortiz, *The Howbah Indians* (stories)
Publication of Linda Hogan (Chickasaw), *Calling Myself Home* (poetry)
Publication of Tim A. Giago, Jr. (Sioux), *The Aboriginal Sin: Reflections on the Holy Rosary Indian Mission School* (poetry)
Publication of Janet Campbell Hale, *Custer Lives in Humbolt County* (poetry)
Publication of Joseph Bruchac, *There Are No Trees inside the Prison* (poetry)
Publication of Akwesasne Notes, *Basic Call to Consciousness* (non-fiction)

*National government creates new Maori policy entitled Tu Tangata ("Stand Tall")
Maori gangs re-emerge on national scene*

Publication of Patricia Grace, *Mutuwhenua: The Moon Sleeps* (novel)
Publication of Hone Tuwhare, *Making a Fist of It* (poetry)
Publication of Koru, vol. 2

**WORLD CONFERENCE TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION**

1979

Passage of Archaeological Resources Protection Act
Publication of James Welch, *The Death of Jim Loney* (novel)
Publication of Joy Harjo (Creek), *What Moon Drove Me To This?* (poetry)
Publication of Barney Bush (Shawnee/Cayuga), *My Horse and a Jukebox* (poetry)
Publication of Alan R. Velie, *American Indian Literature: An Anthology
Publication of Vine Deloria, Jr., *Metaphysics of Modern Existence* (non-fiction)

*New Zealand Maori population estimated 280,000
He Taua activists disrupt University of Auckland engineering students’ "haka party": New Zealand’s "first race riot"
Publication of Apirana Taylor (Te Whanau-a-Apanui/Ngati Porou/Taranaki), *Eyes of the Ruru* (poetry)
Publication of Te Kaea, *Department of Maori Affairs* (national journal, formerly Te Ao Hou, 5 numbers, 1979 - 1981)

**EMERGENCE OF SAAMI ACTION GROUP (SAG), NORWAY**

1980

American Indian population estimated 1,361,869
Passage of Maine Indian Claims Settlement Act
Publication of Simon Ortiz, *Fight Back* (poetry)
Publication of Joseph Bruchac, *Translator's Son* (poetry)
Publication of Ray A. Young Bear (Mesquakie), *Winter of the Salamander* (poetry)
Publication of Wendy Rose (Hopi/Miwok), *Lost Copper* (poetry)
Publication of Jim Barnes (Choctaw), *This Crazy Land* (poetry)
Publication of Carter Revard (Osage), *Ponca War Dancers* (poetry)
Publication of Hanay Geiogamah (Kiowa/Delaware), *New Native American Drama: Three Plays*

*Formation of Maori Peoples Liberation Movement of Aotearoa*

*Emergence of Mana Motuhake Party*

*Opening of Hoani Waititi Marae, Auckland*

*Publication of Patricia Grace, The Dream Sleepers and other stories*

*Publication of Hone Tuwhare, Selected Poems*

*Publication of Anne Salmond, Eruera: The Teachings of a Maori Elder (non-fiction)*

**Russell Tribunal meets in the Netherlands on the Rights of the Indians of the Americas**

**Second Inuit Circumpolar Conference**

**Founding of Workgroup on Indigenous Peoples (WIP), Netherlands**
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