

**RETRIEVAL OF MYTHS IN NATIVE AMERICAN
WRITINGS: A NEW HISTORICIST STUDY**

By

QASIM SHAFIQ



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Study

By

QASIM SHAFIQ

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THESIS/DISSERTATION AND DEFENSE APPROVAL FORM

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Thesis Title: Retrieval of Myths in Native American Writings: A New Historicist Study

Submitted By: Qasim Shafiq
Name of Student

Registration #: PD-LIT-ES14-IDO11

Doctor of Philosophy
Degree name in full

English Literature
Name of Discipline

Professor Dr. Shaheena Ayub Bhatti
Name of Research Supervisor

Signature of Research Supervisor

Prof. Dr. Muhammad Safeer Awan
Name of Dean

Signature of Dean (FoL)

Maj. Gen. Muhammad Jaffar HI(M) (Retd)
Name of Rector

Signature of Rector

Date

CANDIDATE'S DECLARATION

I Qasim Shafiq

Son of Shafiq Ahmad

Registration # PD-LIT-ES14-IDO11

Discipline English Literature

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ABSTRACT

Thesis Title: Retrieval of Myths in Native American Writings: A New Historicist Study

The difference in the concept of history – ceremonial and chronological – between Native American and Eurocentric viewpoints grows the debate on the in/valid representation of the ‘historicity’ or social and cultural embedment in Native American literature and ‘textuality’, the access to the historical credibility and intelligibility, of Native American history. The ‘transcendental signified’ of Eurocentrism however privileges the Eurocentric view on history, hence canonizes western second-hand knowledge about the firsthand experience of Native Americans. In the wake of civilization, the Euro-American scholars overruled Native American cultural stories and historiography and determined that Native Americans had no culture or history. In resistance, Native American literary and non-literary writers assembled Native American mythical stories in their writings to [re]construct their cultural history. Also, these aboriginal stories describe the misconceptions about Native American history. According to new historicism, these mythical stories inscribed in Native American literary and non-literary texts are credible as they are the productions, hence the producers, of aboriginal culture wherein they were told or written. In this regard, Native American literary texts, *Tracks* (1988) by Louise Erdrich and *Ceremony* (1977) by Leslie Marmon Silko, and non-literary texts, *God is Red* (1973) and *The World We Used to Live In* (2006) by Vine Deloria Jr., (re)produce Native American history from pre-Columbian time to late 20th century as the stories and reports inscribed in them are the productions of this period of North America. The textual (individual) and co-textual (collective) thick description of the mythical stories and historical documentation inscribed in delimited texts exercise: how much *Tracks* and *Ceremony* are the productions of the culture in which they were written; to what extent *God Is Red* and *The World We Used To Live In* mythistoricize North American aboriginal history; and how much the co-textual (collective) study of these stories would have a better understanding of Native American cultural history.

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Dedicated

To my Father!

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

What characterizes the nature of Native American literature and history produced in the last several decades is their being guided by Native American mythology. The proliferation of the colonial regime as the age of enlightenment caused ‘epistemic violence’ – the interruption into the aboriginal culture while ignoring its impact on the whole social order (Spivak 28)¹. On the other hand, Native American oral traditional ways of being and beliefs made them eccentric in the positivist world. It lets Euro-Americans, in the name of *civilization*, shoulder the burden of defining Native American history for the “subaltern has no history and cannot speak” (Spivak 28)², so they are spoken of (Beverley 40)³. Native American historiography – oral tradition, literature and nonfiction – that define the native concept of history are ignored or influenced by the Eurocentrism that interprets Native American myths and history with its own yardstick (Deloria 97)⁴.

History cannot be reserved in a single discipline; it is interdisciplinary and heterogeneous. It (re)views the past, recounts the quests of beings and deals diachronically with the recollections, locations and performances of social, political, religious, and cultural modes of society. Thereby, it clarifies the facts of the happenings of a specific time and place. Briefly, history is a discursive practice that objectively constructs and interprets the past and the causative alignment of the consecutive events. These events get framed within the specific time that allows them to be “organis[ed] ... and generalis[ed]” according to the socio-cultural distinctions of that period (Marwick 169)⁵. All these ‘organized’ events are usually textualized for the evidence and were handed to the next generations. In this legacy-transfer-practice, some of the ‘text’ got lost or influenced thus causing the deformation of history. On the other hand, the time before history is also a big challenge for historians. Eurocentric historians do not give credit to the available-matter of the happenings of that specific period; they name them mythology. These happenings can be traced through cave paintings, engraved sketches and storytelling. This mythology is the origin of all oral traditional societies.

The word myth is derived from ‘mythos’, a Greek term which means fable, fiction or story-telling (*Merriam-Webster* 794)⁶. It is “a mode of discourse” (White 149)⁷ that signifies “a fictitious tale usually involving supernatural persons, some popular idea or historical phenomena” (*Oxford* 542)⁸. However, this study defines the Native American myth differently and rejects the common beliefs about the function of Native American myth that deals with this “sort of ... questions that children ask, such as ‘Who made the world? How will it end?’” (Graves v)⁹. This study argues that the main function of the Native American myth “is to justify an existing social system and account for traditional rites and customs” (Graves v)¹⁰. Therefore, Native American myth is argued as a recall of the history of a particular culture. The retrieval of Native American history is grounded in the consistency of Native American mythical “narratives which are involved in one another like threads of a tapestry, too intertwined to summarize adequately, and endless” (Bidermann and Scharfstein 9)¹¹ and work as “a system of communication” (Barthes 19)¹² in the Native American societies that practice them. This system of communication is the credible source of the understanding of the pre-historical Native [American] societies in which they live (Bultman 46)¹³.

History and myth have transmuted into each other in the modern era (Baudrillard 24)¹⁴ as both keep swapping their locations simultaneously. “Their relationship is mutually constitutive [they create each other] and dynamically unstable” (Tyson 280)¹⁵. The available records of the past happenings comprise an endless appearance and suspension of various human groups that are united by their “own beliefs, ideals, and traditions. Sects, religions, tribes, and states, from ancient Sumer and Pharaonic Egypt to modern times, have based their cohesion upon shared truths – truths that differed from time to time and place to place with a rich and reckless variety” (McNeill 3)¹⁶. To locate the historical truth, therefore, in the presence of different opinions about similar happenings is difficult. On the other hand, the trends in modern criticism, undertaking individuality and capitalism, challenge the credibility of the legacy-transfer-practice of history. “Accordingly, a historian who rejects someone else’s conclusions calls them mythical, while claiming that his views are true. But what seems true to one historian will seem false to another, so one historian’s truth becomes another’s myth, even at the moment of utterance” (McNeill 1)¹⁷. Thus, history is as in/credible as myth both give information of the past by telling a story although. Even then, the scholars privilege history over myth. Hence, whether “[a]ncient or not, mythology can [also] have a historical foundation because myth is a type of speech chosen by

history: it cannot possibly evolve from the ‘nature’ of things” (Barthes 110)¹⁸. Therefore, the debate that ensues makes critics conscious about the in/validity of history and myth and “reject[s] the idea of history [only] as time” (Walcott 64)¹⁹.

The reciprocal relationship of history and mythology can be located in Native American writings as history and mythology both equally explain the Native American ways of being. Native American mythology tells the history or social and cultural norms of the native people of America. It explains their ceremonies and their laws in oral traditional societies of pre-Columbian and post-Columbian times. To locate the historical / cultural emdedment in Native American mythology this study applies the new historicist position that argues that 1) text (in the Native American case, the mythical stories were) is the credible way to preserve history (of pre-Columbian time) because of the impermanence of beings; 2) all the (Native American) literary and non-literary texts (comprising of myths) are the production and producer of cultural norms; 3) thus, the parallel study of (mythical stories in the Native American) literary texts and the non-literary texts of a time can have a better understanding of the socio-cultural history of that time. The textual analysis in the fourth, fifth and sixth chapters thus explains the Native American truths about the beginning of life, multicultural aspects of native life, the empirical stance of magical realities, cosmopolitan ideologies and ‘national origins’, or profound changes in the Native American demographics, culture, epistemologies and politics.

1.2. Thesis Statement

This co-textual study of the mythical stories inscribed in Native American literary texts, *Tracks* and *Ceremony*, and non-literary texts, *God is Red* and *The World We Used to Live In*, retrieves Native American history or social and cultural embedment wherein they were (re)emerged. The textual (individual) and co-textual (collective) thick description of the cultural stories in delimited texts argue how the co-textual (collective) study of them would have a better understanding of the cultural history embedded in them. This simultaneous project of thick description and co-textualization involves mythistoring – making credible and intelligible – and retrieving Native American cultural history. In this regard, this study takes the methodical insights of Clifford Geertz, Norman K. Denzin, Stephen Greenblatt and William McNeill and methodological insight of a literary historian and philosopher Stephen Greenblatt.

1.3. Context of the Problem

The practice of the western model of history in its colonized territories leads the situation to what Gayatri Spivak calls the ‘epistemic violence’ (251)²⁰. The implementation of law and order in the promotion of civilization caused the reduction of marginals’ historicity – the social, cultural, religious, political and historical values – that is a “highly interesting portion of the [Eurocentric] history” (Mill 1)²¹ to control the native culture. The settlers appropriated the indigenous cultural values and gradually displaced the indigenous peoples of colonized territories to hostile circumstances. Different disciplines of knowledge – philology, ethnography, economy, travelogue, philosophy, etc., to empower the colonial regime also played their role. However, the role of philosophy remained prominent for its direct approach to the ideologies that working inside the cultural values of every society. During the colonial regime, it was the philosophy that propagated the value of ‘reason’ which was the main locus of colonization.

Hegel’s notion ‘*die Weltgeschichte*’ (world-history) stirs the discussion on the issue of history. Although the idea of history is sounded in the enlightened period, Hegel is the first who compares it with Reason, and thus, changes the view of history as a concrete assessment of the world. The idea is evaluated under the reason of *Aufhebung*, “the act of superseding” by which “denial and preservation i.e. affirmation are bound together” (Hegel 140)²². For example, “*civil law* superseded equals *morality*, *morality* superseded equals the *family*, the *family* superseded equals *civil society*, *civil society* superseded equals *the state*, the *state* superseded equals *world history*” (Marx 340, emphasis added)²³. This act of superseding simply [dis]places the superseded objects from the concreteness to the abstraction. Karl Marx explains:

[M]y true religious existence is my existence in the *philosophy of religion*; my true political existence is my existence in the *philosophy of law*; my true natural existence, my existence in the *philosophy of nature*; my true artistic existence, existence in the *philosophy of art*; my true *human* existence, my *existence in philosophy*. Likewise, the true existence of religion, the state, nature, art, is the *philosophy* of religion, of nature, of the state and of art. (340, emphasis added)²⁴

Similarly, the historic existence of beings is their existence in the philosophy of history. The act of superseding is in the transcending order where every coming entity is greater than the

previous. Therefore, every entity would transcend the other until one reaches the last object that will swallow all the previous ones.

This transcending order, according to Ranajit Guha ultimately, displaces the high moral values with historicity: philosophy, the ‘absolute knowledge,’ makes historicity transcend moralities (3)²⁵. Therefore, for Post-Columbian philosophers, “history moves on a higher plane than that to which morality properly belongs. ... The deeds of the great men who are the individuals of world history ... appear justified not only in their inner significance ... but also in a secular sense” (Hegel 141)²⁶. But, in Post-Columbian time, argues Sir Thomas North, the historians or philosophers ignored the moral values of the historiography of the time when philosophers did not like the company of the monarchs. They defined the history of marginal culture according to the imperialist viewpoint (473)²⁷. They used philosophy to expropriate Native American culture, lands and beings. Thus, the act of superseding morality with historicity in the Native American case is imperial that ignores even Hegel’s cautioning about “the much discussed and misunderstood dichotomy between morality and politics” (141)²⁸. Philosophy, in this regard, says Guha, is used politically, qualified high values of history and ignores the moralities of colonists, thus, superseding the Native values with statism – the colonial view of historicity (74)²⁹. The colonial-regime-historiography superseded the Native American high moral values that made colonizers prove Native American tribes incapable of defining their history; and made them able to *educate* this savage part of the world by dissolving their knowledge, language and culture into modernism. This ‘act of superseding’ made philosophy (an abstract entity) transcend Native American laws, tribes, art (the concrete entities) and convinced them of the blessing of the colonial phase that made them a part of world-history. The report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights submitted to Donald Trump in September 2018 admits that Native Americans brought

a rich history and vibrant contributions to America’s culture, values, and lands. The U.S. government removed approximately one-fifth of Native American tribes from their homelands ... and forced many Native Americans to give up their culture. [The government] did not provide adequate assistance to support the interconnected needs of Native Americans ... [T]he end result is that Native

Americans face significant inequities ... and economic measures compared to the rest of the nation and non-Native people (203)³⁰.

1.4. Native American Literature

The post-1960s era was the beginning of Native American literary achievements as a separate canon. The period was later announced as the Native American Renaissance that was defined as “a written renewal of oral traditions translated into Western literary forms” (Lincoln 8)³¹. N. Scott Momaday’s novel *House Made of Dawn* (1968) is usually perceived as the first breakthrough of Native American struggle regarding their cultural sovereignty. However, before the publishing of this Pulitzer-Prize winning novel, there were many other Native American works famous for their literary struggle to promote their culture. *A Son of the Forest* (1829) by William Apes, *The Life of Black Hawk* (1833) by the Sauk leader Black Hawk, *Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims* (1883) by Sarah Winnemucca, a Paiute. *The Life and Adventures of Joaquin Murieta* (1854) by John Rollin Ridge and *The Surrounded* (1936) by Darcy McNickle are some of them. But it was after-1960 when Native American fiction reflected the standard of critical evaluation popularized by Native American writers like Sherman Alexie, Leslie Marmon Silko, James Welch, Joy Harjo, Simon J. Ortiz, Thomas King, Louise Erdrich and Gerald Vizenor. Given the Native American Enlightenment, the Euro-American literary canon agreed on the sovereignty of Native American literature and, unconsciously, the culture which the literature reflected. The role of Native American literature in the political efforts of the tribal communities reflects its self-determination as it raises its voice about the history of silencing and displacement, history of colonization (Krupat 5)³². Therefore, it becomes a key source of the agency of the native people of America.

“A literary text cannot be considered apart from the society that produced it: a literary text is another form of social significance which is produced by the society and in return is active in reshaping the culture of that society” (Doğan 80)³³. Native American literary texts, also, are active to define the Native American cultural history. This way of preservation of oral traditional culture survives the cultural norms (Cook-Lynn 46)³⁴. Native American writers not only interpret tribal realities but also point out their misrepresentation as they know that struggling against the imperial authority means to challenge the ‘transcendental signified’ of the western cultural

sovereignty around which the entire western truth is constructed (Gorelova 62)³⁵. Such a claim of the cultural authority leads the Native American literature towards nationalism. Following the oral traditional norms, Native American writers prove that they are nationalists who “believe that it is time for Native people to exclude any European or Euroamerican influence from a developing Native aesthetics” (Lundquist 291)³⁶. On the other hand, they are tired of outsiders’ constant need to describe their experiences as often in the post-colonial phase, but, the ‘post’ phase cannot be seen in Native American case as they still face the trouble of imperialism. Thus, in the Native American case, it can be called ‘anticolonial’ as they are still resisting imperial epistemologies.

Native American literature was acknowledged as the reflection of Native American culture a long time after its inspiration in Euro-American academia. Mainstream academia did not acknowledge Native American literary works but the works of white scholars who visited Native American tribes for new topics of writing. But the capability of Native American scholars regarding their cultural presentation is questioned on various forums. Wendy Rose, a Hopi/Miwok writer, describes her experience of various conferences where many Euroamerican scholars, anthropologists and heads of various institutes argued that they knew more about her native culture than she did (460)³⁷. This situation highlights the discrimination of subaltern communities since even postcolonialism worried about their agency; however, the consistency of the Native American literary voice forced Eurocentrism to think about their ability to speak. The colonial set up could not allow the native voice to grow loud and drew a boundary around it marked by minority literature. Native American perspectives thus were not given the privilege of defining themselves that makes the whole process of ‘civilization’ vague and imprecise. For instance, till the middle of 17th century, Native American orature was strongly doubted and “refuted by such reasoning that literature, ‘littera-ture’, meant precisely the culture of letters” (Krupat 97)³⁸ that the oral literature would not be; “in late 20th century, academic specialization in Native American literature was practically non-existent” (Porter and Roemer 1)³⁹. So, the Native American people like their land are supposed to be “a treasured invention, a gothic artifact evoked like the ‘powwows’ in Hawthorne's ‘Young Goodman Brown’ out of the dark reaches of the continent to replace the actual native, who, painfully problematic in real life, is supposed to have long since vanished” (Owens 4)⁴⁰ and now only a creation of western history and literature.

The impact of colonial tactics to undermine Native American culture was so strong that many Native American tribes were “willing to cast aside ceremonies that stood them in good stead for thousands of years and live in increasing and meaningless secularity” (Deloria xvii)⁴¹. The majority of Native Americans today do not have much understanding of “the powers once possessed by the spiritual leaders of their communities” (Deloria xvii)⁴² as “the teachers at Indian school taught [them] not to believe in that kind of nonsense” (Silko 18)⁴³. It became the communal tragedy of the Native American community that the people were confused about the historicity of their stories. Native American scholars thus have had to use modern techniques and languages to express their viewpoints. They prefer the English language and modern conventional forms like novels, autobiographies, essays, histories and short stories to express Native American thought processes. However, using the modern form does not mean the abolition of the oral tradition in their writings. The plot structure of their novels, unlike the convention pattern of beginning, conflict, resolution and ending, follow the oral traditional style where the narratives slip into each other and blur the linearity of the story. This oral traditional style is an integral part of the fiction of Louise Erdrich, Sherman Joseph Alexie, Gerald Vizenor, Leslie Marmon Silko, Thomas King and N. Scot Momaday and these literary writings promote the Native American mythical stories to enlighten the forgotten past and of their ancestors.

Contemporary Native American writers are mixed-blood in the majority and thus have experience of both cultural modes: the native and non-native. “As participants in two cultural traditions, their art is patterned by discursive acts of mediation. [Here] mediation... mean[s] an artistic and conceptual standpoint, constantly flexible, which uses the epistemological frameworks of Native American and Western cultural traditions to illuminate and enrich each other” (Ruppert 3)⁴⁴. Presenting both cultural modes, Native American writers use the oral traditions as well as modern techniques, although, the bicultural mode of their fiction stirs the debate on the nature of their literature as Euro-American scholarship does not acknowledge their literary distinction and links Native American literature with the ‘discovery’ of America and the civilization agenda. Using modern techniques, however, as the expression of their native values does not mean that Native American writers have a bend towards modernity or Eurocentrism. The devices have been used to convey their native expressions. For instance, all Native American writers like novels “as a means of addressing the radical upheaval of modernity, and each used fiction to challenge the image of Native American cultures as primitive and

unchanging” (Kent 84)⁴⁵. Native American writers thus claim the ‘appropriation’ of modern techniques “to dismantle master’s home with master’s tools” (Ashcroft et al. 4)⁴⁶.

1.5. Native American Mythology

Every aboriginal culture of the world has its own myths. The synchronic and diachronic study of these myths helps understand historicity about that aboriginal culture. Native American writers know this fact and textualize their myths accordingly because a text is a source of confirmation of the past. Contemporary Native American literary and non-literary writers, therefore, comprise the oral traditional myths to understand the pre-Columbian historicity of their society. The collection of these myths or cultural stories may educate the coming generation a better understanding of Native American oral traditional world (Deloria xx)⁴⁷.

It is an interesting fact that Greek mythology, which was qualified equally in classicism (Sophocles and Homer) and romanticism (John Keats), was explored as the cultural predominance of Greek. However, the myths and the oral stories of Native American tribes were claimed as nonsense stories. Postcolonial studies threatened the settlers’ hegemony forcing them to admit the mythical stories of Native American writers as a modern technique of magical realism that describes and explores the artistic presentation of magical events. Contemporary Native American writers are accused of using magic realism to express the unreal elements of their culture. However, these supernatural ways do not “seem unreal” (Chavkin and Chavkin 221)⁴⁸ to Native American writers and readers as these *unreal* happenings are routine matters for the Native American community. Thus, the understanding of the Native American oral tradition or mythology gives rise to conflict between Native American and Euro-American scholarship. Native American writers conceive mythology as inscribed-cultural-facts that “license fusions of categories and identities normally held discrete”, (Goodman 56)⁴⁹ and “hides nothing. Its function is to distort, not to make disappear” (Barthes 124)⁵⁰ whereas Euro-American scholarship ignores this cultural significance of Native American oral tradition or mythology and admits Native American myths as a magical realistic technique of expression.

In post-Columbian times, Native American myths are interpreted from three viewpoints. 1). Eurocentrism does not privilege the mythical stories of Native American literary and non-literary writings and marks them as absurd and far beyond reason. 2). Christianity, the forerunner

of Eurocentrism, accepts the validity of the supernatural stories in Native American writings because of its own supernatural accounts. The objection to Native American supernatural stories would be the objection to biblical stories that are also supernatural. However, Native American supernatural practices, for Christianity, are not spiritual rather satanic. For this reason, the Puritans in New England named American Indians as ‘Philistines’ that were supposed to be the opponents of New Jerusalem and that were the main hurdles in the process of civilization (Clements 651)⁵¹.

3). The Native American point-of-view explains the historical and cultural significance of their mythology as it “narrates a sacred history; it relates an event that took place in primordial time, the fabled time of the ‘beginnings’” (Loftin 680)⁵². Hence, Native American mythology becomes a part of Native American narrative as there would be a role for the imagination in mythmaking and in [historical] fiction writing (Goodman 73)⁵³. This imagination can reflect the better sense of historicity and at this cultural-historical level, the myth is useful (Boon and Schneider 802)⁵⁴. Native American tribes also dislike “Anglo histories, because they are amythic people” (Loftin 688)⁵⁵. On the other hand, they do “not negate the authenticity and timelessness of the myth’s meaning” (Loftin 682)⁵⁶. For the conflict on the nature of Native American mythology, the historic description of Native American myths about the socio-cultural affairs of native tribes is quite different from the European description of Native American tribes. For instance, Europeans propagate that Native American tribes came to this New World from somewhere overseas (Loftin 680)⁵⁷ and uses this made-up statement to justify the arrival of Europeans: They have justified their invasion to Native American lands with the references that “the first Native Americans [also] crossed from the Old World into the New World across the Bering Land Bridge that joined Siberia to Alaska at least 15,000 years ago” (Nielsen and Willerslev 18)⁵⁸. However, they do not refer any clue to argue “for certain how, when, or why the Asian ancestors of the Native Americans first appeared in North America” (Park 171)⁵⁹.

The Native American scholars claim that they have had the sense and record of history embedded within a larger context of myth. For them, myth is another type of history as it (myth) defines their cultural truths. Euroamericans, however, mark this mythology as false because it tells the unusual historical happenings. These “[m]ythical and historical apprehensions of the world are different and neither proves nor disproves the other. Both are true” (Loftin 683)⁶⁰. The

historic disposition of pre-Columbian Native American life is systematically inscribed in Native American literary and non-literary writings. These writings, regarding the cultural inheritance of their tradition, define the quest for native identity. The narrators of the mythical stories are entrapped in their agonizing mid-life disaster and intrigued by spiritual shamans to value their identity. Tricksters such as the Kiowa bear and Coyote are in everyday stories. Such a description of myths in Native American literary and non-literary writings comprehends, represents and interprets the Native American past.

1.6. Native American Concept of History

According to Vine Deloria Jr., Native Americans and Euro-Americans view history differently as the Native American scholars, especially in pre-Columbian and Euro-settlers regime, were not careful about the chronological documentation of the records of past happenings (97)⁶¹. In Central America, however, there were methods of historiography like ‘winter count’ and ‘calendar sticks’ practiced by North Dakota and Tohono O’odhams and Pimas of Arizona that expressed the Native American tribes’ interest in the chronological documentation of their happenings. For this purpose, specific images had been painted on large animal hides like these of the buffalo that had symbolic significance as they comprehend, represent and interpret the particular past year of a particular tribe. In the post-Columbian era, Delaware’s ‘Walum Olum’ was also a way of recording events that explained the chronological location of the numerous political proceedings. Such documentation described the issue of borders of various tribes and political matters in detail. Another type of recording event was Biographical Drawings that were – unlike winter counts which were social – used to draw individually for one’s understandings of the surrounding world and which showed the Native Americans’ interest in history on the individual level. These drawings were used to record battles among tribes but instead of describing the whole event, it was delimited to the brave men and their war deeds or honors. These drawings also recorded hunting events and one’s spiritual experiences vis-a-vis communication with the spirit. “Most ledger art images revolve around warfare and continual striving for status, including scenes of battle and the capturing of horses, weapons and other goods” (Greene and Thornton 45)⁶².

Certain tribes have had thought of world ages equivalent to the South Asian view of the world's age. Flood stories of different times, even the most distant, for instance, favor the idea of an eternal life cycle as the earth has periodically faced birth and death as a result of natural disasters: fire, water, earthquake and hurricanes. The ancient Native American stories also explain the same kind of destruction and renewal of life. The metaphors, used in these stories, idealize the perception of historicity. Deloria recounts a general perception about the destiny of the world among the Sioux people who believe in an oral tradition story of a prodigious buffalo that protects the world by holding the water back at the western gate of the universe. It is related that every year the buffalo loses one of its hairs and it causes the flood. Also that at the end of each century it loses a leg thus causing great flood and destruction. For the native people, the world will come to an end as a result of floodwaters when the buffalo loses all its legs (Deloria 101)⁶³.

The colonial regime has a different understanding of time that makes Native American tribes conscious of the chronology. The native tribes had to record diverse announcements, speeches of notable white personalities and communications at treaty meetings as proof of their so-called promises that were often broken. These chronological allusions were for whites. Regardless of the imitation of the Western mode of recording events, these recordings are not acknowledged since they are evidence of colonial brutality superseding the morality of the time. The settlers negated Native American social values regarding their agenda of civilization; thus, the culture, languages, political affiliation with other tribes and religions became marginalized and inferior. Chief Seattle's remarkable speech at the time of the Medicine Creek Treaty (1854) expresses the Native Americans' condition and approach to colonization. Duwamish Seattle, realizing the suffering of the land and the people, states gloomily:

It matters where we pass the remnant of our days. They will not be many. A few more moons; a few more winters – and not one of the descendants of the mighty hosts that once moved over this broad land or lived in happy homes, protected by the Great Spirit, will remain to mourn over the graves of a people once more powerful and hopeful than yours. But why should I mourn at the untimely fate of my people? Tribe follows tribe, the nation follows nation, like the waves of the sea. It is the order of nature, and regret is useless. Your time of decay may be distant, but it will surely come, for even the White

Man whose God walked and talked with him as a friend with a friend, cannot be exempted from the common destiny. We may be brothers after all. We shall see. (qtd. in Deloria 98)⁶⁴

This speech is something more than the description of colonial hegemony and describes the native concept of ceremonial history as it articulates the eternal life cycle.

These ways refute the claim that Native American tribes had no sense of history. Its nature is different from the modern viewpoint, and therefore is not admitted by Western historians who prefer to record every entity in a chronological sequence with its references. Native American historical records describe *how* people survived, *where* they were located and *why* they migrated at different times. Regarding these events *when* is understood by “a long time ago” (Deloria 103)⁶⁵. For instance, the Iroquois stories describe the tribe’s migration from the plains to eastward. Here, *when* is not important; the only important thing is the prosperity and benefits of this migration. The Western scholars and historians reject the Native American pre-Columbian historiography and historical stories that for them are not valid in the post-Columbian world. They argue the limitation of the history-methods of ‘winter count, ‘calendar sticks’ and ‘Walum Olum’ as only a particular group of Native Americans knew the real sense of the symbolic image it represents and interprets in the particular year. A particular year, for instance, might be marked with the arrival of horses in the Native American community; the next would-be year is remembered, say, for the extraordinary cultivation of berries, the next one might be documented in the memorandum of a peace treaty among Native American tribes or migration to some strange place or river. In all of these cases, it is difficult to comprehend these incidents in their true essence without the help of some Native American legends. On the other hand, these methods of historiography are unable to define significant events, treaties and political activities. For example, “[o]ne recent Sioux winter count does not mention a number of important treaties, and ... does not even mention the battle with Custer” (Deloria 98)⁶⁶.

The modern academia claims that history was not an issue for Native American society as the date and time, the days, the chronological proceedings were ignored; only the emergence of cultural heroes, the medicines and ceremonies were remembered. Euro-Americans for that matter argue the lesser capability of the aboriginal people of America to understand the historical truths

and whip the critics for giving so much importance “to trivial incidents” (Lowie 164)⁶⁷. They propagate that Native Americans are unreliable and the information provided about their past “is considered credible only if it is offered by a white scholar recognized by the academia” (Deloria 35)⁶⁸. They feel their responsibility to re/write Native American stories for Native Americans and categorize the Native American historical and cultural stories into variations according to the similarity of their themes. It is usually for them to mock at the accounts for their *non-sense* happenings that would be coincidental or delusional or trickery. Such thinking, for Deloria, has made Euro-American scholars “excuse each story or anecdote describing the exercise of spiritual ceremonies” (xx)⁶⁹. On the other hand, they also define Native American history with the validity of some stories over others that result in the loss of many accounts.

The Native American community has its own understanding of the historical stories; supremacy or the validity of these stories is/was not an issue for them. No doubt, these stories were told generation after generation by different storytellers but they remained credible for it was neither a matter of supremacy nor a search for ultimate truth. In the political alliance for the battle against a mutual enemy the powerful controlled matters but did not influence the weak in recording these matters for their benefit. The coalition of the Creek and the Iroquois, for instance, does not show any coercion of the strong to the weak (Deloria 99)⁷⁰. Deloria argues that to determine the chronology of Native American stories is not a big issue as a chronological presentation of the Native American socio-cultural events can be traced through proper research by Native American scholars and tribal figures that have had complete geographical knowledge of the sacred places. He argues that the American government does not provide the same opportunity of education at the graduate and post-doctoral level to understand the Native American natural world as it does to the other social projects (Deloria xxxi)⁷¹. Thus, the lack of educational opportunities for the Native American ways of being leads to the misperception of indigenous rituals or ceremonies.

1.7. Native American Mythistory: Intelligibility of Native American Myth-History

“It is true that many of the works studied as literature [and history] in academic institutions were ‘constructed’ to be read as literature [and history], but it is also true that many

of them were not” (Eagleton 1)⁷². A story which was written and read as an account of history is/may be subsequently retrieved and reviewed as fiction “or it may start off as [imaginary] literature and then come to be valued for its archaeological significance” (Eagleton 4)⁷³. Thus, the idea to locate fiction (myth) or fact (history) is based on how one defines them. Accordingly, a scholar rejects someone else’s arguments in favor of some historical manuscript and calls it fiction (myth). Similarly, what is fiction (myth) at one time is acknowledged as history at another. For instance, Edward Gibbon no doubt thought that he was writing historical truth and so perhaps did the authors of Genesis, but they are now read as ‘fact’ by some and ‘fiction’ by others; Newman certainly thought his theological meditations were true but they are fiction now for many readers.

The conflict between how to locate *fact* (history) and *fiction* (myth/literature) ‘illuminate’ or ‘eliminate’ Native American historical stories. Native American writers and historians think of their oral stories inscribed in their literary and non-literary writings as the ultimate history/facts of their society whereas Euro-American scholarship considers them fictitious or mythical. Scholars on both sides have their arguments about the factual/mythical nature of Native American cultural stories that are explained in detail. The conflict between *fact* and *fiction* “has since been reiterated in different guises and various contexts, and is still very much alive today” (Mali 86)⁷⁴ as the issue moves up in the presidential address of William McNeill (1985) to the American Historical Association. McNeill argues that to define “What is (fact or) Truth?” is not possible as “unalterable and eternal truth remains, like the Kingdom of Heaven, an eschatological hope” (10)⁷⁵. Hence, only truths or the social and cultural embedment, not Truth or the ultimate reality, of a given past can be explored. However, the truths of a given past, according to McNeill, can be achieved

when [historians] bend their minds as critically and carefully as they can to the task of making their account of public affairs credible as well as intelligible to an audience that shares enough of their particular outlook and assumptions to accept what they say. The result might best be called mythistory perhaps, for the same words that constitute truth for some are, and always will be, myth for others who inherit or embrace different assumptions and organizing concepts about the world. (8-9)⁷⁶

McNeill for a possible solution to retrieve the historicity of Native American stories puts the burden on mythistory since that is what the historians “actually have – a useful instrument for piloting human groups in their encounters with one another and with the natural environment” (10)⁷⁷.

To find the truths of Native American stories, however, is “a high and serious calling, for what a group of [Native Americans] knows and believes about the past channels expectations and affects the decisions on which their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor all depend” (McNeill 10)⁷⁸. Joseph Mali, therefore, offers the interdisciplinary approach “to perceive historical myths as true insofar as they constitute that ‘web of meaning’ by which alone the members of [the] community can form and sustain their association” (Mali 87)⁷⁹. However, this interdisciplinary approach is not encouraged by his fellow historians as they still practice the same positivistic tenets “or, to put it negatively, because they have not yet fully appropriated the lessons of other humanistic disciplines such as cultural anthropology, psychology and literary criticism” (Mali 87)⁸⁰. The present study adapts an interdisciplinary approach to find out the truths in mythical stories inscribed in Native American literary and non-literary writings.

1.8. Research Gap: The Need to Argue the Status of Myth in Forging Native American Cultural History

The knowledge of pre-historic societies (“although the existence of *Homo sapiens* is between 30,000 and 50,000 years, the earliest script dates from only 6000 years ago” (Ong 2)⁸¹.) and that had not been in contact with the *civilized* world for a long time was tagged as a myth. Hence the largest part of the history of human beings was thrown away as myth or rubbish. The colonial proliferation discovered the *uncivilized* worlds but proclaimed them as the invention of the white men who hence became the founder of their history. So, when a white man Columbus with a small crew of three ships discovered the land that he never intended to, the west honored his *invention* and his naming to the people ‘Indians’ regardless of the indigenous names of tribes or peoples. The credit was solicited that a white man sailed thousands of miles to the unknown world and helped the people be *civilized* (Morrison 3)⁸². This imperial thought had been constructing Native American history since Columbus *invented* the land and never acknowledged the Native voice but recorded by the white man. Eurocentric literature, history

and film industry have long misrepresented Indians and downgraded them as “stereotypical, historically inaccurate behavior” (Julia 1)⁸³. So, Native Americans like their *invented* land are argued as an invention and now is nothing but a creation of western history and literature.

This context called for the emergence of the Native American socio-political resistance. Native American literary and non-literary writers assembled and textualized their mythical stories, the embodiment of their cultural history. This effort dismantled western secondhand knowledge of Native American culture and reconstructed Native American identity in the pre-Columbian context. In post-1960 the Native American literary and non-literary texts were acknowledged as the standard of critical evaluation and the period, hence, celebrated as Native American Renaissance that defined as “a written renewal of oral traditions” (Lincoln 8)⁸⁴. *House Made of Dawn* (1968) by N. Scott Momaday, *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto* (1969), *God Is Red* (1973) and *The World We Used to Live In* (2006) by Vine Deloria Jr. *Ceremony* (1977) by Leslie Marmon Silko, *Fools Crow* (1986) by James Welch, *Tracks* (1988) by Louise Erdrich, *Green Grass Running Water* (1993) by Thomas King, *The Heirs of Columbus* (1991) by Gerald Vizenor, “Letter or Speech to Native Women's Council” by Princess Red Wing, *Playing Indian* (1998) by Philip Joseph Deloria, *The Absolutely True Diary of a Part Time Indian* (2007) by Sherman Alexie, *From the Heart of the Crow Country: The Crow Indians' Own Stories* (2000) *Native Spirit and The Sun Dance Way* (2007) by Joseph Medicine Crow, *From Sand Creek: Rising In This Heart Which Is Our America* (1981) by Simon J. Ortiz, *An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States* (2014) by Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, *How We Became Human: New and Selected Poems 1975–2002* (2004) and *An American Sunrise* (2019) by Joy Harjo reflect their self-determination and voice against the history of colonization (Krupat 5)⁸⁵, and canonize the cultural realities of their past ‘stories’.

The critical review of non-native scholars about the Native American myths also helps understand the established critical work on Native American cultural history. Bo Schöler’s study “Mythic Realism in Native American Literature” is a valuable source of reference for the present study since it focuses on the significance of ‘mythical realism’ of contemporary Native American literature. In his article, Schöler proves ‘mythical realism’ as a correspondence between Native American myths and the social reality of Native American traditions. Bo Schöler claims that the in/validity of Native American literature is dependent on the point of view: it is a

reality for the Native Americans but “mythic, surreal, or even magic” for Western scholars (Schöler 65)⁸⁶. Schöler differentiates the myth and reality in Native American literature with the approach to language which is “more than a purely communicative ... because it structures reality and thus identity ... can thus be understood as the quality that determines ideology and worldview” (65-66)⁸⁷.

Veneta Georgieva Petkova’s article, “How Thomas King Uses Coyote in his Novel *Green Grass, Running Water*” also addresses Native American mythology and highlights the historical importance of Coyote in the Native American tradition. “[T]he trickster Coyote preside[s] over two loosely interwoven plots: one based on the myth of the creation of the world, and the other based on the quasi-realistic events on and near a Canadian Blackfoot reservation” (Bailey 43)⁸⁸. Petkova presents the image of Coyote as a metaphor for the Native American history of North America. On the other hand, it “interpret[s] the signs from the mythological and realistic worlds [and] play around the tricky definitions of real and mythic, right and wrong, justice and injustice” (Petkova 1)⁸⁹. Thus, using a mythical figure of the Native American traditional world Petkova describes the Native American tradition in the pre-colonial and colonial periods. Scholars like Petkova define the historicity of the Native American mythology that provides not only structure to Native American novels but also meaning to the lives of their protagonists.

This study explains the Native American communal past through Native American mythical stories inscribed in Native American literary and non-literary writings. It argues that Native American mythology describes the history of aboriginal Americans: their ways of being, their ceremonies and their laws in pre-Columbian times. To understand the historic disposition of Native American mythology inscribed in Native American literary writings of Louise Erdrich (*Tracks* 1988) and Leslie Marmon Silko (*Ceremony* 1977) and non-literary writings of Vine Deloria Jr. (*God Is Red* 1973 and *The World We Used to Live In* 2006), this study applies the new historicist approach that argues that 1) text (Native American literary and non-literary texts incorporated in Native American mythical stories) is the credible way to preserve history for the impermanence of human beings; 2) all (Native American) literary and non-literary texts (consisting of myths) are the production and producer of specific cultural norms; 3) and thus, the

parallel study of (mythical stories in Native American) literary and non-literary texts of a time, in which they were (re)produced, can retrieve the historicity of the time.

This study has a stance similar to those of Schijler, Petkova and Cederstrom about the historicity of Native American mythical stories as it argues that the myths are not individual but social and one can find out the social and cultural embedment of these myths. But this study develops its argument through a focus on the mythistory and co-textualization of myths in Native American literary and non-literary writings. This critical approach which is highly privileged in modern academia “attain[s] a better historiographical balance between Truth, truths and myth” (McNeill 8)⁹⁰.

1.9. Significance of the Study

This study will explore the significance of Native American mythology in the retrieval of Native American history. As such it invites historians and other scholars to argue the status of Native American myths in reconstructing the culture of all the time Native American oral traditional societies. Also, it would have an understanding of the history of other intact, which was later colonized, (oral) traditional societies. Hence, this study seeks and challenges the prevailing assumptions that marginalize the importance of Native American mythology in clarifying the truths about the social realities of the Native American past. This study will explore the significance of mythistory – how to make history credible and intelligible – to argue the status of Native American myths inscribed in Native American history. For itself, it explains how Native American historians mythistoricize the mythical stories they assembled in their historical writings. This study also intrigues the contemporary historians to judge the credibility or intelligibility of Native American mythical stories specifically and the stories of other aboriginal societies generally, hence value the untold tales of the world-history. This study will enhance the co-textual stance of new historicism to understand Native American cultural history. As this co-textual study of Native American mythical stories assembled in Native American fiction and history explains the acceptability of Native American mythology inscribed in the selected texts. This co-textual approach will invite succeeding generations of researchers to seek out similar issues in contemporary Native and non-native writings and develops an understanding of the history of the world. It is hoped that this study while widening the

interdisciplinarity will make the critics and historians reject the stereotypes of the Noble Savage and encourages Native beliefs and accepts their validation through methodological claims of a co-textually balance of Native American history, myth and fictionality (Truth, myths, and truths). This study seeks and helps contemporary historians understand Native American history by reviewing contemporary Native American literary and non-literary texts.

1.10. Delimitation

The present study is delimited to a new historicist analysis of the following Native American literary and non-literary texts:

- 1) Vine Deloria Jr. – *God is Red* (1973),
- 2) Leslie Marmon Silko – *Ceremony* (1977),
- 3) Louise Erdrich – *Tracks* (1988),
- 4) Vine Deloria Jr. – *The World We Used to Live In* (2006).

1.11. Research Objectives

The objectives of the present study are to

- I. explore the historicity of Native American mythical stories inscribed in Native American literary and non-literary texts;
- II. understand how Native American historians mythistoricize – make credible and intelligible – the mythical stories they assembled;
- III. signify the co-textual, not contextual, study of Native American literary and non-literary writings to have a better understanding of the time and place wherein the texts were produced; hence promote the interdisciplinarity to understand the untold stories of (oral) traditional societies.

1.12. Research Questions

The present research attempts to answer the following questions:

- I. How is Native American historicity inscribed in Louise Erdrich’s *Tracks* (1988) and Leslie Marmon Silko’s *Ceremony* (1977)?

- II. How do Deloria's *God Is Red* (1973) and *The World We Used to Live In* (2006) mythohistoricize Native American history?
- III. How do Native American literary texts (*Tracks* 1988, *Ceremony* 1977) and non-literary texts (*God is Red* 1973, *The World We Used to Live In* 2006) co-textually balance Native American history, myth and fictionality?

1.13. Theoretical Framework

This qualitative-cum descriptive and analytical research is based on the theorization of new historicism and underlines the following arguments of Greenblatt: 1) text is a way to preserve history because of the impermanence of beings; 2) all literary and non-literary texts are productions and producers of cultural norms, therefore, literature like history is also a source of the history of the time in which it is produced; 3) correspondingly, history like all other disciplines of knowledge is a cultural approach, thus, cannot claim to objectify the past; 4) the parallel study of literary texts and non-literary texts of the same period can understand a better sense of the history of the time in which these texts were produced (Greenblatt 2, 11, 43, 47). This 1980s American philosophy argues how the literary journals, university courses, the theme of critical works, and the topics of academic conferences explore the historicity of literary/non-literary works (Woolfreys 169). This philosophy argues that all texts are rooted in social and cultural contexts and all of our knowledge and interpretation of the past is based on the lingering textual traces of community whose very existence meant that they were subject to subtle social processes of effacement and preservation. It claims the constitutive part of literature in the history-making process and argues that literature elucidates the processes and contradictions of historical transition (Woolfreys 170). So, the function of historical context in evaluating literary texts and the involvement of literary discourse in mediating history are two main foci of new historicism.

1.14. Research Methodology or Method

Regarding this research, the research methodology is *what* the research frames to analyze the texts or data whereas a research method is *how* the research frames the analysis of the texts or data. The methodology or method together analyzes the theorization of the present research

argument. The research methodology of this study following the insights of new historicism describes *what* this study theorizes. To involve the insights of Stephen Greenblatt it argues: i) the historicity of Native American literature; ii) and textuality – credibility and intelligibility – of Native American history; iii) and how the co-textualization of Native American literary (literature) and non-literary (history) texts have a better sense of Native American cultural history in which delimited texts were (re)produced. On the other hand, the research method of this study adapts, not adopts, ‘thick description’ to explain *how* it critically analyzes the Native American delimited texts. It involves the viewpoints of Clifford Geertz, Norman K. Denzin, Stephen Greenblatt and William McNeill to argue: i) *how* Native American writers describe Native American cultural histories; and *how* this study frames these inscriptions; iii) hence understand Native American history or social and cultural embedment in Native American delimited texts. The correspondence between methodology and method rationalizes the research argument regarding the critical analysis of Native American delimited texts.

1.15. Structure of the Thesis

Chapter 1 provides an introduction to the topic and provides a background for this study. It explains the concept of history and myth and their correspondence in the process of meaning-making. New historicism claims that literary texts are the productions, and thus, the producers of their historicity. It also explains how Native American literature preserves the culture in which it was produced and defines Native American mythology and the ability of Native Americans to differentiate myth from history. It also explains the Native American concept of history and argues its similarity with the contemporary concept of historicity. Finally, to explain Native American history inscribed in the mythical stories the chapter relates McNeill’s concept of mythistory that insists on the critical approach to defining Native American spiritual history. After discussing the key points of the research argument i.e Native American literature, Native American mythology, Native American history and Native American mythistory, this chapter grounds this study in the arguments of renowned scholars. The research gap of this chapter argues the viewpoint of present research and its differences from earlier and conventional research. Defining the significance of the present study the chapter explains the motives behind the research target. The delimitation, research objectives and proposes research questions of the

dissertation framed to prove the argument of the research. The chapter concludes with chapters breakup of the entire dissertation.

Chapter 2, 'Review of Literature', in a step by step description, tells the nature of Native American literature and evaluates the arguments about the in/validity of Native American literature. Here, this study interprets two different opinions about the validity or invalidity of Native American literature and explains them critically. It also attempts to explain the concept of Native American history through various aboriginal methods of collecting facts and explains them critically with the help of different arguments. This chapter describes the approach of different Native and Non-Native scholars in explaining the importance of Native American mythology and its role in retrieving the historicity of the aboriginal world. In doing this, this chapter explains the concept of mythistory in the Native American context and relates the different circumstances that derailed the efforts of mythistory. This chapter concludes that Native American mythology, literature and history are valid entities that comprehend and represent Native American history or historicity.

Chapter 3 is divided into two sections: theoretic framework and research method. The first section explains Stephen Greenblatt's theorization of new historicism and explains his key concepts about literature and history that ultimately results in the co-textualization of literary and non-literary texts to understand the history in which the texts were produced. The second part of the chapter explains 'thick description' as research practice and its implications in the analysis of Native American literary and non-literary texts. This study, here, adapts Clifford Geertz, Norman K. Denzin's and Stephen Greenblatt's viewpoints and makes its own frame for the thick description of delimited Native American texts. The correspondence of theory and practice concretizes the theoretical understanding of the research objectives and may be practically applied to the [Native American] retrieval of history.

Chapter 4 retrieves the historicity of the Native American mythical world in Native American literature. This chapter explains the delimitation of Native American fictions – *Tracks* (1988) by Louise Erdrich and *Ceremony* (1977) by Leslie Marmon Silko – and relates the biographical significance of these writers to their fiction. It also defines the ways of oral tradition, magic realism and the idea of time and space Erdrich and Silko adapt to describe the

Native American social and cultural history. This chapter explains that Native American fiction – as represented by *Tracks* (1988) and *Ceremony* (1977) – reflect Native American historicity in which they were produced.

Chapter 5 emphasizes the effort of Vine Deloria Jr. to canonize Native American history. This chapter defines the significance of delimitation of Deloria's non-fiction works, *God Is Red* (1973) and *The World We Used to Live In* (2006) and explains how Deloria, as a historian, makes his account of Native American spiritual practices credible and intelligible to his audience. The step-by-step methodology demonstrates that Deloria begins by being critical of a particular spiritual practice and repeatedly makes connections between spirituality and the Western scientific outlook, thus, creating a link/compatibility between the two. This chapter argues that by taking care not to alienate his Western audience and by playing on their own experience and assumptions, Deloria makes his account of Native American spiritual practices both credible and intelligible.

Chapter 6 co-textually retrieves the Native American history or social and cultural values from the mythical stories inscribed in Native American literary texts – *Tracks* (1988) and *Ceremony* (1977) – and non-literary co-texts – *God is Red* (1973) and *The World We Used to Live In* (2006). This co-textual study retrieves Native American history: the nature and role of the medicine men and women in Native traditional communities; the oral traditional representation of magical women and cultural significance of mundane women in Indian communities; the significance of dreams and visions in Native American societies; the quests of native people to know their self and the outer world; the menace of daydreaming; the ceremonies that established the tribal community how they brought the sacred pipes, the sacred arrows, the sacred hats and the sacred offerings like pollen or tobacco in Native American communities; pow wows; the interspecies relationship of medicine clans that publicizes the significance of giving respect to everything; the cultural inspiration of the lands and cosmos of Anishinaabe, Pueblo, Sioux, Montana, Creek, Chiricahua, Powamuy or Katsina, Great Plains, or Great Basin and other tribes; the religious perspectives of Native people; law and order in Indian indigenous communities; the practice of storytelling; Native American language variation; or tribal family system that reflected a strong emphasis on group involvement and decision making, to define the

synchronic and diachronic assimilations and differences between Native American tribal clans that have been lived on the same continent for centuries.

Chapter 7, as the conclusion, sums up the discussion as it provides a conclusion to this study. This chapter explains a brief story of how Native Americans lost their past and in which circumstances they became enthusiastic to retrieve their lost past. It describes the role of postcolonial studies and new historicism in helping Native American scholars textualize their forgotten cultural stories. This chapter summarizes theoretical premises regarding the concepts of Native American history and myth and their correspondence in the meaning-making of Native American history. This chapter illuminates the relationship between the colonial regime in the American continent with the colonial regime in the South Asian subcontinent (now containing India, Pakistan and Bangladesh) to signify this study in the Pakistani context. The recommendations for future researchers, at the end of this chapter, explain the open-ended nature of this study.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

NATIVE AMERICAN LITERATURE, HISTORY AND MYTHOLOGY

Used as an adjective, the know-nothing and misleading term "Indian" often preceded, but in no way illuminated, such classifications as ... "history," ... "philosophy," and "literature." There is certainly nothing generic about any of these activities for the native peoples of ... America, though just as certainly each and every Native American culture included unique expressions of them. (Dorris 149)¹

2.1. Introduction

In this chapter, to explain the representation of Native American literature, history and mythology, which are the significant sources to explain Native American ways of being, this study concentrates on four points: the importance of Native American mythology in Native American cultures, the in/valid representation of Native American [oral] literature regarding Euro-American and Native American scholarship, the nature of Native American history, and the Native American mythistory i.e the efforts to make the Native American literature, history and mythology credible. In all these four parts, this study juxtaposes the arguments of two different schools of thought: those who question the aboriginal and mixed-blood representation of Native American literature, history, myth and mythistory; and those who cite the critical standards of the Native American literature, history, myth, and mythistory and answers the questions with a modern critical approach to the Native American canonical texts.

The first point describes the importance of Native American mythology and its role in retrieving the Native American truths of social and cultural norms. This study, here, explains the critical notes of various native and non-native scholars about the in/validity of Native American mythical tales, oral tradition and storytelling for the retrieval of Native American culture. This

study also describes the contemporary Native American viewpoint about the correspondence between literal and symbolic expressions of Native American myth.

The second point of this chapter, which describes the nature of the Native American literature, evaluates the arguments about the in/validity of Native American literature. Here, this study interprets two different opinions about the validity or invalidity of Native American literature and explains the weak and strong points of these arguments. This study, on one hand, points to the Native American authors' connection to the oral tradition and concludes the nativity of their literature, and on the other, explains the criticism of Native American literature that emphasizes the use of modern non-native techniques in Native American writings.

The third point explains the concept of Native American history that is often put aside for its linear-ceremonial and ceremonial nature. This study in this part of the chapter explains the various methods of collecting facts used in the Native American traditional world. For developing the sense of Native American history this study explains the opinions of both schools of thought: the first proves the credibility of Native American historians and describes the Native American methods of collecting facts regarding the modern methods of historians; the second argues the absurdity of Native American historic tales of literature and history.

The fourth point of the chapter is about McNeill's concept of mythistory that explains how the critical and careful efforts of Native American historians and scholars make their findings credible and intelligible. This perspective of scholarship in the favor of Native American mythical and historical tales is mythistory that explains Native American history and myths to understand the Native American social, cultural, religious, political, and historical affairs. This Native American mythistory is questioned by many native and Euro-American historians and scholars. This study, therefore, discusses the factors that weaken the Native American mythistory: the colonial hegemony; stereotypes about Native American studies; rejection of Native American political sovereignty; and, delay and denial of Native American literary canonship. In the final notes, this study presents the reason for all the trouble with Native American literature, history and myths. This study concludes that Native American literature and history are valid entities for the representation of Native American social, cultural, political and historical norms. Therefore, the myths incorporated by literary writers like Louise Erdrich and

Leslie Marmon Silko and non-literary writers like Vine Deloria Jr. are valid sources of Native American ways of living and being.

2.2. Intelligibility of Native American Oral Tradition/Mythology

Native American oral tradition/myths are an integral part of the Native American literary and non-literary writings for they are the focal point of Native American social, cultural, political, religious and historical values. Native American writers claim to be 'native' for the construction of Native American myths in their stories and for that they are criticized as well. The criticism on the Native American literature and history slates their inclination towards the mythical stories of Native American culture. The claim about the validity of Native American literature and history regarding the representation of Native American culture is for the belief of Native American writers in Native American mythology. This study, in this section, explains the scholarship that explains the concept of Native American mythology and argues on how the correspondence between the literal and symbolic meanings of Native American myths reconstructs the contemporary Native American social, cultural, religious, historical, political and literary parameters. It explores the allegorical and cultural/historical dimension of the mythical stories to explain how the Native American myths have been credible and intelligible. It also develops the sense of Native American oral tradition and storytelling for their influence on Native American history and literature.

John D. Loftin claims that Native American myths are perceived in two ways: rational and symbolic. He argues that Euro-American scholars only look for the rational side of Native American myths and ignore the symbolic side; this attitude blurs the sense of Native American mythology. Native American tribes, according to Loftin, talk about the symbolic significance of the myths to derive the cultural values of these myths. He argues that the symbolic significance of the Native American myths makes them historical (Loftin 686)². Loftin claims that Native Americans were sensible enough to distinguish the nature of history and myth as every girl and boy in Native American tribes of Powamuy or Katsina had had a critical sense of her/his surroundings. Loftin argues that:

Although some might wish to argue that prior to contact the Hopi had no critical thought that argument simply does not hold up under close scrutiny. For example, Malotki's

extensive research clearly shows the Hopi language expresses an awareness that all human beings are oriented in time and space, and, thus, the Hopi have always possessed a capacity for historical and critical thought. (686)³

The argument explains that Native Americans were well aware of the operational meanings of their myths. Explaining the symbolic significance of Native American myths, Loftin explains *tuuwutsi*, a Hopi folklore term: ‘Wutsi’ means ‘not real’ as in ‘make-believe’ or ‘false’, whereas, *tuu is* used for indefinite, inanimate objects. ‘Tuwuutsi’, thus, is a Native American genre that explains the long descriptions of fictional happenings that never happened in real. Ekkehart Malotki, a German-American linguist, famous for his work on the Hopi language and culture, also points out the clarity of Native American storytellers about Native American myths and history. He argues that “when a Hopi storyteller relates an actual occurrence in Hopi history, such as a clan migration, *I 'hapi pas qayaw'i, pas antsa* (This is not hearsay; this is really true.)’ will be his closing words” (Malotki xiii)⁴. Hence, the Native American tribes were well aware of the difference between the fictitious and the historical side of myth. Therefore, all the Native American mythical stories are “either wutsi (make-believe) or antsa (true), although both are important religiously” (Loftin 686)⁵.

Edward S. Curtis, the American photographer and ethnologist, also perceived that the Hopis define their cultural stories in two ways: either “my story” or as a “true story” (163)⁶. “My story” explains the subjective approach of the storyteller whereas “true story” explains the objectivity that is the salient feature of recording facts. For Curtis, the fictional stories themselves are not false; they have their symbolic sense and a moral lesson commonly practiced in North America where the religious convictions are taught through these tales. To develop the interest of the “children, these tall tales ... relate to the adventures of the trickster figure” (Eliade 8)⁷ mostly about the coyote, a well-known Native American trickster figure. These tales do not express historical events, but “symbolically the stories are true, for they teach children about the limitations and tensions of this world to which every child must resign himself in order to live as a human being” (Loftin 687)⁸.

This study argues that the truths about the Native American stories can be evaluated through their symbolic significance which the modern critics often ignore and, therefore,

question the credibility of Native American literary and non-literary writings which are embedded in these mythical narratives. Kathryn W. Shanley of the University of Montana also points out the ignorance of modern scholarship about the better sense of the Native American stories. It often focuses on the Native American texts without knowing the contextual beliefs and, therefore, devalues Native American literature. In her article, “Writing Indian: American Indian Literature and the Future of Native American Studies,” Shanley claims that every piece of Native American literature is a sort of ecosystem comprising of myths, songs, anecdotes, and recollections of its community. So, one must know Native American contextualization that enhances the symbolic meanings of the mythical stories, to understand the meaning of Native American texts. Hence, the interpretation of Native American literature is possible through the Native American ways of understanding things. Shanley argues that the work on Native American mythical stories

can thwart the comfort of an imperialist nostalgic perspective by disrupting expectations in several ways: by presenting the voices and perspectives of Indians to contradict or counter stereotypes; by adding validity and emphasis to the points made by historical facts; and, most of all by rendering Indians as multidimensional and fully sentient human beings. (141)⁹

Therefore, Euro-American critics for their promotion of the imperialist agenda are not sincere in the evaluation of Native American myths.

Native American scholars like Greg Sarris, Paula Gunn Allen, Craig S. Womack, Gerald Vizenor, L. Cederstrom, Louis Owens and Robert Allen Warrior also stress upon the “necessity of generating discursive modes originating primarily from the Native or indigenous cultural context, as it informs Native American literary texts, and suggests ways in which such discursive strategies can be articulated” (Pulitano 60)¹⁰. They argue that the main difference between Native American and non-native scholars is their approach to analyzing Native American myths that are an integral part of Native American literary and non-literary texts. Non-Native scholars, for Cederstrom, never care about the context in which the Native American texts are embedded whereas Native American scholars never forget the contextual relevance of old traditions. Therefore, according to Cederstrom, Native American writers resolve the issue of alienation as

the native or mix-blood protagonists of their fiction “can be counteracted by the establishment of a connecting link between the modern world and the transcendent sacred centers of being purveyed by the old culture” (Cederstrom 287)¹¹. This ‘mythical method’ of presenting old culture in a new way is a method “of controlling or ordering ... immense panorama of futility and anarchy... [of] contemporary history” (Eliot 123)¹². The criticism on Native American literature and history for their inclination towards Native American mythology ignores the symbolic and contextual significance of Native American myths regarding Native American social, political, religious, cultural and historical values. The Euro-American scholarship does not follow the concept of the intelligibility of Native American oral tradition and storytelling.

2.3. From Native American Orality (Myth) to Literacy (Novel)

Joy Porter, the British professor of indigenous history and author of *Native American Freemasonry*, argues that the symbolic significance of Native American mythology can be traced through its oral tradition and storytelling. He argues that Native American oral tradition, like Native American culture, is spontaneous, and hence continues to grow even during the Eurocentric colonial regime. He classifies Native American oral tradition into four “genre[s]: ritual dramas, including chants, ceremonies, and rituals themselves; songs, narratives, and oratory” (Porter 42)¹³. He argues that all such eloquent narratives are “storied expressions of language [that signify] Indian understandings of the fundamental truths of creation and the origins of human beings and their relationship to the universe” (Porter 42)¹⁴. Hence, Native American oral tradition is the main source of the Native American historical / cultural embedment as it provides the context of Native American myths that tell the Native American ways of being.

Porter and Poemer (2005), therefore, refer Native American literature to the writings embedded in the cultural roots that are stretched out in the oral tradition. The myriads of stories, songs, speeches and ceremonies embedded in the Native American (oral) literature served Native American people in their socio-religious and even biological needs. These embedments of performance and interpretation extended “hozho (beauty, order, happiness, harmony) far beyond individuals” (Porter and Poemer, 2005, p. 4)¹⁵. So, when Columbus arrived in North America, mentions, Brown Ruoff, the land was the map of more than 300 cultural groups with more than

200 languages (p. 1)¹⁶. But in post-Columbian time, as Porter and Roemer mentions, Native American oral literature and the research on its interpretation in Native American literature and on its performance in Native American tribes were almost non-existent (1)¹⁷. Walter J. Ong, a cultural historian, relates this non-existent of oral literature and its interpretation in the writings with the epistemological shift from orality to literacy. He argues that this shift inspires the involvement of social, economic, religious, historical and political institutions of human being diachronically and privileges the human beings of literacy-age to the human beings of oral cultures which might have enactments of manifest wisdom but did not ‘study’ (p. 8)¹⁸ or was incompetent to study their surrounding world (Cohen 197)¹⁹. The human being of oral traditional time, according to Ong,

learn by apprenticeship—hunting with experienced hunters, for example—by discipleship, which is a kind of apprenticeship, by listening, by repeating what they hear, by mastering proverbs and ways of combining and recombining them, by assimilating other formulary materials, by participation in a kind of corporate retrospection—not by study in the strict sense (8)²⁰.

Robert H. Lowie, therefore, tags Native Americans of the pre-Columbian time with the lesser capability of critical understanding of their surrounding world (164)²¹. So, they were introduced as the people who were not literate enough to understand their geography or its culture and what was told to them diachronically. Hence, they could not survive their culture, and their stories when they acquainted with the positivism, eventually became civilized against the institutions of their own culture and its stories. The oral documentation of their surrounding culture and its history could not inspire the new worlds hence became non-existent.

Walter Benjamin, a German cultural critic, describes the practice of the apprenticeship in Native American oral traditional communities. He argues that the story is less an elegy for storytelling than an inquiry into those social settings where people come together to share their experiences by telling stories to one another. They connected with their former knowledge and accumulated experiences that established the links between their everyday experiences and the theoretical knowledge they have acquired. These links at an experiential level, through storytelling, characterized the ‘knowledge’ (Benjamin 439)²². Hence, their concerns were not

only what they had learned but how they had learned (Pereira and Doecke 541)²³. Loftin, Malotki, Curtis and Eliade have already mentioned how the approach to Native American oral stories ignored the standard of critical understanding in Native American oral traditional societies. They argue that this standard sublimated Native American cultural stories that continued even after the epistemological shift from the orality to literacy. They exemplify Powamuy or Katsina and Hopi where even a young girl and boy had had a critical sense of her / his surroundings habitat that rejects this scholarship that until the Hopi was in contact it did not have any critical thought. The study of the sublimity of Native American oral cultures argues the differences in managing knowledge in primary oral cultures, with no understanding of writing, and in cultures of writing. It, synchronically, relates oral cultures and chirographic (i.e., writing) cultures of a given time, and, diachronically, relates successive ages with one another to clarify how human formed first societies with the help of oral discourse which, later, as his / her history, helped him become literate. The ignorance of the ability of Native American storytellers and their audience regarding their understanding of what they said or was told defines the role of the colonial regime in the subtraction of Native American oral traditional discourses. The critics who ignored the critical standards of Native American oral stories helped colonial values hegemonize the aboriginal values. They slate the Native American oral traditional embedment in Native American literature without knowing its context comprised of myths, songs, anecdotes, and recollections. The Native American writers who were inspired by their oral tradition, however, not only interpret the oral cultures in their writings but also answer their falsification.

The epistemology of the term ‘literature’ (Latin *literatura*, from *litera*, letter of the alphabet) includes only the written documents – English literature, American literature – hence made Native American oral literature – oral stories, songs and prayers – a contradiction in terms (Chadwick and Chadwick, 1932, p. 40)²⁴. Northrop Frye in *The Anatomy of Criticism* (1957) refers the term ‘epos’ i.e ‘voice’ (248-50, 293-303)²⁵ and Ong uses the word ‘Pre-literate’ to the oral cultures – the ‘primary modeling system’ – of North America (pp. 12, 13)²⁶. Ong does not accept that the term ‘text’, which means ‘to weave’ or ‘to stitch’, is etymologically more compatible with oral discourse than ‘literature’/(literae), which etymologically refers to the letters/alphabet. He argues when literates use the word ‘text’ to mention the oral presentation, they analogically think of writing (Ong 13)²⁷. In this regard, Ruth Finnegan (1977) practices the term ‘literature’ for the correlated occurrences of oral cultures with the explication when one

thinks of and utter the words they are oral and writing makes them corporal (16)²⁸. D'Arcy McNickle points out that Native American orality wields written words “with enthusiasm, if not always with quality” (McNickle xxi)²⁹. This Native American appropriation of written language, to use Ashcroft’s words (2007), served “to dismantle master’s home with master’s tools” (4)³⁰ and helped survive the indigenous culture in the age of writing. So, the appropriation in Native American oral traditional societies was, unlike the appropriation of other colonized societies to Eurocentric language(s), dual. They appropriate English and written language. McNickle states that the postcolonial ideology of language appropriation as “the white man’s weapon”, to convey their viewpoint to the Eurocentric academia (McNickle xxi)³¹, is also valid in the case of Native American language appropriation, written as well as English.

The conflict between Native American and Euro-American scholarship on the validity of Native American oral tradition is poles apart. The oral tradition for Native Americans is their history whereas Euro-American researchers are indifferent to oral traditional values. The modern scholars who admit the cultural representation of Native American literature frame it into modern techniques. Rawdon Wilson, for instance, relates the oral traditional concept of time and space with the modern writing technique, magic realism. According to him, Native American writers, through their magical tales, construct the historicity that is beyond the textual space that raises the improbability of possibility (Wilson 220)³². However, what Wilson calls magical realism is a literary technique for Native American scholars to express their historicity. Louise Erdrich, Ojibwa, argues that the myths in Native American stories influenced by Native American oral tradition are the truths of Native American natural world:

The thing is, the events people pick out as magical don't seem unreal to me. Unusual, yes, but I was raised believing in miracles and hearing of true events that may seem unbelievable. I think the term [magical realism] is one applied to writers from cultures more closely aligned to religious oddities and the natural and strange world. (Chavkin and Chavkin 221)³³

One of the main stances of this study is that what are myths, magic, tricks or supernatural for the Euro-American scholars is the truth for the Native American people. However, this study does not deny the modern strategy of Native American writers as there is an interweaving of the real and fictional episodes in Native American fiction.

2.4. In/validity of Native American Literature

According to Michael Dorris, Native American literature, written and oral, has always been a rich source of a multicultural range of imagery of the native values of America whereas “there is no such thing as Native American literature though it may yet, someday, come into being” (147)³⁴. The statement highlights the conflict and confusion among the scholars about the representation of Native American literature. It explains the viewpoint of my chapter consistent with my subheadings. For example, ‘In/validity of Native American Literature’ is something that argues for and against the concept of Native American literature. Both arguments are based on the scholarship of native and non-native scholars. The conflict between these two schools of thought – those who claim the canonship of Native American scholarship and those who do not acknowledge the validity of Native American writings – revolves around certain questions:

Does [Native American literature] refer ... to the sum total of all oral literary traditions in each of more than three hundred mutually unintelligible languages? If so, does such a category make any academic or even common sense? ... Can such a genre, spuriously based on assumed, but non-existent, inherent similarities, yield any meaningful depth of insight? Would such a category stimulate the study of a single Native American language or aesthetic? Is it a helpful tool of scholarship or simply an excuse not to study, a rationale for dismissal on the grounds of over-complexity or inaccessibility? (149)³⁵

These issues question the cultural presentation, literary style and language, oral traditions and storytelling in the literary works of Native American writers. Given the in/validity of Native American literature, this study in this chapter debates on the major points of the above questions regarding the arguments of the above said schools of thought.

2.4.1. Native American Literature as a Representation of Native American Culture

Literature, according to Louise Montrose, a new historicist, in all its forms, is the reflection of contemporary social order and, therefore, offers significant knowledge of the past in which it was produced. Montrose claims that the socio-political values of a given time and place always preserve themselves in the literary and non-literary practices of that era. These practices are the result of the collective perception of society. While evaluating the literary practices of a

particular time and place, Montrose says, the socio-cultural context of the similar time and place is the main element rather than a catalyst. Literary practices, for Montrose, like all other non-literary practices of the given time and place, are the products of social and cultural values of that time and place, therefore, are the witness of these values (24)³⁶. Therefore, the social and cultural aspects of a particular society can be traced through its literature.

Regarding the cultural presentation of Native American literature, the first school of thought questions the approach of Native American writers. David Treuer, Ojibwa, for, instance, does not acknowledge the approach of Native American writers towards the native culture. He is not satisfied even with his own identity as a Native American writer, therefore, as Kroeber mentions, “asking that his own work be judged not on the grounds of any supposed recovery of traditional Ojibwe culture but on how his writing meets the standards of excellence regularly applied to all fiction” (Kroeber 388)³⁷. The argument describes that Treuer admits Native American writers as literary figures and acknowledges the excellency of their works, however, he does not agree with their identity as Native American writers. In his book, *Native American Fiction: A User's Manual* (2006), he argues that Native American writers are talking about the culture that is not present today and that is perceived through the oral tradition and storytelling which are themselves not trustworthy for their mythical tales (Treuer 39)³⁸. He is not satisfied with the cultural presentation in Native American writings. His arguments about the cultural characteristics in Native American writings define that the American Indians are not the kind as they are portrayed by Indian writers who, for Treuer, “sometimes perpetuated stereotypes misrepresenting historic cultures” (Charles, n-p)³⁹.

Therefore, Truer claims that the literary works of Native American writers should not be welcomed as the true representatives of native culture. He argues that these writers who claim to be Native Americans must be treated like other modern writers for their literary works are also embedded in modern techniques and ways of expression. He justifies his arguments with his criticism on the notable Native American figures like Louise Erdrich, Leslie Marmon Silko and James Welch. He argues that in Erdrich’s *Love Medicine* the traditional norms of Ojibwe society are not effectively presented. The cultural norms, for him, therefore, are not the reason for this novel’s fame. He argues that the novel is successful for its fine structure which is modern and not traditional. According to him, the story of Erdrich’s novel does not express any cultural mode

rather it only expresses Erdrich's "longing for traditional Ojibwe culture" that declined a long time ago (Treuer 39)⁴⁰. He, similarly, comments on Silko's *Ceremony* and James Welch's *Fools Crow* that "they tell us little about traditional Pueblo or Blackfoot cultures but they strongly evoke nostalgia for these vanished lifeways (Treuer 137)⁴¹. For Treuer, the current scenario of Native American culture is quite different from the ancient Native American world. The only witness of these cultural norms is the stories that, for Treuer, are not valid or logical. For him, Native American writers do not live in those stories and their protagonists are like them, mixed-blood and show the contamination of true Native American cultural presentation.

Kenneth Rosen in the introductory note to his collection of Native American short stories, *The Man to Send Rain Clouds: Contemporary Stories by American Indians* also criticizes the ways of cultural presentation in Native American stories. He argues that the Native American culture is about to end and Native American writers know about their cultural decline. He claims:

No matter who the author, these stories are all marked with an extremely poignant, elegiac tone and a deeply-felt sadness. All these writers are acutely aware that their once-great culture is being ruthlessly stamped out by a morally inferior white culture, and all of them manage ... to give the reader some sense of what it is like to live in a cultural twilight, in the margin of a society to which they do not belong, to which they cannot relate, and about which they feel only pity or scorn. (Rosen xi)⁴²

Rosen, like Treuer, is dissatisfied with the presentation of cultural values in Native American stories. He claims that Native American writers cannot enhance the true sense of Native American cultural norms in their writings as they do not belong to Native American culture. He argues that the gloomy settings of Native American stories describe that Native American writers themselves know about the decline of Native American culture. The arguments of Treuer and Rosen define that the term 'Native American literature' does not fit for the writings of the contemporary Native American writers whereas Lorena L. Stookey in *Louise Erdrich. A Critical Companion* argues that the cultural presentation by the Native American writers like Louise Erdrich and Leslie Marmon Silko is not pure Native American but dual. She describes that in their literary works "the cultural landscape has been imprinted with the heritage of both Native and Non-Native tradition" (Stookey 35)⁴³. She promotes the concept that there is no true presentation of cultural values in the contemporary writings of Erdrich and Silko.

The first school of thought, represented here by Treuer, Rosen and Skootey, has the stance that Native American culture is no more practiced or partly practiced in Native American tribes as the present Native American generation is brought up in the Euro-American norms. The main source of Native American cultural knowledge is the mythical stories that are questionable for their absurd nature. Karl Kroeber, however, argues that the criticism on Native American fiction regarding their culture acknowledges the Native American literary representation. In his review, “A Turning Point in Native American Fiction?”, he criticizes Treuer’s viewpoint that there is no Native American literature. He argues that Treuer must not ignore D. H. Lawrence’s remarks that the “Indian haunts American literature” (Kroeber 389)⁴⁴. Kroeber’s arguments explore that Treuer’s scholarship is based on his perceptions as he could not get through the views of other scholars. In “D. H. Lawrence’s Discovery of American Literature”, A. Banerjee describes that “D. H. Lawrence most forcefully argued that not only Whitman but several other major American writers of the nineteenth century derived their inspiration from native sources by responding to the ‘ultimate savage’ within them” (475)⁴⁵. Both the arguments of Kroeber and Banerjee clarify that Native American literature influences the Euro-American writers in their literary works and that critics like Treuer and Rosen did not go through the whole scholarship on Native American literature.

John Kalb appreciates Treuer’s criticism of modern critics for their focus, regarding Native American fiction, on the term ‘Native’ rather than ‘fiction’. Kalb, however, criticizes Treuer as he “overlooks [the point] that such literature is sometimes best served when studied within the context of other works that reflect similar worldviews and thematic concerns” (Kalb 114)⁴⁶. He rejects Treuer’s stance about the works of Silko, Welch and other Native American writers and does not accept Treuer’s criticism on Welch’s *Fools Crow* as the novel is historical, inscribed by an inside point of view. Kalb argues that “Treuer reduces the historical novel to a quaint descendant of the 19th-century literary imagination” (Kalb 115)⁴⁷. He also criticizes Treuer to confine the true meanings of Silko’s *Ceremony* as he reduces the whole description of the ceremony as a reflection of Freudian talk (Kalb 116)⁴⁸. It reveals that scholars like Treuer criticize the Native American literary works only for the sake of criticism and do not know the mythical and historical significance of Native American stories. Kalb’s appreciation to Treuer’s focus on the term ‘fiction’ rather than ‘Native’ shows that he agrees with the idea that critics must focus on the “plea for aesthetic or formalist rather than cultural analyses of Native

literatures” (Cox 103)⁴⁹ but he does not agree with Treuer that Native American literature is an illusion.

Thomas Mails and Dan Evehema, known for their collaborated work on the Hopi tribe, question the criticism that Native American writers are writing about the culture that existed a long time ago. According to them, scholars who claim that Native American cultural norms are only in their stories have never visited North America where native people of America still “live as their ancestors did a thousand and more years ago” (Mails and Evehema 131)⁵⁰. Sunmin Park et al. argue that the record passed down by Europeans who first arrived shows that “at that time the culture was already thousands of years old, and had undoubtedly undergone many changes” (173)⁵¹. Edward H. Spicer, an American anthropologist, also points out the ways of living of the Hopi tribe as being very much similar to the old Native American ways of living. He claims that the Hopi people are still practicing their religion and by 1949 the numbers of the converted were fewer than 2 percent. For him, no doubt there is a change with time in Hopi religion “but it is still decidedly Hopi [and] the old ways and the traditional religion are alive and thriving” (Spicer 207)⁵². The arguments of Mails, Evehema and Spicer point out the ignorance of those scholars (like Treuer and Rosen) who talk about the vanished or declined Native American culture. The study of Mails, Evehema and Spicer throw light on the Native American tribes who “have been living for perhaps a thousand years, they still speak their own language, still preserve traditional subsistence activities, traditional authority systems, and traditional moral values” (Geertz 547)⁵³.

Watson Smith explains the ways to understand the true norms of the Hopi tribe. He argues that the connection between the old and the new ways of Native American living can be traced historically: through the difference between the Hopi tribe of 14th and 15th centuries to the modern Hopi tribe one can see the change in the Hopi religious ceremonial symbolism (Smith 247)⁵⁴. This is a very simple way of knowing the change in Native American cultural norms of past and present. The first school’s criticism on the Native American cultural values only focuses on the modifications during the period of colonization and takes these modifications as the whole culture. However, the second school of thought insists on the position of the traditional tribes like Hopi and explains that the tribal norms changed in some modern sense but could not be destroyed despite the American colonial regime.

Lorelei Cederstrom also rejects the idea that Native American writers do not present the cultural values of their society. He argues that the mythical stories in the works of Sherman Alexie, Louise Erdrich, Leslie Marmon Silko, N Scott Momaday, Gerald Vizenor, Thomas King define the Native American traditional ways of being in a clear sense. For Cederstrom, “[t]he best of these authors utilizes myth and ceremony as a means of providing both structures to their novels and meaning to the lives of their protagonists” (Cederstrom 285)⁵⁵. Cederstrom’s approach criticizes Rosen’s views that contemporary Native American literature is thematically obsessed with the tendency for estrangement and despair. For Rosen, the gloomy settings of Native American stories show that Native American writers as well as their story-characters are a nostalgic creation whereas for Cederstrom such presentation of culture in Native American literature is not a cultural nostalgia rather an effort to understand the Native American past. This retrieval of the past is preceded by the ‘subjective conscious’ of the native people of the subaltern community about the social privilege of their culture as “from the opposite end of the white world a magical [native] culture was hailing” the victims (Fanon 93)⁵⁶.

Alyssa Pleasant et al. condemn the texts by non-Native writers in the early nineteenth century “for inaccurately portraying Native American” (407)⁵⁷. Native American scholars Sherman Joseph Alexie, Christine Colasurdo and David Murray not only claim the custodianship of aboriginal cultural representation but also lash all the non-native writers that present the Native American ways of being. They claim that the non-native writers do not belong to the Native American ways of living, and therefore, are quite ignorant about Native American social and cultural norms. Alexie accepts that the literature of a specific territory must represent its culture and only the native people of that territory can write their cultural norms. Hence, he rejects all the works of non-native writers like Barbara Kingsolver, Larry McMurtry and Nadine Gordimer because they, being non-natives, cannot understand native cultural values. Alexie argues that the works of these writers are deliberate contamination of the aboriginal culture. For him, “they’re outsider books. They’re colonial books ... These are books by members of the privileged, of the powerful, writing about the culture that has been colonized” (Fraser and Alexie 60)⁵⁸. He claims that Native American literature must be produced only by native or mixed-blood people of America as they are the custodians of their cultural norms

The non-native scholars, on the other hand, do not have any concern with the Native American culture. Christine Colasurdo argues that Native American writings are the only source of the study of Native American culture. She points out the bias of Euro-American writers while recording Native American social, cultural and historical ways of living. She criticizes all writings where a white writer writes the stories of an American Indian about his life experience with the help of a mixed-blood translator (Colasurdo 385)⁵⁹. The arguments explain the efforts of early American scholars who visited Native American tribes with translators and noted down the life experience of the notable Native American tribal figures. These autobiographical notes of Native American legends were published in white names. For Alexie and Colasurdo, these American scholars do not have any know-how about the native languages of America. Their scholarship is dependent on the experiences of native people, and thus, has no right to comment on Native American culture.

In “Forked Tongues: Speech, Writing and Representation in North American Indian Texts”, David Murray argues that the study of non-native scholars describes the so-called subjectivity of native people of America who “became, ironically, objects of white attention, comprehended in all senses” (34)⁶⁰. These studies, for Murray, contaminated the Native American social, cultural, political, religious and historical norms; therefore, the Native American community unanimously rejects the non-native scholarship about the Native American norms. For instance, Hyemeyohsts Storm’s *Seven Arrows* is rejected for its misrepresentation of Native American religious norms as the native community does not accept its descriptions and references. The work is notorious for twisting religious norms that are embedded in Native American culture and which are described by Storm as “more ... emotional than aesthetic” (Chapman 151)⁶¹.

Seven Arrows is exploitive not only because of its historical inaccuracies but because it takes profound religious symbols from native ceremonies – symbols which are full of power because they have not yet become trite - and turns them into banal allegories. Storm says that x stands for y, all mystery is explained, and all power is, thereby, lost. Many of the religious symbols which Storm discusses are Jungian archetypes, but their emotional impact is limited by Storm's explications. (Cederstrom 287)⁶²

Hence, the criticism of Native American literature is two-fold. i) The first school, including native and non-native scholars, claims that the true form of Native American culture is no more present and Native American writers deliberately ignore the fact; some of the non-native scholars, however, admits the validity of Native American cultural presentation by white scholars who visited different lands and noted down the experiences of Native American legends. ii) The second school of thought, including Native Americans, non-Natives and mixed-blood scholars, on the other hand, admits the validity of Native American literature for its representation of Native American culture. The Native American and mixed-blood scholars in the second school deems that the former school of thought is privileged by Euro-Americans' *agenda of civilization* and, therefore, rejects the former's endeavors to understand Native American cultural values for possible contamination of Native American culture.

2.4.2. Native American Literary Style: Modern or Oral Tradition

The criticism on Native American writings is developed on the premise that Native American writers incline towards modern ways of writing rather than oral traditional ways. Benjamin, in *The Storyteller*, argues that the rise of the novel signals the decline of storytelling, which explains a communal identity. “[T]he storyteller takes what he tells from experience [and] he, in turn, makes it the experience of those who are listening to his tale” (Benjamin 87)⁶³. This craft-like nature of storytelling “thrives for a long time in the milieu of work” and, thus, might be characterized as “an artisan form of communication” (Benjamin 91)⁶⁴. The novel, by contrast, evokes an image of the author as a solitary individual at a remove from his / her readers (Pereira and Doecke 539)⁶⁵. David Treuer challenges the concept of Native American literature for their inclination towards modernity in literature. He argues that Native American writers frequently use modern techniques of a novel rather than the trends of Native American oral tradition and storytelling. For instance, he argues that “Erdrich’s claim that her method is an Ojibwe narrative device” is not convincing as her writing style is not a traditional style of storytelling but is very like that of Stéphane Mallarmé, French symbolist poet and critic (Treuer 137)⁶⁶. Hence, his book, *Native American Fiction: A User's Manual* (2006), essentializes all Native American writers for their modern style of writing that is, according to him, completely different from the oral tradition. For him in traditional Native American stories,

The first person is never used ... There is a complete lack of what can be seen as metaphor, simile, metonym, or implied comparison.

There is no sense of "subjectivity" or "competing versions."

The narratives ... exist outside of time. ... It could have happened yesterday or three hundred years ago.

They exist in indefinite relation to other ... stories. (Treuer 54-55)⁶⁷

Jeff Berglund, a literary critic and director of 'Liberal Studies' in Northern Arizona University, also claims that Native American writers are the products of Euro-American universities, and therefore, are not native in the true sense. He describes the role of modern institutes in developing the profile of Native American writers. He claims that as all indigenous American scholars are educated in western universities, their writings are embedded in modern style and language. For this reason, he labels them as "outcasts [who] don't really fit within the Indian community, [though they] write to fit in and sound Indian" (Berglund xxv)⁶⁸.

Treuer and Berglund's critique of Native American writings does not go unchallenged. A. Robert Lee, literary scholar and editor of several Native American writings, does not agree with the approach that Native American writers ignore the stylistic approach of Native American storytelling. Countering Treuer's critique of Louise Erdrich, he argues that Erdrich's novels do not follow the conventional modern approach of 'plot' which is based on the beginning, conflict, resolution and ending; their narratives slip into each other and, thus, blurring the linearity of the story of the novels. This non-linear structure of the plot is the locus of Native American storytelling. According to Lee, this ideology of time and space is an integral part of Erdrich's thematic structure. Lee argues that Erdrich's whole tetralogy (*Love Medicine* 1984 – revised edition 1993, *The Beet Queen* 1986, *Tracks* 1988 and *Bingo Palace* 1994) is knit in the traditional oral style of narration, moves circularly as the beginning and end of the novels describe the same action. For instance, in *Tracks*, the walking of June Kashpaw in the snowstorm in beginning and at the end of the novels tell the nature of the plot as a "revolving wheel" in Native American stories (Lee 150)⁶⁹. Lee's viewpoint thus is an effective counter to Treuer's arguments and criticism of the mythical episodes in Native American writings.

In her book, *African, Native, and Jewish American Literature and the Reshaping of Modernism*, Alicia A. Kent also explains that Native American writers' bend towards modern techniques does not mean that they are moving away from their oral tradition. She argues that using novels as an expression of their native values does not mean that Native American writers incline modernity or Eurocentrism. The device, for Kent, has been used as a current technique for conveying their native expressions. She explains that all Native American writers like novels "as a means of addressing the radical upheaval of modernity" (Kent 84)⁷⁰. Kent argues that Native American novelists frequently use techniques from Native American oral tradition. She supports her argument with many examples like that of the Salish, D'Arcy McNickle (1904-1977), for using techniques from oral tradition while presenting the history and culture of native life in his novel *Surrounded* (1936). Similarly, she describes that Mourning Dove (c. 1888-1936), the Okanogan, through his romantic novel *Cogewea, The Half Blood* (1927), refurbishes Native American oral traditional norms and style. Technically, *Cogewea* is put into the western romance, but

[t]hematically, *Cogewea* depicts a critical period of transition for Native Americans in modernity and portrays the everyday effects of modernity – seen in *Cogewea*'s graduation from the first Indian Boarding school (Carlisle), her fondness of reading, the disappearance of the buffalo from the range, and her 'allotment' of land presumably through the Dawes Act. (Kent 86)⁷¹

The story of *Cogewea*, therefore, demonstrates the transformation of native people and culture and expresses the influence of modernity on native life.

D'Arcy McNickle defending the language appropriation of Native American writers states that the postcolonial ideology of language appropriation is also valid in the case of Native American writers like Silko, Momaday and Erdrich who use the English language and modern techniques of novels for conveying their own point of view to the Eurocentric academia. McNickle argues that "the white man's weapon, the written word, was being wielded by the Native Americans with enthusiasm, if not always with quality printing" (McNickle xxi)⁷². Simon Ortiz, Pueblo, agrees with McNickle and claims that the English language became a discursive means to counter the English critique of Native American literature. He perceives that:

The indigenous peoples of the Americas have taken the language of the colonialists and used it for their own purposes. Some would argue that this means that Indian people have succumbed or become educated into a different linguistic system and have forgotten or have been forced to forsake their Native selves. This is simply not true. Along with their native languages, Indian men and women have carried on their lives and their expression through the use of the newer languages, particularly Spanish, French and English, and they have used these languages on their own terms. (66)⁷³

Hence, the usage of modern techniques and language (English) is the need of the time since these techniques enable Native American writers, in the modern age, to show the Native American world to modern people. Similarly, “English, that coercive language of federal boarding schools has carried some of the best stories of endurance” (Vizenor 106)⁷⁴. The use of English language and techniques does not mean that Native American literature becomes English literature.

2.5. The Nature of Native American History

This section describes the nature of Native American history which is, for its cyclic time sequence, often suggested as a part of Native American mythology. It explains the literary as well as the historical viewpoints of Native American culture. This study, here, describes; a) the nature of Native American history; b) how Native American historians in ceremonial time assembled the facts about their surroundings; c) and how much these methods are valid according to modern scholarship. To develop a sense among these points, this section defines the scholarship which claims the validity of aboriginal and mixed-blood representation of Native American historiography and relates the parameters of oral traditional practices to the modern principles of historiography. Thirdly, this study describes the juxtaposition of different opinions on Native American history and concludes the credibility of the stance that Native Americans have had a sense of documenting history.

The difference regarding the nature of history between Native American and Euro-American historians is based on the idea of time: linear and cyclic/ceremonial. This time sequence in the Native American and Euro-American narratives makes them distinct as, generally, the latter “emphasize[s] a sequential presentation of events or ideas” whereas the former assumes “the circular manner of perceiving past and present” (McMaster and Trafzer

116)⁷⁵. Shepard Krech III, the anthropologist, defines this ‘polarization’ between the Native American traditional world that he “describes as qualitative, sacred, and non-materialistic, and the modern scientific world of non-indigenous people, which, in contrast, is quantitative, secular, and materialistic” (567)⁷⁶. Joseph Epes Brown describes that the difference between Native Americans and the non-native world is calculated. This calculated analysis makes the Native American ceremonial world superior to the materialistic world of modernity. He argues that the nature of social and historical issues of the two worlds is poles apart. He classifies this divergence with the nature of time that is, according to him, cyclic in the traditional world and linear in the modern world (Brown 115)⁷⁷.

Vine Deloria Jr., the Native American historian, also explains the importance of the ceremonial or cyclic nature of time in Native American history. Deloria argues that the common practice among Native American tribal communities while narrating their stories is “[t]he way I heard it” or “it was a long time ago” (Deloria 97)⁷⁸. It shows that, unlike the Euro-American idea of history, in Native American narratives the location of the events in chronological order of the facts is not important. For Deloria, Native American history can be articulated only through the idea of ceremonial time that fixes the life of Native Americans into the seasons and circular happenings. Therefore, the knowledge about the ceremonial practices can figure out and articulate Native American ways of living (Deloria 97)⁷⁹. The knowledge of ceremonial time is, therefore, based on the knowledge of the natural world which, for Deloria, itself is cyclic (98)⁸⁰.

However, some scholars argue that Native American history sees both dimensions of time: linear and cyclic/ceremonial. Krech III affirms the presence of both linear and cyclic methods of recording events in the Native American traditional world and perceives that the native tribes of America also fixed their social and political affairs in a chronological sequence of documentation (576)⁸¹. Deloria also, like Krech III, describes the dual nature of the Native American time sequence. According to him, several recording-ways of Native American historians, no doubt, do not follow the western interest however some Native American history-practices follow the linear trend of modern history. Deloria does not believe in the duality of Native American history; he accepts that there is a duality of time sequence, but, for him, this duality is singular. He argues that the linear model of Native American history is interconnected with the ceremonial mode: the linear concept of time regarding Native American documentation

cannot be understood without understanding the idea of ceremonial or cyclic time and without this concept of ceremonial/cyclic time sequence Native American linear record loses its worth (Deloria 98)⁸².

Paula Gunn Allen, the Native American theorist, argues that the linearity of any organized system is propagated by the Eurocentric idea of chronology that isolated man from his surroundings and God. Regarding the Eurocentric settings, for her, the idea of time is systematized through the beginning and end of a particular thing, event and action. Defining the native viewpoint, she describes that man and nature communicate internally but is affected by external time. For her:

The achronological time sense of tribal people results from tribal beliefs about the nature of reality, beliefs based on ceremonial understandings rather than on industrial, theological, or agricultural orderings... The basis of Indian time is ceremonial while the basis of time in the industrialized west is mechanical. (Allen 150)⁸³

Allen points out the importance of the cyclic motion of time for the native people of America since makes the man flow with the flowing actions and universe. She explains the tribal viewpoint of time and perceives it as timelessness.

This research defines the nature of Native American history and its ceremonial-linear mode that is often ignored by modern critics and historians. In *God Is Red*, Vine Deloria Jr. explains that linearity, being the Eurocentric model of history, became the standard of history. He argues that Native American history is, therefore, put aside because, in most cases, it does not follow chronology (Deloria 97)⁸⁴. However, for the credibility of Native American history, this section throws light on the Native American methods like ‘winter counts’ ‘calendar sticks,’ and *Book of Hopi*. All these Native American methods of documentation deal with chronology. To develop the sense of its viewpoint, this part of the study points out the Native American use of linear ways of historiography. Regarding these history-practices, Candace S. Greene and Russell Thornton, anthropologists, describe the establishment of The Smithsonian Institution (1846), a group of museums and research centers directed by the US for the enhancement and transmission of knowledge about Native American ways of living. The institution has reconfigured the ‘invaluable and diverse’ sources of Native American history which is usually found in the shapes

of pictographic calendars known as ‘winter counts’. These winter counts are the animal hides painted with various images, mostly animals. These animal hides made were at a particular ancient time for remembering the events and happenings of that time in the Native American tribal community: a particular image explained the historical descriptions of that particular year (Greene and Thornton 12)⁸⁵.

These images, for Risch, were used as metaphors of particular happenings in the Native American life cycle, and therefore, were set chronologically (27)⁸⁶. These winter counts were fashioned in various parts of the American territory. Some tribes like the Kiowas developed these ‘winter counts’ by opting for two images every year – one for the summer Sun Dance and one representing winter (Greene and Thornton 24)⁸⁷. Like ‘winter counts’ there are other methods of Native American historiography. One of them was ‘calendar sticks’: this method of recording chronological proceedings usually followed by tribes like Tohono O’odhams and Pimas of Arizona (Deloria 98)⁸⁸. The sticks like ‘winter count’ are stamped by various signs. Each sign like the images of ‘winter counts’ was a metaphor of specific happenings (Deloria 98)⁸⁹.

Garrick Mallery, a pictographic critic, describes the modern style of the winter counts and calendars and claims the validity of these documentations for Native American tribes in the maintenance of Native American history. He argues that the paintings and images about various historic ceremonies and socio-political events describe the interest of Native Americans in their history. For the maintenance of these documentations, every community had a person who was selected for his “sincerity and credibility ... and the world outlook of the recorder of events” (Mallery 12)⁹⁰. The characteristics of Native American historians are similar to the criteria for modern historians where the credibility of a person makes him or her truthful about his/her narratives. Mari Susetta Sandoz, a Nebraska novelist and biographer, points out the way of appointing historians by the Native American community. She explains that every historian was followed by his descendent, usually a male (the son or nephew). The descendant was usually selected during the life of the appointed historian for the smooth process of recording events (Sandoz iv)⁹¹. He, the son or nephew, would be equally responsible for the consistency of the information because “all sources [we]re suspects until proved otherwise” (Mallery 12)⁹². The son or nephew devoted himself at an early age and avoided other activities of life. In this way, he is

familiar with several techniques of recording events. This widespread practice of sharing knowledge is also fashioned in modern academies where the most promising students become the custodians of the knowledge of the history of their mentor.

Mallery describes the Native American ways of documentation of their social and political affairs in prehistoric times. He explains that Native American historians while selecting a specific image or two for defining the past year happenings did ask the group of wise men. He, the historian, could not include any image or metaphor without the nod of the council of elders of the Native American community. This shows that the documentations of the socio-political affairs were not an individual entity as a group of wise men of the community looked after even the minor changes and without solid proof, people were skeptical. On the other hand, on different occasions, the appointed historian was bound to “unroll the calendar and retell the events of his people’s past” (Mallery 12)⁹³. So, the people in this way could have the opportunity to recall their past activities and even could toll their date of birth. Oglala famous medicine man, Black Elk, for instance, told John Gneisenau Neihardt, an American historian and ethnographer, that he was born in the moon of the popping trees (December) on the Little Powder River in “the Winter When the Four Crows Were Killed (1863) on the Tongue Rive” (Neihardt 6)⁹⁴.

Besides the above historiographical practices, *The Book of the Hopi*, the book about the history of Native American ways of living, for Deloria, defines the concept of world ages more comprehensively. Deloria claims that the accounts of White Bear, a Native American tribal figure noted by Frank Waters, an American ethnographer, made the native people of America intrigued about their past. The people of native tribes of America, for him, believe that they are the people who survived three destructions of the world and each time the conditions would be different. Those suffering experiences were transferred to the next generations for the preparation of the next havoc. In this way, they were informed about different ways of survival and this information was handed down from generation to generation for the expected phase of destruction. For Deloria, each phase of destruction ended with a new beginning that brought new ceremonies and cultural songs. He says that these ceremonies and songs become the customs of Native American social order until the ending of a circle. However, the common principles remained similar as they were documented and handed over generations after generations. Deloria claims that Native American tribes of different parts of American territory have had

similar stories of legends who survived the doom-days. These stories, for Deloria, define the future happenings as well. For instance, before the arrival of settlers, some native prophecies describe the arrival of white people (Deloria 101)⁹⁵.

The chronological nature of these history-practices and the criteria of the then Native American historians are very close to the modern concept of history. However, some scholars claim the invalidity of these methods. Their objections to Native American ways of textualization of history are so strong that even Native American historians like Deloria admit the weakness of these records in the modern world. James H. Howard, an anthropologist, questions the validity of these Native American historiographies and claims that the ‘winter counts’ were used to be sold out to some other people, In such cases, the next owner was considered responsible for the maintenance of the next proceedings (Howard 335)⁹⁶. The validity of such ‘winter counts’ is doubtful as the purchaser might not be a historian. On the other hand, Dagmar Siebelt rejects the naming of these practices as "calendar". He has the view that unlike the calendar, the winter count and calendar stick only tell about past happenings, not about the future. He calls them “chronicles or annals, not calendars” (Siebelt 226)⁹⁷. Frank Waters, novelist and nonfiction writer of the American Southwest, famous for his *Book of the Hopi* written in association with Oswald White Bear Fredericks, the Hopi, assembled the Native American myths but called them the “mysteries” of Hopi tradition and a “self-deception” (27)⁹⁸. He argues about the subjective approach of the native leaders in their history to the travelers and non-native historians. For him, most of the descriptions by the people of Native American tribes were for the sake of popularity and money. For instance, he criticizes the description of White Bear who helped Waters in assembling the documents of Hopi history: Waters argues that White Bear’s “wife was a businesswoman born in Waukegan, Illinois. She has no academic training and has no understanding of the Hopi language. Yet she has had an important hand in the editing” (Waters 27)⁹⁹.

Robert H. Lowie also lashes out at all the native and non-native efforts about the retrieval of Native American history. He does not give any worth to native history – whether linear or ceremonial – and considers it valueless as compared to Native American contribution to natural science. He argues that as Native Americans have a direct concern with their surroundings, their knowledge about animals like buffaloes and prophecies about the topography of the native flora

and fauna is not strange. However, he severely refutes all these assumptions as part of Native American history which, for him, is

definitely removed from the sphere of observation when they have once taken place, [for] the facts of what we call history are, as a rule, not facts which fall under primitive observation at all, but transcend it by their complexity and the great spans of time involved. (Lowie 163)¹⁰⁰

In the case of Native American history, he stresses the understanding of dissimilarity between facts and historical truths and argues the lesser capability of the aboriginal people of America to understand the historical truths. For him, the “primitive man is endowed with historical sense or perspective: the picture he can give of events is like the picture of the European war as it is mirrored in the mind of an illiterate peasant reduced solely to his direct observations” (Lowie 164)¹⁰¹. He dismantles all Native American ‘calendar counts’ and other traditional ways of recording happenings as history and whips critics for assigning “extraordinary importance ... to trivial incidents” (Lowie 164)¹⁰². However, Lowie ignores the ideology that D. R. Wolf, calls “common voice” and “common fame” – the common belief of a particular community about a specific happening in the past, the standard of evaluating the historic disposition of Native American time and place. Wolf claims that one must not ignore “what people who had lived in an area all their lives agreed on unless he had external evidence which contradicted or clarified” (30)¹⁰³. An individual is influenced by the tradition in which he is raised and that, ultimately, becomes his faith or religion. So, a responsive individual “may come eventually to see th[is civilized experience] as a kind of myth, essentially fictitious in that it does not portray the whole of life, but also undeniably impressive as a saga to live by” (West 1)¹⁰⁴.

These historical modes of description adopted by native tribes of America cannot be related to the Western style of history where all entities are recorded with chronological references. The native perception of history is a description of how people survived, where they were located and why they migrated at different times. Regarding the migration, the *when* is again under cover of ‘a long time ago’. Similarly, the cartography regarding pre-Columbian America is another hard target for the tribal way of running affairs that are considered vague and haphazard. For instance, the Iroquois stories describe the tribe’s migration from the plains

towards the east; the *when* is not important. The only important things are *how* and *why* that define the prosperity and benefits in this migration (Deloria 101).¹⁰⁵

2.6. The Issue of Native American Mythistory

It is difficult for historians to judge the validity of documented history especially in the shape of a story that survived in a native community. For this reason, many historians' credibility was on stake when their assembled stories about the historic disposition of happenings proved fake. Herodotus, a Greek historian, advises that historians must be faithful while collecting and correlating various stories; that historians must assemble the data faithfully and they must not pass judgment over the in/validity of the data (Herodotus 149)¹⁰⁶. Thucydides, the Athenian historian, does not agree with Herodotus and argues that the data collected from the common stories in a community will not be valid until a historian furnishes its credible evidence. For Thucydides, historians being the custodians of the truth must be truthful in the evaluation of stories. If they only collect information and neglect the truth, they contaminate the truth inside the historical tales. Therefore, Thucydides, unlike Herodotus, puts the burden of the investigation on the shoulders of the historians who, for him, must check the *truthfulness* of the stories (324)¹⁰⁷. The scholarship of *faithfulness* and *truthfulness* made the concept of the truth of history argumentative. Friedrich Nietzsche, a German cultural critic, argues that the 'truth' is the sum of human relations that are transposed, enhanced and argued culturally, however, have become canonical, fixed and compulsory to the people (7)¹⁰⁸. Paul F. Glenn agrees with Nietzsche that "concepts are metaphors which do not correspond to reality" because they are designed by human beings that gradually believe them true (576)¹⁰⁹. Derrida also argues that the truths are the signifiers, the form of a sign, and does not refer to a definite signified, the content of a sign, but produces other signifiers instead (Derrida 281)¹¹⁰. In this regard, Michel Foucault, in his essay "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," explicates that 'truth' must not relate with its 'origins', a moment that is thought as the essence of something, but with its evolution, a gradual process of how the 'truth' evolves or devolves into its present form, marked by accident and error (140,141,142)¹¹¹. In *Archeology of the Knowledge*, Foucault argues that the 'truth' is the set of 'things said' in all its interrelations and transformations, hence its analysis abandons all preconceptions about historical unity (109)¹¹² that is narcissistic because it hangs on the constant presence of transcendent human perception (203)¹¹³.

Michel-Rolph Trouillot, a Haitian anthropologist, argues that the “proposition that history [or truth] is another form of fiction is almost as old as history itself, and the arguments used to defend it have varied greatly. Nothing is new everything is an interpretation” (5)¹¹⁴. According to him, the history per se is a semantic ambiguity, an irreducible distinction and yet an equally irreducible overlap between the facts of the matter and a narrative of those facts, between “what happened” and “what is said to have happened” that places the emphasis on the sociohistorical process, on our knowledge of that processor on a story about that process (Trouillot 2)¹¹⁵. He claims that it is not that some societies distinguish between history and fiction and others do not, rather, the difference is in the range of narratives of the given societies that practice their own tests of historical credibility because of the stakes involved in these narratives (Trouillot 13, 14)¹¹⁶. William McNeill employs that there are different assumptions about world history and the best way for historians to find the truth is to think “critically and carefully” to make the historical account “credible as well as intelligible” (8)¹¹⁷. McNeill calls this way mythistory. This scholarship of the *faithfulness* and the *truthfulness* is important to ascertain the in/validity of Native American cultural stories as it also concerns the ‘truth’ of Native American literature, history and myth: Native American argues that the Euro-Americans give an untrue description of Native American cultural stories because they are mostly critics, not researchers, and have second-hand knowledge about Native American cultural history; Euro-American scholars, on the contrary, accuse the native people of America of being unfaithful to their stories since they assembled them for financial benefits. Here, this chapter argues the approach of Native American scholarship to what McNeill calls mythistory and what were the barriers that made this mythistorical process vague.

2.6.1. Colonial Hegemony and Aboriginal Archeology

Colonialism derailed the search for the truths of Native American stories which describe Native American ways of living. Daniel C. Swan argues that in the mid-18th c. artists like George Catlin and Karl Bodmer instructed Indians to incorporate additional details into their images. The argument explains the influence of colonial thought in Native American traditional knowledge. Imperialists, for Swan, developed their relations with the native people of American territory for information about their previous record of history. Their main purpose was decoding the images made by Native American historian, thus, got an interdisciplinary approach to analysis and

translation (Swan 265)¹¹⁸. Such translations and analysis enabled the colonizers to get total control over the main areas of the tribes. Swan observes that these imperial scholars in the collection of the data changed the main features of Native American living ways. They broke the symmetry of the stories, for many a tale does not fit into their scientific frame (Swan 265)¹¹⁹.

T. J. Ferguson, an anthropologist, observes that imperialism stirred confusion among the Native American and non-native archeologists regarding nature and in/validity of Native American history that appeals to one community and “frustrate[s] the others” (63)¹²⁰. According to him, it was colonialism that raised the conflict. The initial practice of archeology in America was politically influenced as it “was essentially a colonialist endeavor, part of an intellectual development that occurred in many places where native populations were replaced or dominated by European colonists (Ferguson 18, 37, 18, 53)¹²¹. Allen Brown and Reginald Allen Brown, the editors of *Proceedings of the Battle Conference* (1987) questions this politicized history and admits only those efforts of retrieving facts about the Native American social order that were made before colonization when the historian and travelers copied those happenings and cultural practices which they had experienced – seen or heard – not from a secondary source (259)¹²². This shows that all the colonial tactics contaminated the possible practices of finding the real truths about Native American stories.

Michel Dorris argues that the search for the truths about the Native American mythical stories was influenced to which Edward Said says “essentialization” (Said xvi)¹²³. Dorris blames the colonial practice as the main reason of essentialization; it was an easy way to get political control over Native American lands:

[T]o these early European observers, all "Natives" of a particular geographic or pigmentary category “looked alike.” Just as all inhabitants of Africa were once incorrectly labeled “Ethiopes,” so too was the indigenous North American misclassified. It seems simply to have been assumed that because: a) all natives of North America lived in North America, and b) none of them were Europeans, then therefore c) they must all be the same. And to carry this fascinating logic a step further, to its obvious conclusion: d) because Europeans thought they were heading towards the Asian Indies when they collided with America, and e) since Europeans were never wrong, then f) these all-the-

same people must of course be INDIANS! Thus was born in the myopic minds of a few culturally traumatized and geographically disoriented individuals a new ethnic group. (148)¹²⁴

Dorris explains that there is no difference between the colonial practices in American and in other colonized territories of the world and thus colonization exploited the colonized equally.

2.6.2. Stereotypes about Native American Culture

Stereotypes about the Native American culture are the main hurdle in the Native American mythistory. These stereotypes were manipulated in the colonial period that hegemonizes the Native American syllabi studied in different schools of America. Thus, modern education distorts the Native American culture especially “in children’s literature collection ... where children are exposed to multiple Native American stereotypes” (Harlin and Morgan 187)¹²⁵. Nadean Meyer, a learning resources librarian at Eastern Washington University, highlights the forged information about Native American tribes in children’s syllabus. She demands that to understand the Native American history “[e]ach area of the collection needed culturally relevant materials with a Native perspective and the voice of tribes, both locally and nationally” (Meyer 24)¹²⁶. She appreciates the states like Washington for including the knowledge of Native American tribal sovereignty in children’s “curriculum and adding tribal perspectives to their state curriculum” (Meyer 23)¹²⁷. Such efforts of promoting Native American cultural history are necessary for the development of Native American contemporary society.

However, the bias of western scholarship about Native American cultural history clouds the cultural aspects in Native American stories as Native American literature and history are not acknowledged as valid sources of Native American cultural norms and beliefs. The ‘inborn’ racial discrimination about the Native American cultural heritage, the “unfair treatment ... and lack of respect are the main causes for imbalanced development of American Indian Studies” (Fixico 120)¹²⁸. Deloria (1997) argues that the present research on Native American cultural stories is not enough to understand the Native American history. He explains that talking about the dogmas of Native American culture without solid research on it proves the dogmatism of European academia (Deloria 34)¹²⁹. This racial behavior about the Native American cultural studies is based on the “inborn complex” – inborn inferiority complex and inborn superiority

complex – that suppressed the Native American scholars for their west-defined-incapability (Fanon 93)¹³⁰. Deloria argues that this racism in American society was never addressed thoughtfully. The white race deliberately ignores the truths about Native American stories for their ultimate superiority. The inherent racism makes the western academia biased and “makes it extremely hard to bring non-Western traditions within serious consideration in the academia” (Deloria 34)¹³¹. The superior mindset of Europe propagates that “non-Western people are believed to be subjective and emotional, and, therefore, unreliable. Thus, the information provided about indigenous peoples is considered credible only if it is offered by a white scholar recognized by the academia” (Deloria 35)¹³².

Cornel Pewewardy, Comanche-Kiowa, suggests a pattern for collecting the facts of Native American cultural values. He stresses the need for categorization of Native American tribal heritage. For this purpose, “the first consideration was the nomenclature” (Pewewardy 13)¹³³. He argues that all Native American cultural heritages must be categorized in different names acknowledged by Native American tribes. Regarding the consensus on group nomenclature Pewewardy stresses that Native American tribes should develop a positive relationship among them (13)¹³⁴. Richard Smiley and Susan Sather, American educationists, argue that the Indian education policy of the American government must focus on the “Native cultures and history [as] a part of school curriculum [and] all teachers are required to have training in Native American cultures and history” (11)¹³⁵. Both the suggestions are valid: the tribal unity for their cultural heritage and the new Native American generation’s true focus on the Native American culture may demolish the stereotypes about Native American cultural stories.

2.6.3. Native American Political Sovereignty

2.6.3.1. Native American Treaties

Olena Gorelova argues that the undermining of Native American literary and political sovereignty delays the Native Americans’ endeavors to enlighten the truths of their cultural history. She argues that the issue of sovereignty in Native American politics is the output of imperialism as Euro-American laws put Native American sovereignty on the back burners the

bars of different treaties signed between Native American tribes and the American government that reflect the native struggle for the credibility against colonial hegemony (Gorelova 7)¹³⁶. For Randolph C. Downe, signing a treaty means each participant must respect the sovereignty of the other (17)¹³⁷ as “it is a contract that is signed between two independent parties, two equal sovereign entities, therefore, entering into international relations” (Gorelova 8)¹³⁸. But Euro-Americans made Native Americans sign these treaties, as Gorelova mentions, for political benefits: through these treaties, they got entire command over Native American lands till the 1870s and after that Euro-Americans, themselves demolished these treaties.

Randolph C. Downes explicates how various treaties (about 370) between Native Americans and Euro-Americans made the Native American national values inferior. He describes the influence of the first treaty signed between the United States of America and the Delawares in 1778 that permitted the intruders’ armed men to cross the Delaware terrain freely to arrest Detroit (Downes 216)¹³⁹. The tactics define the settlers’ mindset to encroach on the Native American lands and culture as these permitted the intruders to get through Native American tribes without their permission. However, these tactics also show the helplessness of the settlers in the case of a continuous fight because the war would be dangerous for their political benefits. Although the impact of these treaties was mostly negative, it certified the distinctions between Native Americans and settlers of American territory. At the same time, this practice exposes European intervention in the region as it was the British Crown that first practiced these treaties in the 1600s (Édouard 607)¹⁴⁰.

The treaties between Native American tribes and the American government prove the American influence over the Native American sovereignty but, on the other hand, also acknowledge the sovereignty of the nation on whom America forced a treaty. Gorelova highlights that *United States v. Kagama*, (1886) was the first attempt to demolish the limited sovereignty of Native American tribes as the court also permitted the United States to be involved into Native Americans’ socio-political matters; similarly, *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock* case (1903) also threatened the sovereignty of Native American tribes by bestowing unlimited authority to nullify treaties onto Congress. Such treaties and the court decisions on them were a part of the conspiracy to merge Native American culture into the so-called national mainstream. She argues that the approval of the Indian Reorganization Act (1934) under the supervision of

John Collier was the result of treaties and court decisions on them that forced the Native American tribes to adjust the constitution to the western government patterns (Gorelova 10)¹⁴¹. In this regard, Catherine T. Struve points out *Nevada v. Hicks* (2001), a comparatively later jurisdiction, that allows the government to interrupt the tribes if their under-consideration issues are to be against the states' sovereignty and integrity (317)¹⁴².

2.6.3.2. Euro-American Court Decisions

Like the treaties, many court decisions were not in favor of Native American tribes. Blake A. Watson exemplifies the case of *Johnson v. McIntosh* (1823) wherein the court approved the law of 'Doctrine of Discovery as Conquest': this law defines that in case of any discovery in any place the native tribes of America could not claim ownership and could only be sovereign in the possession of their soil (507)¹⁴³. After the court's admittance "the Doctrine of Discovery" had become the law of the land. However, in different cases of the Cherokee, mentions Thomas Biolsi, the same court admitted the sovereignty of the local community: in the cases of *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831) and *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832), Judge Marshall acknowledged that "a distinct political community capable of managing their affairs, which, recognized them being a state of their own" and like rest of the American states would enjoy sovereign prestige (234)¹⁴⁴. Correspondingly, he argues, Justice Johnson had reservations on the word 'states' "to a people so low in the grade of organized society" as the Indian tribes most generally are and constantly underlined as just Indian *tribes* who were "held together only by ties of blood and habit, and having neither laws nor government, beyond what is required in a savage state" (Biolsi 234)¹⁴⁵; Justice Johnson named these tribes of Native Americans as "foreign nations" (Biolsi 234)¹⁴⁶. The practice is noticeable veracity of how the settlers became the mother nation by using various laws. In a way, first, Native Americans "don't exist. Then [they']re invisible. Then [they']re funny. Then [they']re disgusting" but never acknowledged (Mukherjee 26)¹⁴⁷ as the contradictions in the similar cases also challenge the sovereignty of Native American tribes.

2.6.3.3. American Indian Movement (AIM)

The American Supreme Court decisions have affected the proceedings of succeeding courts and national policies which, according to Derrick A. Bell, Jr., had labeled Indians as

pupilage. After that their “relation to the United States resemble[d] that of a ward to his guardian” (67)¹⁴⁸. The situation, for Bernard A. Weisberger et al., abandoned the treaties and let the Indian tribes free from federal supervision. “[T]heir lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property, rights and liberty, they shall never be invaded or disturbed unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress” (Weisberger 547)¹⁴⁹. Kaden Prowse thinks that the federal government left Indians with either to join the mainstream or to live on their own sources. According to him, the American government knew the fact that the Indians were neither prepared for off-the-reservation life nor had enough sources to live in a reservation. With this policy of ‘epistemic violence’, mentions Prowse, America achieved “its ‘Manifest Destiny’ and spread from coast to coast” (2)¹⁵⁰. In consequence, almost sixty percent of Indian reservation lands had gone into white possession by 1906. The independent citizens of the land were forced either to be taxpayers citizens or lived alone in barren lands without any assistance. Hence, they became an easy victim of epidemics that reduced them within a few years. The rest of the tribes were facing high unemployment levels, racism, police harassment, poverty, and substandard housing. This situation increased the uncertainty, mistrust, and disgust among the native tribes against the American government and, according to John F. Schuttler, caused the formation of the American Indian Movement (AIM) that organized the nation-wide protests for highlighting the constitutional rights of Indians in the signed-treaties (12)¹⁵¹. Fay G. Cohen explicates that the movement was progressed by a “reformist social-action group” that sought “to solicit and broaden opportunities for the urban Indian so that he may enjoy his full rights as a citizen of these United States” (47)¹⁵². The main objectives of the American Indian Movement (AIM), according to Schuttler, were:

- to establish a program for the advancement of the Indian housing problem.
- to establish a program to provide opportunities for Indian youth. In Oakland, an Indian patrol was established to stop the illegal arrest of Indians by the local police.
- to establish a positive program for the employment of Indians.
- to establish a program to educate the industry in the area of Indian culture.
- to establish a program to educate the Indian citizen in his responsibility to his community. The AIM survival schools helped rehabilitate the alcoholic

Indians and educated the natives about their tradition and how they could be settled in the urban societies of America without avoiding their spiritual history. (81)¹⁵³

This socio-political awareness among the Indians across North America placed them in a better position. In the 1960s, Presidential task forces and Congress had to make some plans for the overhauling of tribes; the 1968-Indian Civil Rights Act documented native sovereignty regarding their social and religious proceedings (Schuttler 50)¹⁵⁴. Although these committees and jurisdictions could not grant Indians a fully effective remedy, the issues of Indian tribes were included in the national agenda. United States Commission on Civil Rights in 2018 admits that “the federal government acquired Native American lands and agreed to provide Native Americans with certain services such as the preservation of law and order, education, housing, and health care” (12, 13)¹⁵⁵. The Commission accepts:

The Native American people continue to face everyday challenges due to disproportionately high rates of violence and crime victimization; poor physical, mental, and behavioral health conditions; high rates of suicide; low educational achievement and attainment; poor housing conditions; high rates of poverty and unemployment; and other challenges, which are exacerbated by the shortfall of federal assistance (United States Commission on Civil Rights 15, 16, 17)¹⁵⁶.

The American government, according to the commission report submitted to Trump in 2018, “forced many Native Americans to give up their culture and did not provide adequate assistance to support their interconnected infrastructure, self-governance, housing, education, health, and economic development needs” (United States Commission on Civil Rights 1)¹⁵⁷. It reveals that the abandoning of treaties and court decisions have left tribes without sufficient access to drinking water, electricity, plumbing, internet, roads, cellular service, public transportation, hospitals, housing and schools. The often-isolated locations, misrepresentation at the media and in books, says Julia Boyd, have made them invisible to other people (1)¹⁵⁸.

2.6.4. Native American Literary Canonship

Native American political sovereignty is directly related to Native American literary sovereignty and this is the reason that Native American literary and non-literary texts have not been acknowledged for a long time. Mona Kratzert and Debora Richey claim that many Native American literary texts equally meet the standard of Euro-American canonship: These are Michael Dorris' *Yellow Raft in Blue Water* (1987), *Cloud Chamber* (1997); Louise Erdrich's *Love Medicine* (1984), *Beet Queen* (1986), *Tracks* (1988), *Bingo Palace* (1994), *Tales of Burning Love* (1996); D'Arcy McNickle's *Wind from an Enemy Sky* (1978); Leslie Marmon Silko's *Ceremony* (1977), *Almanac of the Dead* (1991); James Welch's *Winter in the Blood* (1974), *The Death of Jim Loney* (1979), *Fools Crow* (1986); and Gerald Vizenor's *Bearheart: The Heirship Chronicle* (1978; 1990), *Griever: An American Monkey King in China* (1986), *The Trickster of Liberty* (1988), *The Heirs of Columbus* (1991) (Kratzert and Richey 10)¹⁵⁹. Since the writings of Sherman Alexie, Elizabeth Cook-Lynn, Linda Hogan and Louis D. Owens have also been included. Kratzert and Richey claim that even after much effort to get canonship the desired results could not be achieved and despite the government's encouragement of multiethnic society, the issue of difference persists.

Harold H. Kolb Jr. argues that the concept of canonship is again politically influenced because "a canon is a cultural mirror, imaging [one's] notions of who [he is]" (Kolb 39)¹⁶⁰. Thus, to approve Native American canonship means to approve Native American culture. Therefore, Native American canonship was also delayed politically as "the selection of texts [for the canon] is a political act (Kolb 36)¹⁶¹. It is clear now that the Native American mythistory or the search for the truths in the Native American cultural stories is derailed politically by the exclusion of Native American literature from the frame of canon as there are political interests of the governing class to subordinate the culture of the Native American tribes. Kolb claims that to get political or literary sovereignty the population of a sect also plays a decisive role as it is the number of people that cause political amendments and can also affect the frame of literary the canon. He explains his viewpoint with the reference of Afro-American literature and claims that Afro-American literature becomes more popular and comes into the mainstream of Euro-American canonship because of its huge population (Kolb 40)¹⁶². United States Commission on Civil Rights in 2018 also calculates: "The 2016 American Community Survey of the U.S. Census

(ACS) showed that the total U.S. population was 323.1 million. Out of the total U.S. population, 2.6 million people identified as American Indian” (20)¹⁶³. Julia Boyd highlights that, “[t]hroughout history, Native Americans have remained one of America’s most marginalized minorities. [Its] population’s challenges, struggles and progressive strides are reflected in popular culture (106)¹⁶⁴.

Kolb’s argument explains the fact that the maximum population of the Native American tribes was killed during the early colonial period. Hence, Native Americans, being fewer in number, could not get sovereignty whereas Afro-Americans were included in the mainstream for their increasing population. No doubt Afro-Americans were slaves but after the announcement of the freedom, they became necessary, though undesired, part of the American politics and the American literary canonship. On the other hand, the native population is deliberately hit hard. As only a few Native American tribes and languages could survive, they could not be part of American politics and canonship. Kolb fears that in this way some significant texts are being ignored. He argues that one must “think of the literary canon not as a single authoritarian list and not as a pluralistic cacophony of innumerable voices but as a tiered set of options, relatively stable at one end, relatively open at the other, joined by the possibility of change” (Kolb 40)¹⁶⁵. However, Gorelova argues that minority-writers do not need to get a certificate of canonship from Euro-American academia. She says that no doubt, belonging to the canon is a pledge of attribution but it does not mean that the literature that is not certified by the canonship has no worth (Gorelova 25)¹⁶⁶.

2.7. Conclusion

Native American literature and history define Native American social, political, cultural, religious and historical values as they are reflected in ‘the mythical stories’ that are the possible collection-efforts of Native American literary and non-literary writers. To find the truths of Native American cultural history one has to go through the motifs and meaningful thought of these cultural stories. In Native American communities, the concept of culture is usually reflected through the myths. These myths, therefore, are an integral part of Native American literature and history. Hence, Native American literature and history have always been a source to understand the customs and social order. The conflict between the first school who argues the

invalidity of Native American literature, history, myth and mythistory and those who claim the validity of Native American literature, history, myth and mythistory is for their cultural (mis)understanding. The scholars who criticize Native American mythical tales and oral tradition are mostly critics, not researchers, who only read books, no doubt credible, on Native American cultural history and have never visited Native American tribes. They are born and raised in the American superiority complex that is a locus of western sovereignty. The Native American scholars' claim that the issue of sovereignty as a colonial issue is valid as this period generates the conflict of in/validity of Native American cultural stories compiled by Native American history and literature. This conflict, however, differentiates nation-peoples – Native American Tribes – and nation-states – non-natives (Krupat 4)¹⁶⁷. The American jurisdictions favored the nation-states as compared to the nation-peoples and strengthened the western concept of sovereignty. Native American writers, however, resist such practices of challenging their sovereignty and claim that the sovereignty of the group should be idealized through a privileging of its traditions, culture and continuity (Krupat 4)¹⁶⁸. Therefore, they chose to tackle the literary canonship because the canonization of Native American literature oral as well as written demonstrates Native American cultural norms to counter and challenge colonial hegemony. The consistency of Native American literary efforts to explain the Native American social and cultural facts is also expected to convince contemporary historians of the truthfulness of Native American history (Ward 108)¹⁶⁹.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Text, on one hand, is a collective creation that contains the needs and desires of a society and on the other is an agent that helps reshape the society in return. Therefore, texts can be evaluated not to achieve an [ultimate] reconstruction of the past, but to understand the social energy in order to decipher the ideology of a given culture. (Doğan 92)¹

This social research is based on three main components: 1) the theoretical position of the research argument, 2) the analysis of delimited texts or data regarding the theorization of research argument 3) and the methodical design to analyze delimited texts or data. The integration of these components builds up the research argument and yields desired results (Campbell and Stanley 9)². The present study brings these components together to work for the retrieval of Native American history. First, this study focuses on Greenblatt's arguments of how literature and history are the productions and producers of the history in which they emerged; and therefore, rejects the conventional criticism that reviews history as a final approach and thinks literature as author's "feelings ... in tranquility" (Wordsworth 251)³. This study underlines the following views of Greenblatt to build up its theoretical frame:

- 1) text is the a way to preserve history because of the impermanence of beings;
- 2) all the literary and non-literary texts are the production and producer of cultural norms, therefore, literature like history is also a source of history of the time in which it was produced;
- 3) correspondingly, history like all other disciplines of knowledge is a subjective approach, and therefore, cannot understand a better sense of the past;
- 4) the parallel study of literary texts and non-literary texts of the same period can understand a better sense of the history of the time in which these texts were produced.

Thus, the theoretical framework of this study explains its methodological understanding and how it builds up the theorization of the research argument and objectives.

Second, this study delimits the Native American literary and non-literary texts and organizes this delimitation according to the methodological understanding of the research. The three analysis chapters i.e. chapters 4, 5, and 6 discuss the historicity of myths inscribed in American Indian literature, mythistory – credibility and intelligibility – of American Indian history; and juxtaposes the mythical stories in Native American literary and non-literary texts of the same period to a better sense of the history of the time in which these myths were (re)produced. Third, the present research builds up its own method of ‘thick description’ with the viewpoints of Clifford Geertz’s ‘thick description’, Norman K. Denzin’s ‘thick interpretation’, William McNeill’s ‘mythistory’ and Stephen Greenblatt’s ‘co-textualization’ to systemize the analysis of Native American delimited texts in chapter 4, 5, and 6. Following is the explanation of the theoretical framework and practical framework per se and their implication on this study.

3.1. Theoretical Location of New Historicism

The theoretical insights of the 1960s – feminism, Marxism, old historians, cultural materialism, etc. –, are different in their premises but equally refute the ‘new critics’, the school that argues the autonomy of text and opposes the “traditional philological and antiquarian study of literature” (Eagleton 43)⁵. This school of the 1940s and 50s “emphasize[s] close examination of a text with minimum regard for the biographical or historical circumstances in which this text was produced” (Makaryk 616)⁶. The theories of the post-1960 era revise the biographical and historical approaches of criticism and prefer the interpretation of a text in its contextual association with the author’s life, and social and political norms of the time in which a text was produced. In the 1980s, new historicism argued the importance of contextualization to interpret a text [of literature and history] because the traditional signification of political and economic affairs and agents have been displaced by people and events that thus far had been unimportant; like criminals, the insane, women, sexual practices and discourses. “Just as the sixties, the effort in the eighties has been to question and destabilize the distinction between sign systems and things, the representation and the represented, history and text” (Gallagher 43)⁷.

This question posits that literature also describes the History and Historicity of its time. But the doctrine is not specified only by new historicism. ‘Old historicism’ and ‘cultural materialism’ share the views with ‘new historicism’ as they argue the significance of the social

contexts to evaluate the texts. However, they “made a hierarchical separation between the literary text, which was the object of value, the jewel, as it were, and the historical ‘background’, which was merely the setting, and by definition of lesser worth” (Barry 107)⁹. No doubt, they induce readers to recover the histories of the text from which it emerged but they privilege the literary text over its historical background. The new historicist approach in the “Improvisation and Power” and “Renaissance Self-Fashioning” of Stephen Greenblatt classifies that the early discussion of the historical disposition of literature where history serves as the context is wrong “[s]ince these historical documents are not subordinated as contexts, but are analyzed in their own right, [the critics] should perhaps call them ‘co-texts’ rather than ‘contexts’. The text and co-text used will be seen as expressions of the same historical ‘moment’ and interpreted accordingly” (Barry 106)¹⁰. This dissemination of text/literary and co-text/non-literary discourses creates social power relations within a culture (Coyle 76). In this regard, New Historicism is different from conventional theories for its emphasis on the significance of context and for its assessments to the impartial inquiry. The history of the past in a text, for new historicists, can only be understood with the understanding of the present and its concerns (Coyle 78). In a new historicist practice, the distinction between text and context is less evident. New historicism scrutinizes text to see how it exposes social realities, especially in terms of producing ideology and representing power or subversion. The theory does not look for a world distributed between accepted and excluded historicity in text, or between the dominant and the dominated historicity, but a variety of social and cultural embedments (Coyle 91). The text like a ‘paradigm’ may recreate the historicity or cultural embedment, with the things stated and those hidden, of diverse impacts, and may depend on who is speaking, his power status, and the social context in which he is located. So, an argument cannot be judged solely on its own terms; new historicist research may expose the unspoken ‘outside’ of text, and how the text as a discourse forms power relations through implied relationships between the author and what he said (Wayne 104). This discursive practice/text spreads and generates power, and reinforces it, which can influence readers' perceptions of the meaning of a real record. This may impede the trust of the reader/critic on the hypothesis that the real record already exists.

New Historicism is responsive to many other literary theories. Michel Foucault's idea of power has inspired Greenblatt. Foucault argues that the state is dominant and all-seeing to its society and that the state employs discursive practices to achieve its objectives. The political

body of the state persuades the circulation of its ideology and manifests this ideology in a variety of ways, including speech, writing and philosophy that encompass every member of society (Foucault 165). In his *Critical Theory Today*, Tyson states that power does not merely come from the top of the political and economic system rather moves in all directions, at all levels of society, and at all times. Power is circulated via the exchange of commodities, persons, ideas and through a variety of texts/discourses. In terms of meaning, text/discourse and ideology wherein it emerged are inextricably linked. Ideology tends to use text/discourse as a tool (Tyson 281) that explores the conflicts between the 'revisionists,' who are under pressure but reject authority and the 'officials,' the dominant group who retain their power in different ways. Since a text/discourse cannot offer a complete interpretation of history, there is no such thing as a monolithic discourse or a 'grand narrative'. As a result, it is reasonable to conclude that text/discourse is all the time dynamic and never static and does sometimes collide with other co-texts/discourses. Texts/Discourses can both oppose and exert control. New historicists agree that the individual and society have a relationship: the social influence can challenge authorities as nobody can wield the full power of his own. This social pressure is embedded in different texts/discourses and preserves its supremacy (Tyson 281-282).

According to Foucault, everything is a matter of definition. The ruling powers' social constructs include perversion, insanity and crime. Those in positions of authority are more likely to retain their hold on society. Historians, chemists, survivors, politicians, and a variety of others are among those who practise literary and non-literary discourses. New historicists are mindful of their prejudices, which can affect the narratives in deciphering the text's meaning. In line with Foucault, Catherine Belsey, a research professor of English at Swansea University, argues that despite recent critical theory developments that appear to argue the formalist aesthetic isolation of the text from culture have not interrelated literature and social history in an integral text. However, Michel Foucault's post-structural studies have contributed to a more promising fusion of history, literature and politics. These studies have raised awareness of the connection between meaning and power, and how the meanings evolve in cultural discursive practices are part of a struggle for social power and authority. In history, "the contest for power" is, in reality, "a contest for meaning in its materiality" (Perkins 2009). These views, according to Belsey, have far-reaching implications for both literature and history. Historical documents turn out to be more than just factual accounts or experience transcriptions (17). New historicism

evaluates them in terms of their involvement in cultural exchange or struggles for power and meaning. Since these non-literary discursive practices are themselves locations of power and resistance to power, the cultural discourse of power and meaning in these texts are questionable: “Where do they come from; who controls them; on behalf of whom?” (Perkins 2009). These same historical, textual and political questions must also be dealt with along literary documents. Belsey also claims that literature is not a separate type of text from the broader cultural discourse. Rather, the literary work is one of several cultural texts that can be used to highlight the historical contest for meaning and influence. An understanding of this can be completely gotten when the reader is open to “intertextual relations” of cultural documents (Perkins 2009). “[T]he new historicist project is not about ‘demoting’ art or discrediting aesthetic pleasure; rather it is concerned with finding the creative power that shapes literary work *outside* the narrow boundaries in which it had hitherto been located, as well as *within* these boundaries (Payne 12). In the wake of the above continuation of text/context relationship, Greenblatt views history and literature in a new outlook and argues that they are not the author’s private property but the production of their historicity. On the other hand, he rejects the traditional approach of criticism that claims to review history and literature ultimately. He argues that history and literature are interpretations of their histories in given consciousness (Greenblatt 14)⁴. Since all literature is shaped by history, it should be read in terms of its historicity (Greenblatt 3-6).

The effects and conditions the text produced and the historical circumstances wherein the text is produced are the foci of new historicism. The philosophy strives to remain constantly aware of the inconsistencies of every historical moment, even those governed by capitalism. In this regard, new historicism, according to Colebrook (1997), investigates “the relationship between text and history”, and between the intentionality of the text and its generated meaning. For new historicists, this relationship between the text and its historical background is dynamic as the text per se is the outcome of specific discursive and non-discursive forces. This critical activity argues the epistemology of the ‘text and text alone’ to counter those critical theorists who claim the authority of the text. The interpretation of a literary text following new historicism, says Gallagher (1989), involves both literary and non-literary texts as constituents of historical narratives that are both within and outside the text. The links between texts, culture, history and the biography of the author, according to Vesser (1989), bridge the gaps between history, art, anthropology, literature, politics and economics. New historicists argue that

historians are a product of their own history hence they cannot understand the past via the lens of their present. Vesser defines new historicism as “a realm of retrievable fact or a construct made up of textualized traces assembled in various configurations by the historian interpreter” (13). New historicism, says Collette (2012), is a contemporary literary philosophy that focuses on how events, locations, and culture within a society influence a piece of literature. New historicists time and again delve into references and features of the time in which a literary text was produced (Collette 3). According to Wiedenmann (2007), this contemporary literary philosophy claims that all texts are products of specific historical circumstances, and therefore, include cultural, political, and social features (3). The aim of new historicism, for Wiedenmann (2007), is to explore power relations concealed in a written work. Muller (2013) defines new historicism with its comparison with historicism. He explains that in Historicism “literary works can help us to understand the time in which they are set – realist texts in particular provide imaginative representations of specific historical moments, events or periods; however, fictional texts are subordinate to historical records” (Muller 2) whereas new historicist “literary texts are bound up with other discourses and rhetorical structures; they are part of a history that is still being written” (Muller 2). Giddens (1986) argues the cultural, social and political significance of text: “To grasp the meanings of a text as they might have been understood by those who produced it involves investigating the conditions of their knowledge ability” (530). Ferguson (2010) states, "literature was seen as a (mimetic) reflection of the historical world in which it was produced. Further, history was viewed as stable, linear, and 19 recoverable—a narrative of fact (1). The arguments reveal that contrary to other critical theories, new historicism differentiates the integration and consideration of cultural, social, political, and anthropological discourses of a given age. This inclusive approach of other disciplines also closely links and intertwines new historicism with cultural materialism and cultural Studies (Ferguson 1).

3.2. New Historicism: Assumptions

New historicism argues that the historicity embedded in a text is the ‘multiplicity of perspectives.’ The plurality of historical narratives however raises the question of how ideology shapes personal and group identity, how a culture's perspective shapes its political, legal, and social policies and customs, and how power is distributed within society. In this regard, new historicists avoid the factual or fixed contents of historical accounts. They study how a text

proceeds the historicity of its time and place to proliferate its ideological objectives. New historicism cannot demarcate a given culture as the only representation of history (Tyson 284-285) rather emphasizes all discursive and non-discursive activities as a significant text for historical study. It argues that the textual embedment or cultural codes of social exchange processes proceed with the exchange of goods, concepts, behaviors, and individuals. New historicism points to the historical narrative and the marginalized to achieve equal demonstration of historical narratives from all groups. This epistemology resists master narratives that deliver a single point of view and that imply this view as the only true history. This school of thought argues that historical understanding will no longer be dominated by master narratives hence brings the marginalized narrative to the fore (Tyson 284).

The twentieth-century new historicist Stephen Greenblatt explains the involvement of literary and non-literary texts in the explication of their cultural contexts in which these texts emerged. Muller (2013) summarizes:

- New historicists attend primarily to the historical and cultural conditions of its production, its meanings, its effects, and also of its later critical interpretations and evaluations.
- New historicists see texts as agents and makers of history.
- History is textual: distinction between literature and history is artificial and flawed.
- For New historicists literature is history, and history is literature.
- Historians as authors who employ literature and literary strategies to relate events.
- New historicists contextualize literature within other cultural texts.
- Diversity and disagreement within new historicism and its practices.
- Cultural materialism as particular (and mainly British) mode of new historicist criticism.
- New Historicism is also interested in the contextualization of literary production and consumption, and the ideologies that govern these acts.
- Who produces, circulates, polices, and consumes literature.

-The aim of new historicism is to examine how literature contributes to, replicates, and/or challenges other cultural discourses, of the same or other periods.

- New historicist critics are supposed to examine the implications and significance of the material production and consumption of literature (who is allowed/ able to produce and possess literature, who is allowed to circulate it, and to whom). (3-4)

This view about literature and history ventured the fact that the ultimate “approach to a culture in the past is impossible, as the critic, like the author, is historically bound and cannot escape the power of [his/]her culture and ideology” (Doğan 92)⁸. New historicism holds the argument and focuses on the co-textualization – the parallel study of the text and its context – to a better understanding of the history in which the text was produced. This theory, since it equally privileges the text and context, calls it co-text rather than context and insists critics to the co-textual reading of the literary and non-literary texts of a time in which they were produced for the retrieval of the histories of that time. So, “[t]he work of art is the product of a negotiation between a creator or class of creators, equipped with a complex, communally shared repertoire of conventions, and practices of society (Payne 12). Literature, for new historicists, does not merely represent power relations but also actively takes part in the formation and consolidation of ideologies and discourses. History, on the other hand, is a matter of interpretation rather than reality (Tyson 286). When it is being interpreting, the interpreters may come up with a variety of different. So in reading a literary or non-literary text, the primary source is text and the secondary source is other historians' interpretations of the text in question (284). The new historicist places similar importance on the text and its contextual embedment.

The above discussion explains why Greenblatt denies the author's autonomy and individual genius, and the independence of the literary work, and views literary texts as an inextricable link to their historical context. He defines text as a way to preserve history; all literary and non-literary texts are productions and producers of cultural norms; literature like history is a source of the history of the time in which it is produced; correspondingly, history like all other disciplines of knowledge is a cultural approach and cannot claim to objectify the past; the parallel study of literary texts and non-literary texts of the same period explains a better sense of the history of the time in which these texts were produced (Greenblatt 2, 11, 43, 47)

3.2.1. Text: A Way to Preserve History

According to Stephen Greenblatt, there is no direct link between past and present but the text that unlocks the “signs of the inescapability of a historical process” (6)¹¹. It (text) is the most credible way to interlink past and present as it survives the history or historicity in which it was produced. Greenblatt relates the history or historicity inside the text with the ‘social energy’ whose contemporary subsistence depends on the asymmetrical sequence of historical connections. He explains that the aesthetic power is not directly transmitted from past to present because the circumstances are repeatedly and completely reconstructed. It does not signify that the critic is continually limited in his present, but that these reconstructions act as the logos in a historical process, “a structured negotiation and exchange” that are “evident in the initial moments of empowerment” (Greenblatt 6)¹². Greenblatt argues that the link between the dead (author) and live (reader or critic) is the life and the culture inscribed in the works of the author survive even after the death of the author. It is a “historical consequence; and the social energy, is initially encoded in these works” (Greenblatt 6)¹³. The ‘social energy’ interlocks the present and the past, and “the dialectic between them – those reciprocal historical pressures by which the past has shaped the present and the present reshapes the past” (Montrose 24)¹⁴. This social energy, according to Greenblatt, can be located in some way that is based on the “verbal, aural, and visual traces to produce, shape, and organize collective physical and mental experiences” (6)¹⁵ that reaches out beyond an individual to a group.

Hence, the text is an approach to the inscription of history and the understanding, demonstration and explanation of the past as well. It is the fusion of appropriation and estrangement that define the *poetics* and *politics* of culture wherein it was produced. As a text is a source to transfer history from one generation to another because of the impermanence of living beings, thus, through text one can “speak with the dead” (Greenblatt 1)¹⁶. In “Shakespearean Negotiations”, Greenblatt affirms that the “textual traces of [the knowledge of the dead] make themselves heard in the voices of the living” (1)¹⁷. Text is, therefore, the main concern of new historicism as it is the ultimate source of history in which it was produced. New historicists equally privilege the historical background from which the text emerged and argue that the ignorance of the historical background of the text also affects the history or historicity inside the text. Therefore, a text would not be authentic until its correlation with other discursive

and non-discursive practices of its histories, from which it emerged, are traced. It is not the author's private property; rather the production of the socio-cultural institutions and practices in which the author is brought up. "Pushkin's 'Eugene Onegin'" exemplifies Terry Eagleton, "would have been written even if Pushkin had not lived" (3)¹⁸. These histories or historicity of the texts can be traced with a confrontation of 'a total artist' and 'a totalizing society'. By total artist, Greenblatt means the artist "who is complete at the moment of creation through training, resourcefulness, and talent" whereas the totalizing society is a social setup that posits an occult network linking all beings: human and natural and cosmic powers (2)¹⁹.

3.2.2. History and Historicity in Literature

Greenblatt insists on the role of literature to locate the history in which it was written, and therefore, rejects the conventional studies on literature that considered it like the artificial tales for amusement. In his Introduction to "Representing the English Renaissance", he argues that a literary text is written in cultural background, therefore, it is not an individual effort but a social practice with its 'negotiations' and contests'. The author thinks and creates in a social environment, thus, his imagination and creation is social rather than individual. The negotiations and contests of his imagination are social because they do not build up in his mind in his private chamber but in the presence of materials, sources and aspirations that are already constructed by society. However, literature, according to Greenblatt, is not limited in social frames like status, family, or class since it is dissolved "into the material basis for its production and consumption" (viii)²⁰. He argues that different social structures are immediately interrelated and set apart, therefore, a predominant concept of "social inequality shapes artistic representations, those representations have at the same time the power to constrain, shape, alter, and even resist the conception of social inequality" (Greenblatt viii)²¹. Therefore, a literary text not only defines the socially structured patterns but also reshapes those patterns in which it was produced. Therefore, "new historicists believe that it makes no sense to separate literary texts from the social context around them because such texts are the product of complex social 'exchanges' or 'negotiations'" (Booker 138)²².

Literature, for new historicism, "cannot be considered apart from the society that produced it" (Doğan 80)²³. Therefore, new historicism argues that literature is a social

production rather than the creation of individual consciousness, and thus, can be understood within a ‘larger frame’ of historicity that is not “an indistinct background out of which [literature] emerges or into which it blends” (Forgacs 167)²⁴. A literary text is an explicit image of a society in which it was written. The writer himself is a cultural construction as “[t]here is no such thing as a human nature independent of culture” (Geertz 51)²⁵. Similarly, the critic or reader is also framed in his historicity. Neither writer nor critic goes beyond his social formation or his ideological background. So, the critic or reader cannot understand a piece of art in the same manner as his contemporaries. Consequently, the credible way to locate the histories or historicity inside the literary text is to refigure the ‘ideology’ or ‘larger frame’ of its culture. Greenblatt claims that there are three ways to understand this ideology or larger frame of culture i.e. the author, the text, and the context or social factors as literature functions within this frame in three ways: “as a manifestation of these concrete behaviors of its particular author, as itself the expression of the codes by which behavior is shaped, and as a reflection upon those codes” (4)²⁶. He argues that the significance of literary criticism depends on the parallel criticism of these three functions of literature otherwise the ideology or larger frame of culture loses its sense and one cannot understand the true meaning of the literary text.

3.2.3. The (Self-)fashioning of History

The word ‘man’, for Greenblatt, cannot be used for the entire human race as there are certain individuals who are lacking in “making concrete choices in given circumstances at particular times” (271)²⁷. In *Shakespeare Negotiation*, Greenblatt points out the specific conditional circumstances when the selves or human identity “fashioned and acting” according to the appropriation and estrangement of a given culture (272)²⁸. He argues that the ‘self’, in its construction and consumption, is mainly a form of social structures and institutions. Hence, the ‘fashioning’ of human identity is not as independent as is perceived since “... family, state, and religious institutions impose a rigid and far-reaching discipline upon their ... subjects” (Greenblatt 1)²⁹. According to Greenblatt, then, ‘identity fashioning’ is imitative and imposed, and “self-conscious [and] a manipulative, artful process” (2)³⁰. History also fashions the existence of beings according to the manipulation of its time; and shapes and reshapes the knowledge of a state, religion and class. Greenblatt emphasizes that these historical practices are also ultimately shaped by mutual and individual communication that is based on personal

perceptions of groups and individuals. Therefore, history does not construct a concrete perception of the social realities since historians and critics frame these realities according to their perceptions.

For a long time history was considered an ultimate approach to social realities and was neither recommended as the personal efforts of a single mind nor interpreted in isolation. New historicism rejects these assumptions of the objectivity of history and claims that history, like literature, is inscribed by individuals or groups influenced by their culture. Historians who assemble facts are/were the production of a specific culture as human nature is not “independent of culture” (Geertz 51)³¹. However, new historicism does not see culture as “complexes of concrete behavior patterns – customs, usages, traditions, habit clusters [but as] a set of control mechanisms – plans, recipes, rules, instructions – for the governing of behavior” (Geertz 44, 49)³². Greenblatt argues that “these control mechanisms, the cultural system of meaning that creates specific individuals by governing the passage from abstract potential to concrete historical embodiment” (3)³³ make historians and their works manipulative and artificial. The social order in which historians lived and their position in that social order ultimately influenced their thoughts. Hence, critics or historians who evaluate history are also the productions of their position in the culture in which they live. Both positions of historians prove them to be influenced or subjective regarding the presentation of facts. New historicism, therefore, objects to the hypothetical ultimate stance of history and highlights the biases of historians and critics. Thus, history is as subjective as literature or other discursive disciplines as it is manipulated or influenced by the surroundings in which the historians were framed. Similarly, critics, who are to be considered as truthful as the historian, examine the text in the current scenario according to their limitations. Thus, the ‘truths’ or real panoramic picture of time is no more than the viewpoint of an individual or a group.

3.2.4. Co-Textualization: How to Understand History?

Both history and literature are the productions and producers of the social realities in which they were produced. On the other hand, these textual practices are written and read in different perceptions. The analysis and understandings of critics “necessarily proceed from [their] own historically, socially and institutionally shaped vantage points; that the histories

[they] reconstruct are the textual constructs of [historians] who are, [themselves], historical subjects” (Montrose 23)³⁴. Greenblatt argues that the critical evaluation of literature or history, individually, could not, completely, recover the histories or historicity in which they were produced as the readers or critics cannot observe the past in their present. He insists on the co-textual reading of literary and non-literary discursive practices of a time that can unveil “the material necessities and social pressure that men and women daily confronted” (Greenblatt 5)³⁵. Through this co-textualization, according to Greenblatt, one understands the formation of “social identities ... in this culture” (6)³⁶. In “Murdering Peasants”, Greenblatt defines that neither history nor literature is a single component but myriads connections of discursive practices that reflect the histories of their time. “The production and consumption of such works are not unitary ... they always involve a multiplicity of interests, however well organized, for the crucial reason that art is social and hence presumes more than one consciousness” (Greenblatt 14)³⁷. Therefore, both history and literature, as both are the production and producer of discourses, cover a wide zone of contradictory ideas and norms that make ‘culture in action’ (Veeseer xi)³⁸. The juxtaposition of literature and history, therefore, explains a better sense of the history in which they emerged as both are its ‘agents’.

For new historicists, history can be regarded as a “reciprocal concern with the historicity of texts and the textuality of history” (Montrose 24)³⁹. The historicity of texts means the cultural specificity, the social embedment, of all modes of writing in which they were produced and in which we study them; the textuality of history suggests that the “access to a full and authentic past [and] to a lived material existence, unmediated by the surviving textual traces of the society in question” cannot be possible (Montrose 20)⁴⁰. Therefore, Greenblatt insists on the interdisciplinary approach where he relocates the literary text of a time among the non-literary discourses of a similar time to understand a better sense of history. Here, non-literary discursive practices stand for documents like history, official reports, brochure and non-textual shapes of art as sculpture, painting, etc. Greenblatt argues that to establish a relationship between literary and non-literary discursive practices is an endeavor “to develop terms to describe the ways in which material – here official documents, private papers, newspaper clippings, and so forth – is transferred from one discursive sphere to another and becomes aesthetic property” (3)⁴¹. If the historicity inside the literary text cannot be recovered, the critics should focus on the ideology that produced the text and vice versa. New historicists while “reading literary and non-literary

texts as constituents of historical discourses that are both inside and outside of texts ... generally posit no hierarchy of cause and effect as they trace the connections among texts, discourses, power, and the constitution of subjectivity (Gallagher 37)⁴². In this way, they reconstruct “the socio-cultural field within which canonical ... literary and dramatic works were originally produced” and to resituate them “not only in relationship to other genres and modes of discourse but also in relationship to contemporaneous social institutions and non-discursive practices” (Montrose 17)⁴³.

3.2.5. Application of New Historicism

The present study following Greenblatt’s retrieval of history comprehends and interprets the history or historicity of Native American myths inscribed in Native American literary and non-literary delimited texts. The new historicist position leads the researcher to question the epistemological conventions of history practices. Using the dialectic approach of new historicism, this study derives the history from myths inscribed in Native American contemporary literary and non-literary texts. The theoretical framework of this study underlines the following points: 1) text is a way to preserve history for the impermanence of beings; 2) all the literary and non-literary texts are the production and producer of cultural norms, therefore, literature like history is also a source of history about the time in which it was produced; 3) correspondingly, history like all other disciplines of knowledge is a subjective approach, therefore, history like literature has its own fictionality; 4) thus, the parallel study of literary texts and the non-literary texts of the same period can understand the history or cultural embedment of that time. This study takes a position on these arguments of Stephen Greenblatt and argues that: 1) in pre-Columbian time storytelling was the most credible way to preserve history or social and cultural embedment because of the impermanence of American Indian tribes; 2) the myths inscribed in Native American literary and non-literary texts are the productions and producers of their cultural norms, therefore, Native American literature is also a source of Native American history about the time in which it was (re)produced; 3) correspondingly, Native American contemporary history practices like all other disciplines of knowledge are subjective and based on authors’ present consciousness; 4) thus, the parallel study of the mythical stories inscribed in Native American literary and non-literary texts of the same time can understand a better sense of the history of that time.

In chapter 4, this study inscribes the historicity in the fiction of Louise Erdrich (*Tracks* 1988) and Leslie Marmon Silko (*Ceremony* 1977); this study, in chapter 5, deals with the fictionality of Native American history and makes the mythical stories, inscribed in Native American histories of Vine Deloria Jr. (*God Is Red* 1973 *The World We Used to Live In* 2006), credible and intelligible and coincidentally retrieves the social realities of Native American society in which these stories were (re)produced; and thus, in chapter 6, this study co-textualizes the mythical stories, inscribed in Native American literary texts (*Tracks* 1988 and *Ceremony* 1977) and Native American non-literary texts (*God Is Red* 1973 and *The World We Used to Live In* 2006) to confirm, comprehend and interpret the Native American history of pre-Columbian and post-Columbian periods in which these stories were (re)produced.

3.2.6. Criteria for the Selection of Delimited Texts

This study delimited *Tracks* by Louise Erdrich and *Ceremony* by Leslie Marmon Silko to understand how Native American literary writers historicize their politically distorted stories or identity. Also, it delimited Native American non-literary texts, *God Is Red* and *The World We Used to Live In* by Vine Deloria Jr., to argue how much Native American historians are succeeded to mythistoricize their mythical stories. The co-textualization of the selected literary and non-literary texts scrutinizes how the co-textual study of the mythical stories inscribed in Native American texts have a better understanding of American aboriginal culture; hence reactivate the lost Native American culture in action. In this regard, delimited texts have intellectual merit as they reflect the experience of a wide range of Native American cultures in historical, contemporary and imaginary settings. The ideas and issues explored in delimited texts describe Native American writers' consciousness to their roots. The selected texts are appropriated in oral traditional context, which reflects Native American contemporary community standards and expectations, hence sustain intensive research on their challenging ideas. The language and the ideas explored in the selected texts are suitable even for second language students. Being contained print and non-print texts they are freely available.

3.3. Methodical Framework

The practical framework (method) of the detailed analysis of mythical stories inscribed in Native American literary and non-literary delimited texts builds up the theorization of the research argument. The present study derives the methodical concept from Clifford Geertz's 'thick description', Norman K. Denzin's 'thick interpretation', William McNeill's 'mythistory' and Stephen Greenblatt's 'co-textualization' to the thick description of delimited texts. So, this study does not follow an already made method, but rather builds up its own research method to the thick description of mythical stories inscribed in American Indian delimited texts. This study mainly focuses on Geertz's concept of 'thick description' and names the adapted method 'thick description'. The main heading of this adapted method is 'interpretive study of the texts' that is derived from Geertz's 'thick description'. This main heading is subdivided into viewpoints of Denzin, Greenblatt and McNeill for a better understanding of 'thick description' per se and thick description of Native American literary and non-literary texts. The methodical design patterns the analysis of three chapters, 4, 5 and 6 to build up the answers of the research questions I, II, III, and therefore, derives the history – histories or historicity – in Native American mythical stories in which they were (re)produced. The thick description of the questions:

- I. How is Native American historicity inscribed in Louise Erdrich's *Tracks* (1988) and Leslie Marmon Silko's *Ceremony* (1977)?
- II. How do Deloria's *God Is Red* (1973) and *The World We Used to Live In* (2006) mythistoricize Native American history?
- III. How do Native American literary texts (*Tracks* 1988, *Ceremony* 1977) and non-literary texts (*God is Red* 1973, *The World We Used to Live In* 2006) co-textually balance Native American history, myth and fictionality?

derives the history – histories or historicity – from Native American myths, in which they were (re)produced, textualized in *Tracks* (1977) and *Ceremony* (1988), and *God Is Red* (1973) and *The World We Used to Live In* (2006).

3.3.1. Thick Description as a Research Application

With thick description, which is exercised as a qualitative method, this study approves its individuality as qualitative research and makes a distinction from the quantitative research that is suggested thin. Geertz argues that, generally, thin is assumed to be bad and thick is good but

what he means for a description to be thick? To explain it Geertz follows Gilbert Ryle who holds ‘thick description’ as an epistemology that not only gives details of a culture which gives a sense, information, and theoretical forms (Ryle 305)⁴⁴ but also refers “to the detailed account of field experiences in which the researcher makes explicit patterns of [culture] ... and puts them in context” (Holloway 154)⁴⁵. The present study replaces the word ‘culture’ with ‘text’ that is also the embodiment of its culture. It, therefore, explains the detailed analysis of the texts of Native American writers and interprets the cultural patterns that coded in Native American mythical stories inscribed in these texts.

Thin description, on the other hand, is a close-ended interpretation of text or data that claims to explore an ultimate reality without any clarification. Thin description, in this view, only presents one facet of reality and considers it the whole reality. Therefore, Geertz does not consider it an effective approach to the cultural [or textual] study and argues that it misleads the research. The importance of “thick” can be understood to “define-by-contrast” (Ponterotto 542)⁴⁶ “as opposed to thin description” (Schwandt 255)⁴⁷. A thick description:

(1) gives the context of a [text] that; (2) states the intentions and meanings that organize the [text]; (3) traces the evolution and development of the [text]; (4) presents the action as a text that can then be interpreted. A thin description simply reports facts, independent of intentions or the circumstances that surround an action. (Denzin 33)⁴⁸

Hence, thick description, by its conclusive nature, is useful in the interpretation to find the ‘truths or cultural evidence’ inside mythical stories inscribed in the selected Native American texts. Therefore, this approach is effective in interpreting and comprehending cultural structures in the myths inscribed in delimited American Indian texts. The following section gives the step by step procedure that organizes the sense of research questions regarding the methodical viewpoints of Geertz, Denzin, McNeill and Greenblatt. This study methodically manages the analysis of the texts to interpret mythical stories in Native American literary and non-literary writings. The main point of this study is ‘interpretative study of the texts’ that adds the ‘historical’, ‘biographical’, ‘situational’, ‘relational’ ‘interactional’, ‘mythistorical’ and ‘co-textual’ interpretation to the thick description of the given American Indian texts.

3.3.2. Interpretative Study of the Texts

“[T]here are a number of [textual] interpretations which make the theoretical development of [text] more than usually difficult” and confused (Geertz 91)⁴⁹. Some of them are grounded theory (Henwood and Pigeon, 1992; Strauss and Corbin, 1998), empirical phenomenology (Giorgi, 1975; Wertz, 1983), hermeneutic-interpretive research (Packer and Addison, 1989), interpretative phenomenological analysis (Smith, Jarman, Osborn, 1999), and Consensual Qualitative Research (Hill, Thompson, Williams, 1997). Therefore, this study focuses on Geertz’s ‘interpretative study of the texts’ that argues that all the texts are the social coding at the writers’ end and the critic or reader must decode the text regarding the social contexts of the texts for a good interpretation. Geertz argues that text is a semiotic entity of cultural webs “and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning” (92)⁵⁰. Thus, according to him, the interpretive study of a text focuses on the symbols of culture inside the texts – social and the personal experiences – because “the object of study is one thing and the study of it another” (Geertz 92)⁵¹. The interpretation of a text can be a more objective approach as it involves researchers into the contexts of text in which it emerged. “To look at the symbolic dimensions of social action art, religion, ideology, science, law, morality, common sense is not to turn away from the existential dilemmas of life for some empyrean realm of de-emotionalized forms; it is to plunge into the midst of them” (Geertz 29)⁵². Such a view of how a text function in an interpretive study suggests the role of culture in human life.

To follow Geertz’s concept of interpretation, this study conceives that the selected Native American texts are the semiotic entities of Native American culture within which they emerged. It focuses on the interpretation of these cultural symbols rather than the facts-put-together that, according to Geertz, are arbitrary and complexly coated. Therefore, a factual description is not good because each fact overlaps the other and develops and challenges the first one, simultaneously. To interpret the American Indian delimited texts as semiotic entities of American Indian culture, this study adds Denzin’s ‘thick interpretation’ that introduces eleven different types of thick description: micro-historical, macro-historical, biographical, situational, relational, interactional, intrusive, incomplete, glossed, purely descriptive, and descriptive interpretive. This study does not use all eleven types of the thick descriptive, however, for a brief

note to review all eleven types of ‘thick description’ the interested readers are referred to Denzin’s 91-98. To the thick description of Native American literary and non-literary texts, the present study uses five of Denzin’s typologies: historical, biographical, situational, relational and interactional. On the other hand, to enhance the thick description this study also includes McNeill’s concept of mythistory and Greenblatt’s ideology of co-textualization.

3.3.2.1. Historical Thick Description

In historical thick description, Denzin considers the past as a source of the understanding present. According to him, this “attempts to bring an earlier historical moment or experience alive in vivid detail” (Denzin 92)⁵³ to understand the present practices. The contemporary investigation of the subject of study and outcomes of other fields can also be related to the topic under study. Thus, the analysis and interpretation of old stories and reports also serve as the context (history) of the text. The historical thick description describes the foreknowledge or pre-understanding that is rooted in the experiences of someone. To follow the historical thick description, this study brought the experiences of the authors of selected Native American literary and non-literary texts, on one hand, and the past reports and works of eyewitnesses – missionaries, travelers, company employees, common white people who settled nearby reservations, merchants, musicians, historians, anthropologists, sociologists, musicians and painters –, on the other, to understand Native American past in present consciousness. This study, in chapters 4 and 5 focused on the experiences of Deloria, Erdrich and Silko as American Indians and modern to understand the myths in their writings.

In chapter 4, this study, using the historical thick description, relates the understanding of the cultural presentation of *Tracks* (1988) and *Ceremony* (1977) with the past experiences of Louise Erdrich and Leslie Marmon Silko. This study related their geographical belongings to their works to understand the cultural presentation of their novels. For instance, this study brought the mixed-blood parentage of Erdrich and Silko to understand their presentation of mixed blood characters in *Tracks* (1988) and *Ceremony* (1977) to define their grip on the cultural range of Chippewa Anishinaabe and Laguna Pueblo. Erdrich maternally refers herself to Chippewa, Anishinaabe – a hunting patrilineal tribe on Mountain Turtle reservation of North Dakota, situated about the Canadian borderline whereas Silko paternally refers herself as

Laguna, Pueblo, an agricultural matrilineal tribe of Southwest at the Mexican border. The character and settings of *Tracks* (1988) and *Ceremony* (1977) show the impact of native expression on their authors. On the other hand, historically/culturally, Anishinaabe (Erdrich's clan) was directly imperialized for its rich sources as compare to Pueblo (Silko's tribe), which was a deserted land (Castillo 288)⁵⁴. To follow the historical thick description, this study explained why the cultural conflicts visible in *Tracks* (1988) did not manifest in *Ceremony* (1977).

Similarly, in chapter 5, this study discusses how Deloria makes the accounts of American Indians' spiritual practices credible and intelligible to his audience who shared enough of his outlook and assumptions to accept what he said. This study brought Deloria's experience as an American Indian and as a modern scholar to explain his efforts of mythistory. It related his childhood in Bennett County South Dakota in his cultural norms and mythical stories with his beliefs in unusual happenings (Deloria xix, emphasis added)⁵⁵. In this regard, this study explained his great concern and grip on American Indian myths to understand his presentation of American Indian history. On the other hand, this study brought his experience in history, politics, law, and education to show his experience to document the reported events and stories of American Indian culture, and therefore, explained how his critical understanding to the "reports from eyewitnesses or unimpeachable sources hidden in diaries, biographies, commentaries, and scholarly writings" (Deloria xviii)⁵⁶ are valid. The historical thick description explains that Deloria's presentation of Native American culture in *God is Red* (1973) and *The World We Used to Live In* (2006) is not, like Euro-American scholars, based on second-hand knowledge rather on his firsthand experience of the American Indian rituals.

In chapter six, the historical thick description of this study brought the past reports of missionaries, travelers, company employees, white settlers, merchants, historians, anthropologists, sociologists, musicians and painters documented in *God is Red* (197) and *The World We Used to Live In* (2006) to understand the American Indian past in present consciousness. This study related different stories and reports of practitioners and eyewitnesses with each other because the collection of these stories establish the cultural embedment that was characterized in the Native American pre-Columbian societies (Deloria xx)⁵⁷. To present the analysis of past stories, this study focused on the stories and reports of 'tent shake ceremony'

‘seed grass ceremony’ ‘rain dance ceremony’ ‘corn grown ceremony’, sweat lodge, Mother Earth, powers of medicine wo/men and other supernatural happenings in Native American community to lead the researchers to the critical research of American Indian stories because such aboriginal stories are the only knowledge to understand the pre-history or unmapped civilizations and dogmas.

3.3.2.2. Biographical Thick Description

Denzin’s “biographical thick description focuses on an individual or a relationship, typically in a situation” (Denzin 108)⁵⁸. This type of thick description locates the characters within their social structure – rituals and surroundings – and describes what they do, depicts their social features, and gives them a brief history. To follow the biographical thick description, this study, in chapters 4, 5 and 6 located the American Indian characters, medicine wo/men, or tribes within their social structure. For instance, in chapters 4 and 6, this study focuses on various characters, medicine wo/men, or clans inscribed in *Tracks* (1977) and *Ceremony* (1977) or their relationships in different situations to interpret the Native American supernatural world. For instance, this study focused on individuals of different clans like Pillager, Nanapush, Puyat, Kashpaw, Morrissey, Lazarre in *Tracks* (1988) in different situations or their relationship with each other and with their surrounding nature to describe the American Indians belief system. Similarly, in *Ceremony* (1977) this study discussed the Pueblo community in a drought, and therefore, explained their affiliation with their land and norms. In chapter 5 and 6, this study located power of the medicine wo/men of Pawnee, Sioux, Blackfeet of Montana, Creeks, Couteau de Prairie, Apache, Lummi, Powamuy or Katsina, Cheyenne, Ute and Navajo in the vision quest, the sweat lodge ceremony, the sun dance, the rain dance, the spirit lodge ceremony, etc. (Deloria xiii, emphasis added)⁵⁹. On the other hand, this study focused on their relationship with “bear, wolf, eagle, buffalo, and snake [to get powers] such as healing, making prophecies, or offering protection [in] dangers” (Deloria xiii, emphasis added)⁶⁰ to describe the social features of American Indian community.

3.3.2.3. Situational Thick Description

Usually, a biographical thick description connects an individual to a situation; therefore, this study also applied Denzin's situational thick description to analyze Native American literary and non-literary delimited texts. A situational thick description, according to Denzin, locates a person in a situation. It also depicts the surrounding objects of a society "and locates them with other objects [to] create a visual picture of a situation" (Denzin 109)⁶¹. In chapters 4, 5 and 6, this study located various characters in different situations and depicted the natural objects, including time, place, the social atmosphere, the milieu and their correlation to visualize a situation. This visualization describes the social and cultural embedment of American Indian society. For instance, in chapters 4 and 6, this study focused on the visual detail of the situations in *Tracks* (1988) and *Ceremony* (1977) in which the characters are confronted with other characters, creatures, or surrounding objects. For instance, this study visualized Fleur Pillager's medicine collections: "Plant after plant! Some were shaped like man's forked legs and some were rolled in balls. Some were wrapped tight in reeds and some were strewn about, careless, gathered from the woods or shore or the bottom of the lake" (Erdrich 156)⁶². This explains her knowledge of the healing power of various plants, on one hand, and the role of the medicine wo/men in the American Indian community, on the other. In chapter 5 and 6, this study located the medicine wo/men of various tribes in the situations of "*sun dance, the spirit lodge, the vision quest, the sweat lodge, use of sacred stones, and other rituals*" (Deloria xiii, emphasis added)⁶³ and visualized the detail of the objects of these ceremonies to understand the cultural embedment.

3.3.2.4. Relational Thick Description

According to Denzin, "[a] thick relational description brings a relationship alive" (109)⁶⁴. The actions or statements of the participants of the relationship describe the nature of their relationship. For instance, various actions of marital partners show the nature of their relationship: if a woman began throwing all books of her spouse out the window, it was not the books she threw out (Denzin 109)⁶⁵. To follow situational thick description, this study focused on the relationship of various characters, medicine wo/men, or tribes with each other or with other creatures, spirits, or surrounding objects, in chapters 4, 5 and 6, to understand the living

ways and behavior of American Indian in past. For instance, in chapter 4, the relationship of Fleur Pillager with the lake, Chippewa and different families explained the nature of medicine wo/men and the viewpoints of other community members about medicine wo/men. For instance, this study discussed her relationship with lake-water that made even her husband, Eli Kashpaw, afraid of her relationship with Misshepesu and expecting a child “with a split back tail” (Erdrich 108)⁶⁶. This study brought the relationship of various persons, medicine wo/men and clans to understand how the American Indian community lived. In chapter 5, the relational thick description explained how Native Americans were keen observers of the natural world as they could quickly understand the response of birds and animals to the disturbances in nature, and therefore, became ready to face the problem. This study focused on their relationship with the weather, moon, sun, periodic rains and winds that provided the basic understanding of anecdotal beliefs in the Native American community.

3.3.2.5. Interactional Thick Description

Relational thick description, according to Denzin, re-makes a slice of interactional practice as “it includes dialogue and interaction” (110)⁶⁷. Therefore, this study also follows Denzin’s “interactional thick descriptions that focus[es] on interactions between two personas” (110)⁶⁸ to understand the Native American traditional belief system. The interaction reveals the nature of the relationship of two persons, groups, classes and tribes in the present and future, and therefore, describes the nature of a community, society or tribal world. This study applied the interactional thick description in chapters 4, 5 and 6 to understand the nature of the American Indian world inscribed in American Indian delimited texts. For instance, in chapter 4, this study focused on the strong interaction of Fleur Pillager with other families of Chippewa and with its surroundings to understand American Indians' matriarchal society and their affiliation with their land. This study focused how Chippewa and Pillagers influenced each other as the absence of one weakens the other: when Fleur came back from Argues, “[t]hings hidden were free to walk” (Erdrich 34, 35)⁶⁹; and when the lumber company cleared the land, it made her leave the place. After the people knew of her departure, they accepted their decline (Erdrich 225)⁷⁰. In chapter 4, the interaction of various medicine wo/men or common persons with each other or with animals and plants explain their ways of being. This study discussed how they adopted a respectful way: “that they must ask permission when they cut trees, take birch bark, and reach an agreement with

any plant to be harvested for a ceremony” (Deloria 128)⁷¹. Similarly, this study focused on the interaction of people and the medicine man in a dry spell or drought or a havoc storm or in a competition (Deloria 138,139)⁷². This study focused on this type of thick description to explore the interaction of the American Indians with their surroundings, their ceremonies and with other persons.

These ways of thick descriptions are supported each other, therefore, systematically organized the detail of Native American histories or historicity inscribed in Native American delimited literary and non-literary texts to understand the history of Native Americans. The following table shows the connection between above-discussed ways of thick description.

Table 3.1

Form	Content and Focus				
	Historical	Biographical	Situational	Relational	Interactional
1. Historical Description	Always	Possible	Possible	Possible	Yes
2. Biographical Description	Yes	Always	Yes	Possible	Yes
3. Situational Description	Yes	Possible	Always	Possible	Possible
4. Relational Description	Yes	Possible	Possible	Always	Yes
5. Interactional Description	Possible	Seldom	Yes	Yes	Always

Note: **Yes** = content and focus will be present. **Always** = content and focus must be present. **Possible** = content and focus can be present. **Seldom** = content and focus may be present.

The connections show that these ways of thick descriptions mostly reflect the contents and focus of each other that was helpful to a thick description of Native American myths inscribed in Native American given texts.

3.3.2.6. Mythistorical Thick Description

The mythistorical thick description is derived from William McNeill's concept of mythistory as a method can be derived from theoretical concepts (Griffin 100)⁷³. Mythistory is an effort to find out the history or 'truths' of a given society. William McNeill argues that it is difficult to find out the truth as the historians have had different opinions about a single reality. For McNeill, the best way for historians to find the truth is to "bend their minds as critically and carefully as they can to the task of making their account of public affairs credible as well as intelligible to an audience that shares enough of their particular outlook and assumptions to accept what they say" (8)⁷⁴. McNeill calls this way mythistory. To the retrieval of 'truths' in the mythical stories inscribed in Native American delimited texts, this study derived mythistory as a method and brought the interdisciplinary critical and scientific approaches "to perceive [Native American] historical myths as true insofar as they constitute that 'web of meaning' by which alone the members of [American Indian] community can form and sustain their association" (Mali 87)⁷⁵.

This study, in chapter 5, critically brought the critical and careful efforts of Vine Deloria Jr. to support the Native American mythical stories as the 'truths' of Native American past. The step-by-step method this study proposes to understand American Indian history is as follows: this study focused how Deloria: a) compared the Native American mythical stories with the Biblical stories to make a sense of the supernatural elements of American Indian stories with reference to the Biblical stories; b) criticized the western concept that history is a western invention to prove that this concept promoted the colonial agenda to derail colonized history; c) submitted the reports of the common people of white community that settled in or nearby reservations or tribes and that verified the different ceremonies; d) referred the works of non-native historians, scholars, musicians, anthropologists and painters who deliberately visited Native American tribes to understand the 'truths' of Native American traditional ways of being; e) discussed, critically or 'truthfully', the stories, reports and the criticism of other scholars to explain Native American

past-truths; f) unveiled the forged presentation of the contemporary ceremonies and other spiritual practices to highlight those who performed ceremonies for money making; g) concretized the ideas of ‘mother earth’, ‘medicine man’, ‘rain dance’, ‘sun dance’, ‘vision quest’ and other rituals according to modern understanding of ecology or environmental issues to explain the importance of surrounding nature in modern industrial world; h) explored how the ceremonies are based on the systematic observation, measurement, and experiment, and the formulation, testing, and modification of that observation that is the procedure of modern scientific method; i) argued the biological conditions of pre-Columbian time that were helpful to perform the ceremonies; j) discussed the knowledge of medicine wo/men of human anatomy – the scientific knowledge of human body parts – and of medicines formation and prove how it was better than the modern scientific exploration in medicine field; k) explained the interspecies relationship by countering different psychologists; l) explained the cultural representation of stories and their practices with reference to the aboriginal practices of historians. This mythistorical thick description of delimited texts explains how Deloria presents American Indian history as credible and intelligible and retrieves the histories or historicity inscribed in Native American non-literary delimited texts. However, this way of thick description may question the alignment of the scholars with a variety of experiences as to how this research in Pakistan can argue the mythistory of Native American [North American] writers. The Spivak’s ‘strategic essentialism’ can be seen as a strategy whereby differences within a group of similar experiences (I, the researcher, and the subject of my research [Native Americans] have a shared experience of colonialization) are provisionally moderated and harmony among them anticipated for achieving the objectives (Gross, 1985)⁷⁶.

3.3.2.7. Co-Textual Thick Description

The co-textual thick description is derived from Stephen Greenblatt’s views of co-textualization. Greenblatt, even with the immense popularization of new historicism as a theory, tries to “situate it as a practice – a practice rather than a doctrine” (1)⁷⁷. Greenblatt insists on the interdisciplinary approach where he relocates the literary text of a time among the non-literary discourses of a similar time to understand a better sense of history. Here, non-literary discursive practices stand for the official reports, “official documents, private papers, newspaper clippings, and so forth” (3)⁷⁸. This study follows Greenblatt argument that neither history nor literature is

merely a single component but a sum of myriads connections of discursive practices that reflects the histories of their time, thus, the juxtaposition of literature and history, therefore, makes the sense of these histories as both are its ‘agents’. Therefore, the co-textual thick description of this study, in chapter 6, juxtaposed the myths inscribed in Native American literature, *Tracks* (1988) and *Ceremony* (1977), and material – official documented reports, private documented reports, news reports, etc. of historical/cultural practices – assembled in *God Is Red* (1973) and *The World We Used to Live In* (2006) to understand a better sense of American Indian history. For instance, this study juxtaposed a similar description of various ceremonies (Deloria xiii, emphasis added)⁷⁹ and interspecies relationship with (Deloria xiii, emphasis added)⁸⁰ to understand the truths of the American Indian past.

3.4. Bridge between Methodology and Method

The methodology/the theoretical framework of this research is Greenblatt’s concept of the retrieval of history whereas the research method of this study is ‘thick description’. The rationale to choose the ‘thick description’ is that it is systematic and methodologically clear, and more important, is rooted in the theory. The relationship between methodology and method can be illustrated as follows:

Methodology/Theory	Method/Practice
History and literature are not the author’s private property but the production of their historicity. On the other hand, history and literature are subjective interpretations of their histories and are interpreted by critics according to their present consciousnesses. The arguments reject the traditional approaches of criticism that review them ultimately.	Historical/Biographical/ Relational/Situational/Interactional
Text is a way to preserve history because of the impermanence of beings.	Historical
All the literary and non-literary texts are the	Historical/Biographical/

production and producer of cultural norms, therefore, literature like history is also a source of history of the time in which it was produced.	Relational/Situational/Interactional
Correspondingly, history like all other disciplines of knowledge is a subjective approach and has its own fictionality, thus, cannot understand the better sense of the past.	Historical/Mythistorical
Thus, the parallel study of literary texts and the non-literary texts of the same period is the credible to understand a better sense of the history of the time in which these texts were produced.	Co-textual/Historical

Table 3.2

3.5. Conclusion

The correspondence of theory (methodology) and practice (method) concretizes the theorization of the research argument, research objectives and research questions. The correlation between research methodology and research method is explicit as the methodical contents support the theoretical arguments to build up their position. On the other hand, this study derives some of its methodical contents from theorists to arrange the analysis of mythical stories inscribed in Native American literary and non-literary. This also shows the integration between theory and practice that makes this study that is itself a form of inscription complete, refined, or articulated. Every chapter of the analysis gradually builds up on Greenblatt's viewpoint of the retrieval of [Native American] history. To follow Greenblatt's perspectives, this study challenges the stability of the Euro-American perception of American Indian history and theorizes how co-textual analysis of the mythical stories inscribed in American Indian literary and non-literary text can construct American Indian history in which these stories emerged. "The analysis [is] systematic and organized, so the researcher/critics can easily locate information the data set and can trace provisional results of the analysis back to the context of the data" (Elliott and Timulak 152)⁸¹. As "[a] good interpretation of anything – poem, a person, a history, a ritual,

an institution, a society – takes us into the heart of that of which it is the interpretation” (Geertz 18)⁸². Above and in the three chapters of analysis, this study has arranged several examples of what it regards as a good thick description.

Note: The terms and words in italics in the chapters of analysis and conclusion mean that they have been italicized to underline the parameters of Native American history or social and cultural embedment. These are derived from the proper jargon using by Greenblatt, McNeill and Deloria. Except in quotations, where if italicized, the allusion has been qualified with an additional phrase like ‘emphasis added’. Moreover, this study has synonymously used phrases like ‘Native Americans’, ‘Red Indians’ ‘American Indians’, ‘Natives’, ‘natives’ and ‘Aboriginal Americans’. On the other hand, words like history, historicity, histories and truths are also used as synonyms. The synonymous phrases or words may be confusing but the context and co-text clarify the meaning.

CHAPTER 4

HISTORICITY IN NATIVE AMERICAN FICTION

A literary text cannot be considered apart from the society that produced it: a literary text is another form of social significance which is produced by the society and in return *is active in reshaping the culture of that society*. (Doğan 24, emphasis added)¹

Literature, Stephen Greenblatt argues, in all its forms, is the reflection of its contemporary social order and, therefore, becomes a significant knowledge of the past in which it was produced (4)². The historicity or social and cultural embedment of a society can be traced in its literature. This study, in this chapter, therefore, explains the historicity of the Native American literature. This chapter is divided into two sections: 1) Native American cultural tracks in *Tracks* (1988); 2) a cultural web of ceremonies in *Ceremony* (1977). These sections define ways how Erdrich and Silko describe the Native American historicity. Erdrich and Silko use indigenous and modern techniques in *Tracks* (1988) and *Ceremony* (1977), respectively, to present the social and cultural tracks of the Native American society. Given the retrieval of these social and cultural tracks embedded in *Tracks* (1988) and *Ceremony* (1977), this study emphasizes on Erdrich and Silko's techniques of 1) oral tradition; 2) magic realism; 3) idea of time and space, and argues how the two representative novels of Native American fiction — *Tracks* (1988) and *Ceremony* (1977) — reflect Native American historicity in which they were produced.

The Native American literature explains not only the individuality of Native American traditional ways of living but also the influence of Western culture on Native American social norms. This cohesion of cultural presentation reveals the truths of Native American contemporary society. Defining the 'cohesion' between the Native American spiritual world and Euro-American material world, Native American writers use oral traditional and modern techniques to express the integration of human and animal worlds. Native American writers claim that the fusion of supernatural and natural happenings is a routine in Native American communities. The supernatural elements in Native American fiction and myths "are an intimate

part of ordinary daily activities because they tell of the drama that gives meaning to the ordinary” (Jahner 214)³.

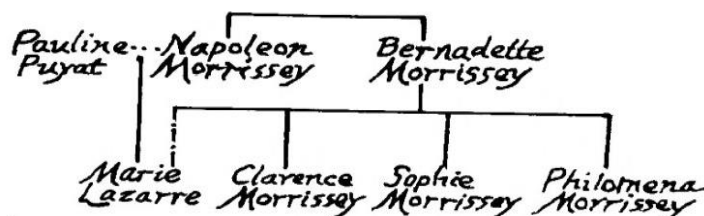
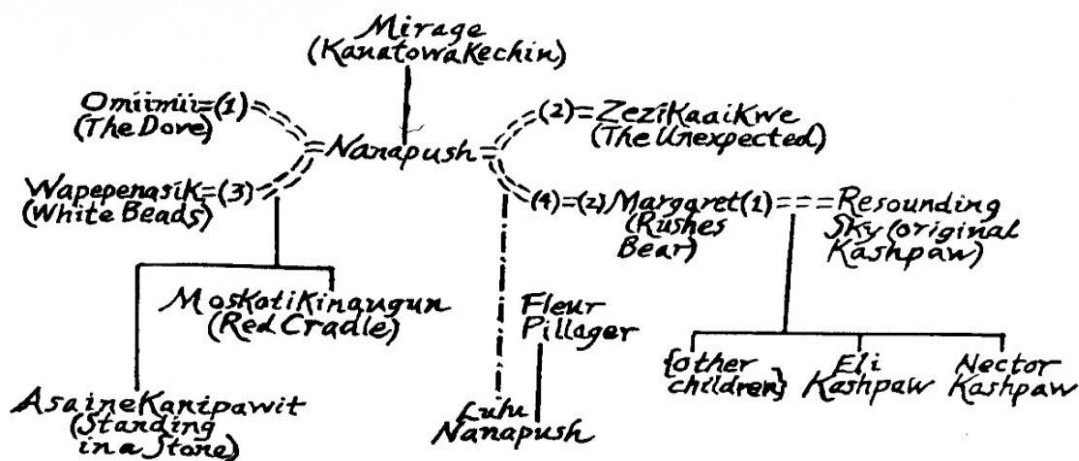
Exploring the cohesion of spiritual and natural elements of Native American society, this section is delimited to two novels: Louise Erdrich’s *Tracks* (1988) and Leslie Marmon Silko’s *Ceremony* (1977). The two female writers belong to different geographic areas of the US. Also, Louise Erdrich is mixed blood Anishinaabe: her mother was French-Chippewa and her father was German-American. The characters in her novels are Native Americans, mixed parentage and Americans that define the cultural range of Chippewa, Anishinaabe. Erdrich refers to herself as Chippewa, Anishinaabe — a hunting patrilineal tribe on the Turtle Mountain Reservation of North Dakota, situated on the Canadian border. Similarly, Leslie Marmon Silko, a Laguna Pueblo, also has mixed parentage: her mother, Mary Virginia Leslie, was part Cherokee and part Anglo, and her father, Leland Howard Marmon, was a mixed-race Laguna Pueblo Indian. This mixed ancestry reflects in her twofold cultural approach of *Ceremony* (1977) as the characters of her novel are mixed-blood and the natives of the Pueblo tribe. Silko refers to herself as Laguna, Pueblo, an agricultural matrilineal tribe residing on the Mexican-US border. Both novels are narrated in the backdrop of the writers’ tribes. Historically and culturally, the Anishinaabe (Erdrich’s tribe) have been more affected by colonization than the Pueblo (Silko’s tribe) which succeeded in sustaining its communal identity during the transition period (Castillo 288)⁴. Erdrich, thus, demonstrates cultural invasion in more expressive ways than Silko and uses dual narratives to express the cultural range of her society. Pueblo is an agricultural tribe of the Southwest, near Mexico, and was never a reservation.

The delimitation to both female-authored novels is done to highlight the vital importance of women in Native American cultural and literary contexts (Allen 140)⁵. In the oral tradition, Native American women enjoy more power than men and in Native American myths; women are believed to be the source of energy, at one with Mother Earth. Their wholeness in Native American stories and society makes them a valid source of aboriginal culture. Native American female-authored fiction upholds the storytelling practice that connects the Native American generations. The women characters in *Tracks* (1988) and *Ceremony* (1977) are the narrators of the stories that differentiate them from the Western literary characterization that is frequently patriarchal.

Tracks (1988) and *Ceremony* (1977) define the cultural range of American territory as the settings of both the novels describe the nature of the Native American tribal belt from the Canadian border to the Mexican border. This range confirms the multi-ethnicity of the Native American tribal world (Coltelli 4)⁶. This cultural belt from *Ceremony* (1977) to *Tracks* (1988) is twofold: Native and Western. The Native American cultural perspective follows the oral traditional beliefs whereas the Western perspective of Native American culture is based on scientific realism. This section, therefore, relates the oral traditional techniques of storytelling and the modern technique of magic realism to explore the cohesion of the natural and spiritual elements of Native American society.

4.1. Native American Cultural Tracks in *Tracks* (1988)

Tracks (1988) is the third loop of the quartet: *Love Medicine* (1984 – revised edition 1993), *The Beet Queen* (1986), *Tracks* (1988) and *The Bingo Palace* (1994) but given the chronological happenings, it comes first in the tetralogy. The novel is an (in-)dependent unit regarding its characterization and plot. The story encompasses the culture of the Chippewa reservation from 1912 to 1924. Hence, the characters are defined in a family-tree that describes the culture beyond the time range of twelve years.



LEGEND

=== Traditional Ojibwe marriage

..... Sexual affair or liaison

| Children born from any of the above unions

:-:-:- Adopted children

(Erdrich iv)⁷.

This family-tree, like Native American culture and stories, grows in the other novels of the tetralogy. The twigs of the family tree and the stories in the tetralogy “[a]re all attached, and ... hooked from one side to the other, mouth to tail” (Erdrich 46)⁸ and continue the ancient cultural norms. The native and mixed-blood characters of the family-tree classify the individuality and the hybridity of the Chippewa community.

To express this duality of culture Erdrich uses dual techniques: the oral traditional techniques of storytelling to explain the individuality of Native American culture and magic

realism to express cultural hybridity. In the oral tradition, the multi-layered stories described by multiple protagonists frame the Native American beliefs of the spiritual practices whereas, in magic realism, the multifaceted description of the acculturation underlines the cohesion of the natural and spiritual happenings. However, Euro-American scholars relate the term ‘magical realism’ with the presentation of mystical elements framed by the writer’s imagination; on the other hand, what is imagination for Euro-American intellectuals is a reality for Native American writers. Therefore, Erdrich argues that the magical episodes of *Tracks* (1988) are not the imagination of her mind as “the events people pick out as magical don't seem unreal to [her]. Unusual, yes” (Chavkin and Chavkin 221)⁹. Both Erdrich and Silko use magical realism as a genre for their cultural demonstration to encounter misconceptions about their aboriginal history. Their belonging to Anishinaabe and Pueblo reflects in *Tracks* and *Ceremony* explains that they are the ‘characters’ of their own scripting and do not tell hearsay. In their narratives, time moves forward and backward, pre-history and history are merged, and the present and the past are seen as operative in the same moment. This description defines the locus of Native American culture. In their texts, “stories and actualities are merged so that holding to a difference/binary between myth and history, ritual and episode, symbol and utensil are made impossible (Tausig 360)¹⁰. Thus, the main argument of this section is that what is mythical or magical for the European scholars is the truths / cultural embedment for the American Indians as the spiritual happenings in *Tracks* (1988) are the truths of Erdrich’s inheritance. She proposes not just a new strategy of interpretation for the text itself, but also a way of reading the text back into the cross-cultural imagination. She allows us “to perceive realism and fantasy as a threshold into evolution and alchemy. That threshold is a component of the "mental bridge" within and across cultures” (Harris 69, 70)¹¹

4.1.1. Erdrich’s Oral Approach in Storytelling

The oral tradition is the locus of Native American literature that makes it a separate entity in the literary canon because

[t]he oral tradition, from which the contemporary poetry and fiction take their significance and authenticity, has, since contact with white people, been a major force in Indian resistance. It has *kept the people conscious of their tribal identity, their spiritual*

traditions, and their connection to the land and her creatures. Contemporary poets and writers take their cue from the oral tradition, to which they return continuously for theme, symbol, structure, and motivating impulse. (Allen 53, emphasis added)¹²

Erdrich's storytelling of *Tracks* (1988) is also grounded in oral tradition. The story of the novel is not only complete in itself but also continues in the other novels of her tetralogy. The frame-stories or interconnection of various stories is the storytelling technique of oral tradition. Hence an oral traditional "pattern runs right through her novels, one in which the circle is all and life operates as a kind of mysterious or magic revolving wheel" (Lee 150)¹³. Using this pattern of storytelling, Erdrich involves her readers in the story in the technique of oral tradition where the storyteller narrates the events in a way that involves the audience in the story (Manley 121)¹⁴. Erdrich erases the differences between audience and readers by mounting a sense of mutual experience as she does not leave her readers in isolation and makes them feel a part of her magical world (Iser 282)¹⁵.

The plot of oral stories follows the Native American social structure. The Athapaskan Indians who live around Tyonek, Alaska, for instance, relate stories from a social perspective: "In their language, there is no word for "I" – only "we" (Deborah 41)¹⁶. In Native American society, the 'we' perspective defines the strong connection of the individual with the community. The story of *Tracks* (1988), interestingly, begins with a 'we' perspective: "We started dying before the snow" (Erdrich 1)¹⁷. This 'we' is the collective voice of the Chippewa community that takes a shift to 'I' in the very next paragraph: "In the years I'd passed, I saw more change than in a hundred upon a hundred before" (Erdrich 2)¹⁸. The dramatic move from the community viewpoint to an individual viewpoint describes the shock of genocide, as the individual viewpoint is that of Nanapush who is the only surviving voice of the Chippewa community in that section of the reservation. This narrative move also explains the shift from a collective oral tradition to an individual written one and from a Native American perspective to a Euro-American perspective.

Tracks (1988) follows the oral traditional method of multiple narratives. The multiple voices explain the different perspectives of the indigenous community. The dual narrative of *Tracks* (1988) interweaves the perspective of an old storyteller, Nanapush, with that of a young

converted, Pauline Puyat. Chippewa Nanapush is an old male storyteller who has received Christian education but turns to his native practices, whereas Pauline is a young mixed-blood woman, born and raised in the Chippewa culture and one who converts to Christianity. Both tell the same story according to their position in the tribe, showing some conflicts in their narrations. Nanapush calls her “a born liar” (Erdrich 53)¹⁹. Nanapush seems more valid as he is a veteran who knows the Chippewa community better than Pauline, is the savior of the last Pillager and tells the story from the tribal perspective; also, he is educated and knows the nature of treaties.

Following the oral traditional style of storytelling, Erdrich’s narrators do not describe a hearsay tale as both Nanapush and Pauline are parts of their narrative. Nanapush tells his tale to his granddaughter, Lulu, who is a supposed custodian of his story as Erdrich figures her prominently in other novels also. She is an implied reader who listens to Nanapush’s story simultaneously with the reader. This strategy makes a reader as a listener (Rainwater 145)²⁰. Telling the story to his granddaughter and readers simultaneously defines the purpose of Nanapush’s storytelling. He cannot “live so long, shown so much of death, had to squeeze so many stories in the corner of [his] brain ... [and] was the last one left, [who] saved [him]self by starting a story” (Erdrich 46)²¹. Being the last custodian of the Chippewa stories – the embodiment of Chippewa culture — he thought he should share it with his people. Since his reliability is not questionable, his narrative confirms the insight of the Chippewa community. Unlike Nanapush, Pauline does not narrate her story to any listener though she too uses the ‘we’ perspective. But, for whom does her ‘we’ stand and to whom does she address it? It might be the voice of those Native Americans who lost their lands and accepted white norms to survive in a colonial community, or might be of mixed blood community who is “in-between” the native and white cultural norms (Bhabha xxx)²². “Because she was unnoticeable, homely if it must be said, Pauline schemed to gain attention by telling odd tales that created damage” (Erdrich 39)²³.

4.1.2. Erdrich’s Magic Realism in Storytelling

Both Nanapush and Pauline narrate the daily-routine-beliefs of the Native American community that are unacceptable in the modern world. The daily routine of the aboriginal community is interwoven in the ancient belief system of the oral tradition that becomes the ultimate truth of the local community of America. Erdrich uses magic realism to present spiritual

and natural elements cohesively to help achieve a synthesis of Chippewa's magic-realistic world. She uses the technique to explain the native natural world that is supernatural for the rest of the natives. This chapter explains how she uses the technique of magic realism to derive the social and cultural history of the Native American world.

4.1.2.1. Native American [Super]Natural World

Erdrich uses magic realism as a tool to define the coexistence of the natural and supernatural elements in the Native American spiritual world. Both Nanapush and Pauline define the fusion of the natural and supernatural elements on similar levels (Genette 72)²⁴ that explain the the Native American (super-)natural world. The beginning of the novel unfolds Nanapush's Anishinaabe memories of his deceased family. Most of them died of sickness caused by the consumption, received from intruders during the winter of 1912. The realistic details of the ailment and its results are merged with the Chippewa three-day death road and mythical stories of the ghosts that reside in the clumps of trees.

The narrator's discourse reveals that the Chippewa talk with living creatures and dead with equal facility and no one asks for the rationality of this manner of communication. Similarly, the dead follow the living for their bad behavior during their life. For instance, the death of Pukwan, the policeman, according to Nanapush, is the result of his misbehaving with the dead bodies of the Pillager family; although incinerating Pillager's property was not his own decision but that of the government agency that made the police burn down the properties of all who had died of consumption, he ignores the traditional ways while burying the dead bodies of those who belong to the powerful clans: "He carefully nailed up the official quarantine sign, and then, without removing the bodies, he tried to burn down the house" (Erdrich 3)²⁵. The unhappy spirits save the house from the fire. There is no credible clarification of how the Pillager's shack is saved from fire but the belief of the native community does not need clarification from Nanapush about the power of the Pillagers. Thus, instead of explaining the incident, he informs the readers about Pukwan's miserable death. Pukwan "came home, crawled into bed, and took no food from that moment until his last breath passed" (Erdrich 4)²⁶. Erdrich presents the different incidents in a causative way that the death of the policeman leads to the power of the healers'

course. The mode of narration is spontaneous, and the assimilation of natural and supernatural worlds is described convincingly.

Another example of *spiritual powers* within the Chippewa community is Fleur Pillager, the medicine woman and one of the last two Pillager survivors. She is the metaphor of Native American waning culture since she is forced to sell her lands but refuses to leave the place. Her presence on the Chippewa reservation makes people afraid and simultaneously satisfied: they are afraid of her magical powers and satisfied at her presence against the lumber company that is busily grabbing their lands. Chippewa and Pillagers influence each other: the absence of one weakens the other. For instance, when Fleur comes back from Argus, “[t]he dust on the reservation stirred. Things hidden were free to walk” (Erdrich 34, 35)²⁷; and when the lumber company clears the land, it makes her leave the place. “After [the people] knew Fleur was gone, and there was no telling when and if she would ever return” (Erdrich 225)²⁸, they accept their decline as the community believes that the lumber company could only be stopped by her. The people relate the company’s heavy loss in the form of the mysterious deaths of its employees with Fleur: “One was killed that way when two oxen lurched eagerly in their traces, and the wood fell from the unsecured hatch. A white man lost an eye when a splinter of wood spun off his axe. Two others perished, fallen from the lake barge” (Erdrich 217)²⁹. The nature of the employees’ deaths or sufferings is causative, but the timing of the incidents strengthens their belief in the power of the Pillagers.

In *Tracks* (1988), Fleur’s involvement in various mythic matters refers to *the ancient belief system* of the Anishinaabe community. For instance, the community believes that whenever Fleur bathes in the lake she becomes the bride of Misshepeshu, the lake monster, who takes her into the deep waters of the lake. When Fleur was fifteen she was found unconscious on the lakeshore; no one dared to touch her “dull dead gray [body] but when George Many Woman bent to look closer, he saw her chest move. Then her eyes spun open, clear black agate, and she looked at him. ‘You take my place,’ she hissed” (Erdrich 11)³⁰. The community believes that George Many Woman, a local man, was chosen to replace her on the death road and he would die instead of Fleur. The concept is hard to believe but the subsequent death of Many Woman persuades readers about the prophecy: in the “tin bathtub ... he slipped, got knocked out, and breathed water while his wife stood in the other room frying breakfast” (Erdrich 11)³¹. Similarly,

whenever she is saved from drowning in the lake of Matchimanito the saviors become victims of Misshepesu's wrath. The two men who saved her from drowning, when she was a child, "disappeared. The first wandered off and the other, Jean Hat, got himself run over by his own surveyor's cart" (Erdrich 10)³². Here, Fleur's magical powers – her affiliation with natural and supernatural worlds, with water and with its monster, Misshepesu – are defined in a manner to make the incidents of the disappearance or death of various characters realistic. According to Chippewa's belief, the connection and occurrence of these happenings one after the other makes them magical and explains the aboriginal belief system of the American community.

To make Fleur even more mysterious, Erdrich does not make her a narrator and unfolds her character through the narratives of Nanapush and Pauline. Her character is built up in the traditional belief system of the Anishinaabe community. She stays silent or hardly talks to other characters thus increasing the mysteriousness of her nature. In the Chippewa community medicine men and women do not speak about their powers; it is the community that relates their involvement in spiritual and mysterious happenings. Hence, it is Chippewa that talk about Fleur's powers to bless or harm someone, her affiliation with the lake monster, her power to make Boy Lazarre mentally sick for spying on her. The community "imagine that Fleur had caught Lazarre watching and tied him up, cut his tongue and, then sewn it in reversed" as a penalty (Erdrich 49)³³. The community beliefs are so strong that Fleur's husband, Eli Kashpaw, is also afraid of her relationship with Misshepesu and expects that she will have a child with "strange and fearful, bulging eyes, maybe with a split back tail" (Erdrich 108)³⁴.

The maturity in the spiritual belief system leads to the idea that the hurricane which blows down Argus, the place where Fleur works, is the result of her curse on the three male colleagues who raped her for disrupting and defeating them at the card-game. The curse becomes the tornado that rages through the city. "[E]verything in Argus fell apart and was turned upside down, smashed, and thoroughly wrecked" (Erdrich 28)³⁵. Such hurricanes are frequent in different parts of America. But, Fleur's involvement in producing the tornado becomes the belief when the whole community remains safe from the havoc of the tornado except the two who were involved in Fleur's rape. Even the butcher's place and meat storeroom, where they get shelter, during the storm, is not severely wrecked "for the back rooms where Fritzie and Pete lived were undisturbed. Fritzie said the dust still coated her china figures" (Erdrich 29)³⁶.

Erdrich presents the supernatural incidents realistically; one does not need the justification of the death of the men frozen in the meat freezer. The community relates it with the tornado as the outer lock of the freezer was locked, wedged down, and assumed to be the result of the “tornado's freak whim” (Erdrich 30)³⁷. On the other side, the misery of Dutch James, the third who unfortunately survives the wrath of the hurricane, confirms the magical powers of Fleur: “Dutch James rotted in the bedroom, sawed away, piece by piece. First, the doctor took one leg mostly off, then the other foot, an arm up to the elbow. His ears wilted off his head” (Erdrich 62)³⁸. Hence, the involvement of spiritual powers in the events seems to be real as the incidents are proof of the Anishinaabe belief system.

Fleur collects many *medicinal plants* for the cure of various diseases. Pauline, while searching for a medicine plant on Fleur's request, describes her medicine collection that Fleur gathered from the herbs (Erdrich 156)³⁹. Being custodians of the natural world, the native people know the healing power of various plants and animals. The Pillagers in *Tracks* (1988) are a well-known medicine family “who knew the secret ways to cure” (Erdrich 2)⁴⁰. Defining the role of medicine men and women in the Chippewa community, Erdrich describes the nature of the Native American ways of being. The people on the Chippewa reservation, visit the medicine men and women in their ailments and do not visit the Euro-American doctors (Erdrich 168)⁴¹. However, the medicine men and women do not always use their medicines for good purposes. Fleur, for instance, uses the medicine to take revenge from those whom she dislikes the most. No doubt the death of Boy Lazarre is for his mother Morrissey's bite, but “[f]or days after, Lazarre babbled and wept. Fleur was murdering him by use of bad medicine” (Erdrich 120)⁴² as a revenge of his spying on her meetings with the water monster. Similarly, Moses Pillager, Fleur's cousin, also gives Pauline a love medicine which she uses against Sophie to get sexual pleasures. The medicine men in Chippewa are more open than the medicine women: Fleur, unlike Moses, is not a community doctor. She makes these medicines only as the need arises; e.g. after her baby is born, “[s]he cooled some of the medicine in her mouth and tried to give it to the baby” (Erdrich 158)⁴³.

The use of traditional medicine is customary practice in the Native American world but the knowledge of plants as medicine is not common among the people. In *Tracks* (1988), Pauline feels helpless to cure the common diseases: “If I had known [plants] I would have purged my

own body ... I could not remember the plant's configuration, even though its use was common enough for bleeding problems" (Erdrich 132, 156)⁴⁴. Plants or animals open their medicines to those who respect nature and in return, the medicine men or women enjoy respect in their community. However this does not mean that they also enjoy good health all the time: despite being a medicine woman, Fleur herself is severely sick and needs a *ceremony* — a ritual conducted to cure a severe disease or for the retrieval of lost valuable things. Nanapush is worried about her health and requests Moses, the only trusted medicine man after Fleur, to perform a ceremony for her cure. Hence, Moses builds a traditional tent "*of blankets and skins*" (Erdrich 189, emphasis added)⁴⁵. The practice is real as all its objects are natural and found in the market but the nature of the ceremony is spiritual for it is a call to a spirit who can cure or tell the medicine for the cure of Fleur. Erdrich does not describe the presence of the ceremony-spirit but Fleur's condition improves thus hinting at the power of the ceremony.

Most of the magical or spiritual powers that medicine men and women achieve are through the *vision quests*: a practice of calling spirits through fasting. In *Tracks* (1988), Moses, even in his childhood, struggles to call the holy spirits. He "took the charcoal from his mother's hand too often. He blackened his face and *fasted for visions* until he grew gaunt, but he found no answer;" (Erdrich 36, emphasis added)⁴⁶ thus showing the nature of the vision quest that even a powerful clan like the Pillagers could not get rid of spirits so easily. Nanapush describes his experience of the vision quests showing that the common people also experience the vision quest to become medicine men or women since it gives them respect in the community. Nanapush gets a call from the spirit that tells him the secret of the plants and, hence, his family is one of the sacred clans of Chippewa. But he does not get the call immediately: "When I first dreamed the method of doing this, I got rude laughter. I got jokes about little boys playing with fire. But *the person who visited my dreams told me what plants to spread*" (Erdrich 188, emphasis added)⁴⁷. His clan is not as powerful as the Pillagers, hence, he asks the help of Moses who tells him how to follow the instruction of the spirit to burn the sickness. In the practice of the vision quest Fleur is the strongest medicine woman. The destruction of the land, however, weakens her and she, with the natural creatures, leaves the land: when Nanapush is disappointed in getting their land back from the lumber company he urges Fleur to save the land and her cold response makes him upset: "Fleur had not saved us with her dream, and it now seemed what was happening was so ordinary that it fell beyond her abilities" (Erdrich 176, 177)⁴⁸. This bond between medicine men

or women and their natural world makes them natural too. Those western scholars who negate this type of relationship between man and nature cannot understand the nature of the Native American social order.

Besides plants, medicine men and women have an association with birds and animals who offer their friendship to the people who love them most. According to Chippewa's traditional beliefs, the medicine people can talk to birds and animals and acquire their shape to get their power. In *Tracks* (1988), Erdrich reveals the *interspecies communication or transformation* to understand Anishinaabe traditional belief system. She describes the assimilation of (wo)man and animal in a sequence: 1) describes the characters' love for natural creatures; 2) presents them through animal imagery; 3) and reveals their power of interspecies communication; 4) and transformation. The step by step demonstration from natural and supernatural is to make sense of the mythical beliefs of the Chippewa society. The first glimpse of Fleur in Argus, when she is boiling animals' heads at the butcher's shop, is that of a water goddess as she wears a green dress "drenched, wrapped her like a transparent sheet. A skin of lake weed. Black snarls of veining clung to her arms. Her braids were loose, half unraveled, tied behind her neck in a thick loop" (Erdrich 22)⁴⁹. The next scene describes the fight between Fleur and Lily, one of the four persons who raped Fleur, turns the goddess image to an animal image. Lily treats her as a butcher treats an animal showing that the animal and the woman dissolve in one body (Erdrich 26)⁵⁰.

The animal imagery described in the rape scene leads to descriptions of Fleur's factual or imagined relationship with bears or wolfs. The Chippewa community claims her power of transformation into a bear at night. The people report tracks of her bare feet in the dust or snow and where they turned into claws; the people report "her chuffing cough, the bear cough" (Erdrich 12)⁵¹. The birth of Lulu clearly defines Fleur's bear-power as "the *bear heard Fleur calling, and answered* ... She sniffed the ground, rolled over in an odor that pleased her, drew up and sat on her haunches like a dog" (Erdrich 59, emphasis added)⁵². This creates tension for the other characters present at that time: Margaret thinks of Fleur's gun but she does not reach for it, she shouts at Nanapush to shoot the bear but he is empty-handed. The magical appearance of the bear creates a real situation of tension as the bear could be dangerous for all of them and especially for the child. But it does not harm anyone and disappears after Fleur gives birth to a

baby girl. Nanapush thinks it could have been a spirit bear since the bear does no one any harm. Similarly, Erdrich reveals Moses' love for animals as he lives with them. It is Father Damien who first relates that "Fleur's cousin Moses [is] alive in the woods. Numb, stupid as bears in a winter den" (Erdrich 7)⁵³. Living in the forest makes him physically fit and he feels happy among the natural creatures especially the cats. In Native American society, the association with animals becomes the identity of medicine men and women since they can identify the nature of their medicine with specific plants and animals. People recognize the smell of cats and can detect their presence. For instance, Nanapush knew the arrival of Moses with the presence of stinking cats (Erdrich 221)⁵⁴. This association of medicine men and women with natural creatures is the locus of Native American society.

4.1.3. Erdrich's Approach to Time and Space in Storytelling

The fusion of natural and supernatural – the spiritual powers of medicine men and women, the nature of the vision quests and ceremonies, the interspecies communication and transformation – in *Tracks* (1988) can be understood through Erdrich's approach to time and space. "The basis of Indian time is ceremonial while the basis of time in the industrialized west is mechanical" (Allen 150)⁵⁵. The traditional perception of time in the Native American world is *timelessness* which is based on ceremonial considerations (Allen 150)⁵⁶. The Eurocentric idea of time is systematized based on the beginning and end of a thing, event and action. Allen argues that the idea that the organized system must be a linear isolated man from his surroundings and God. Native American man and nature work in collaboration with external time. The cyclic motion of time allows man to flow in harmony with the rest of the universe.

Following this ceremonial approach of time and space, Erdrich blurs the linearity of organized events and presents them in organized fragmentation through additions, memories and interlaced visions. The plot of *Tracks* (1988) follows a linear direction as the events move from 1912 to 1924; however, the cultural variations of the Chippewa are explained with the duality of the time sequence: the chronology defines western culture whereas ceremonial proceedings explain native values. The nine chapters and their headings give chronological dates and ceremonial seasons simultaneously. To document both the western and the Native American

periods and events Erdrich uses both concepts of time, as well as languages, i.e. English and Chippewa:

Chapter four: Winter 1914–Summer 1917

Meen-geezis

Blueberry Sun (Erdrich 62).⁵⁷

The linear expression of time explains the colonial invasion.

To follow the duality of time sequence – chronological or ceremonial – the events in *Tracks* (1988) are incorporated in the *microcosmic and macrocosmic space* that intensifies the description of Chippewa lands. The physical places in *Tracks* (1988) relate with the microcosmic concept of time whereas the metaphysical creature, incidents or places are explained through the macrocosmic. For instance, the multicolored map of divided Chippewa shows the physical space of cultural assimilation and contamination: “The lines and circles of the homesteads paid up – Morrissey, Pukwan, Hat, Lazarres everywhere” (Erdrich 173)⁵⁸. On the other side, the western schools, churches or other urbanized places in Argus also explain the microcosm nature of Native American lands. However, this physical space limited in its area per se grows into a macrocosm with its connection to supernatural happenings. For instance, the places like Fleur's house at Matchimanito Lake and its surrounding woods gradually reveal their macrocosmic nature. Such mysterious locations, according to the Chippewa community, are the habitat of ghosts and other metaphysical species: “The Agent went out there, then got lost, spent the whole night [among the deceased spirits]” (Erdrich 9)⁵⁹. However, in *Tracks* (1988), the macrocosmic space depends on the microcosmic as both microcosm and macrocosm focus on the power of a single place: for the Native American land is “the only thing that lasts life to life” (Erdrich 33)⁶⁰ and that is in danger for it is dividing and selling (Wong 45)⁶¹.

Erdrich also defines the concept of time and space through the *intrapersonal communication* – to communicate with the living and non-living things through the power of the mind – of different characters with each other and with other objects of nature. Through the episode of Nanapush's spiritual help to Eli Kashpaw, in hunting a moose, Erdrich merges the macrocosmic and microcosmic worlds. The event is placed in the tough winter of 1917. The shortage of food makes Eli and Nanapush weak and Eli takes his gun and travels North to hunt.

Nanapush stays in his hut and helps Eli in hunting through his spiritual power. This *ceremony* connects both despite the physical distance between them. Nanapush appeals to the spiritual beings to help them: He blackens his face with the lump of charcoal and “began to sing slowly, calling on [the] helpers, until ... the song sang itself, and there, in the deep bright drifts, [he] saw the tracks of Eli's snowshoes clearly” (Erdrich 101)⁶². The correspondence between Nanapush and Eli in hunting is different but runs parallel: the former takes a spiritual position based on the shamanic ceremony whereas the latter is physically there for the hunting. Nanapush spiritually contacts Eli and follows his every step, since he can ‘see’ him and ‘read’ what he is thinking. Nanapush sends him instructions and directions for hunting as he knows his starving condition and fears that he would make a mistake: “Do not sour the meat, I reminded him now” (Erdrich 102)⁶³. The spiritual direction helps Eli hunt the animal which will provide them the physical strength. After cutting the meat Eli faces the problem of how to take the meat back home. He binds the pieces of meat tightly around his body as being the only technique of taking the meat back home. The shooting and slaughtering of the animal make Eli dog-tired; so, he seeks the spiritual help of the old man in his journey back home in safety. Nanapush spiritually instructs him to follow the sound of the drum beats and so, the hunter comes home safely. The hunting episode suggests that Erdrich’s magic realism assimilates the supernatural world, the world of animals and spiritual beings, with the natural world of beings and in doing so, explores the historicity of the Native American ceremonial society.

The lovemaking between Eli Kaspaw and Sophie Morrissey is another episode of such intrapersonal communication. This time Pauline sets the events to get vicarious sexual pleasure. She requests Moses to give her the powder made up of “crushed fine of certain roots, crane's bill, something else, and slivers of Sophie’s fingernails” (Erdrich 80)⁶⁴. She controls Sophie by using this love medicine and hypnotizes her to attract Eli. The love medicine enables Pauline to control the lovemaking episode between Eli and Sophie: “I turned my thoughts on the girl and entered her and made her do what she could never have dreamed of herself ... I was pitiless. They were mechanical things, toys, dolls wound past their limits” (Erdrich 83, 84)⁶⁵. Looking at them from the secrecy and distance of her hiding place, Pauline controls the mind of Sophie and enjoys sexual pleasure, without actually being a part of it. The whole event describes the power of the love medicine made by Moses Pillager. Pauline is a proven liar in the community but her narration of the episode of lovemaking can be verified through other sources. For instance, it is

not Pauline's magical power as she describes in other events but that of Moses who gave her the love medicine that she uses. Pauline is quite helpless in creating and erasing the influence of charm, for instance, when Bernadette, Sophie's mother, beats her daughter with "a strap, and [Pauline] felt it, too, the way [she]'d absorbed the pleasure at the slough" (Erdrich 86)⁶⁶. Eli, on his visit to Nanapush, also tells him that he is not guilty because "[he] was bewitched" (Erdrich 98)⁶⁷.

The mythical elements in *Tracks* (1988) perform a critical role in the resistance of mixing natural and supernatural boundaries. Erdrich uses oral and modern techniques to blur the boundaries of microcosmic and macrocosmic rituals and thereby explain the historicity of the Native American society. The oral approach introduces the Native American traditional belief system and rejects the western stance about the incredibility of Native American stories. It also explains the importance of the Native American orature as a source of understanding the native peoples of America, whereas the concept of magical realism in *Tracks* (1988) is used differently from Euro-American scholarships to make the unbelievable believable thus validating Anishinaabe social and cultural history. The Eurocentric idea of the chronology of events is blurred by Erdrich's approach of timelessness and the macrocosmic and microcosmic space. All three ways of expressing Native American culture are, simultaneously, potent entities in describing Native American spiritual and supernatural textualized worlds. The stories of supernatural elements – the Ghosts and spirits of the dead ones, magical powers of medicine clans, ceremonies, interspatial communication and transformation, intrapersonal communication, the concept of timelessness, microcosmic and macrocosmic space – as embodiments of the Native American past are linked with its memory and history. Through his storytelling, Nanapush passes on the history of supernatural beings and unusual visions to his granddaughter and the readers and, in that way, keeps the Chippewa history alive.

4.2. A Cultural Web of Ceremonies in *Ceremony* (1977)

Leslie Marmon Silko's *Ceremony* (1977) like Louise Erdrich's *Tracks* (1988) describes the duality of Native American culture, although contrary to *Tracks*, (1988), which explains Native American cultural norms, synchronically, *Ceremony* (1977) describes the aboriginal culture, diachronically: Silko juxtaposes two different time periods: the pre-Columbian past is

textualized through the oral tradition myths and the post-second World War period is reflected through the fragmented tribal community at Laguna in 1949. Unlike Erdrich, who is Chippewa, Anishinaabe, a hunting patrilineal tribe on the Mountain Turtle reservation, Silko is Laguna, Pueblo, an agricultural matrilineal tribe of the Southwest, based near Mexico. Different Native American tribes were pushed to the Mexican border: “They were Navajos ... Zunis and Lagunas and Hopis” (Silko 106)⁶⁸. Hence, the role of American Southwest literature is very productive in the presentation of the variety of aboriginal culture which is the locus of *Ceremony* (1977).

Ceremony (1977) is about the *ceremony* – a traditional practice of healing or finding a valuable lost entity or object. This ceremony heals the protagonist of the novel, the writer and the readers, in the process. This ceremony is related to the ‘*homecoming*’ of a young man. This is a common plot in most Native American fiction where an Indian who has been away coming home and finds his identity by staying (Bevis 580)⁶⁹. It portrays Tayo’s search for inner-peace while exploring his relationship with the outer world in which he exists. The pattern of Tayo’s homecoming is promoted by the Laguna myths. The factual homecoming and Laguna myths are presented at the same level as both describe the ceremonies of the retrieval of the rainclouds for the healing of the Native American lands. To explain the cultural and social impacts of ceremonies from past to present, Silko uses the oral approach, magic realism and the traditional concept of timelessness. This study, fixing these techniques, explores Native American historicity embedded in the fictional and mythical stories of *Ceremony* (1977).

4.2.1. Silko’s Oral Approach in Storytelling

Native American contemporary literature is defined from two perspectives: popular and ceremonial. The popular perspective enlightens the modern modes of discussion adapted by Native American writers whereas the ceremonial perspective describes the oral approach of Native American writings in storytelling. The ceremonial perspective – unlike the popular, which does not accept the credibility of Native American oral tradition stories and deals with them as parables – claims that oral tradition stories are the self-consciousness of the Native American community. In *Ceremony* (1977), Silko, uses both the perspectives, popular and ceremonial or magic realism and oral tradition, to interpret Pueblo cultural history – the ceremonies,

storytelling, vision quest, rituals, medicine-songs, interspatial communication and transformation.

In *Ceremony* (1977) Silko knits a web of incidents in a poetic-prose style that is the salient feature of oral tradition. The fragmented chronological sequence of the poetic myths shares the prose narrative of Tayo's ceremony which unfolds with Tayo's war traumas and the sufferings of the Laguna tribe where "[t]he drought years had returned again ... The dry air shrank the wooden staves of the barrels" (Silko 9)⁷⁰. The situation describes the need for a ceremony as both Tayo and the Laguna are suffering the dryness of their soul. The prose narrative of the Laguna-drought is organized within the fragmented poetic myth of two sisters, Reed Woman, Iktoa'ak'o'ya, and Corn Woman thus intensifying the description of the ceremony itself. The myth is thematically similar to the prose narrative as it also tells about the drought in the past: "there was no more rain then. / Everything dried up / ... / The people and the animals / were thirsty. / They were starving" (Silko 12)⁷¹. Both prose and poetic narratives describe the infertility of the land and the need for rainclouds. Hence, like the oral approach of storytelling, Silko also follows the poetic-prose style to involve the readers in the story.

Ceremony (1977) has two narrative structures: the prose narrative (Tayo's story) and the poetic narrative (the rest of the mythical stories). Both narratives are strengthened by various narrators which is a predominantly traditional way of storytelling. The opening medicine song of 'Ts'its'tsinako', Thought Woman – who thinks of her sisters, Nau'ts'ity'i and I'tets'ity'I – shows the univocal perspective of a woman that gradually overlaps the different perspectives to explain the variation of culture in the Pueblo. To understand the description of the drought all these narratives assimilate the present with the past and the future. Silko states that the original plot in her mind was going only with a woman narrator – she felt herself in the character (Coltelli 141)⁷² – but to balance the story she chose a male voice as well: the poem, 'Ceremony', titled after the title of the novel, is of a male voice that claims that Native American stories "aren't just entertainment" (Silko 2)⁷³. The male and female voices make the narration dialogic thus validating the narration.

These frame stories are the locus of the oral traditional storytelling. Silko uses this style of frame stories to strengthen the concept of the ceremony as the Laguna mythical drought and

Laguna-drought of 1949 are thematically similar. *Ceremony* (1977) opens with the myth of Thought Woman who “thought of her sisters / Nau’ts’ity’i and I’tcts’ity’I / and together they created the Universe / this world / and the four worlds below” (Silko 1)⁷⁴. The story describes the significance of womanhood in Native American culture. Unlike the western social order which was originated in patriarchal norms, Native American society is originally matriarchal. The chanted poem is followed by the prose narrative of Tayo’s suffering as a war victim whose traumas upset him: “Sometimes the Japanese voices came first, angry and loud ... and then he could hear the shift in his dreaming ... and the voices would become Laguna voices” (Silko 5)⁷⁵. By the same token, different stories overlap each other to explain the function of ceremony in the prosperity of the Pueblo.

In Native American norms, the ceremony is sacred in nature as it is always performed for community benefit. The medicine clans begin the ritual with medicine songs to get healing powers: Silko’s *Ceremony* (1977) follows the social trend as the medicine song at the beginning of *Ceremony* (1977) is for healing purposes. “Sunrise” (Silko 3)⁷⁶ on the very next of the medicine songs is the call of prayer that is also socially conducted before the beginning of the sacred rituals. The medicine songs and prayers at the beginning of the novel reveal that *Ceremony* (1977) is itself a ceremony that Silko performs for the retrieval of the waning cultural history of Native Americans. It relates with the concept that Silko is that female-first-person narrator of the first medicine song who tells about the thought woman “sitting in her room / thinking of a story now / [and Silko is] telling you the story / [thought woman] is thinking” (Silko 1)⁷⁷, and that story is the story of *Ceremony* (1977). Similarly, the beginning of Silko’s ceremony is empowered with another female voice that narrates the power of her ceremony: “The only cure/ I know/ is a good ceremony” (Silko 3)⁷⁸. The structure of the novel is like the structure of a ceremony – ritual - that follows the oral tradition style where the stories are based on social structures to involve the readers.

In an oral tradition, the stories are sacred as they have secrets of the community, hence generate new life. Native people argue that these stories are threads of the Native American cultural web so they have to be careful about their exact meanings. Thus, the oral tradition emphasizes the unraveling of the stories with the importance of *storytelling* as they have had the power to create themselves and the happenings they define. *Ceremony* (1977) opens with the

story of Thought-Woman thus telling the role of storytelling in Pueblo culture: Thought-Woman thinks a story “and whatever she thinks about / appears” (Silko 1)⁷⁹, she is a believable creator of the whole universe. The Keres-Pueblo people call her ‘the spider’ as she knits the entire web of universal episteme(s) and is the creator of all five worlds on the earth and below its surface. The next poem, ‘Ceremony’ also describes the significance of storytelling, but this time the voice is male and tells about the healing power of the stories: “They are all we have, you see, / all we have to fight off / illness and death” (Silko 2)⁸⁰. For the native community, these medicine stories are the most potent weapon against evil.

4.2.2. Silko’s Magic Realism in Storytelling

In *Ceremony* (1977), Silko explains the harmony of poetic and prose narratives through magic realism. Using magical realism Silko links the Native American present with the past: the acculturated Native American community of 1949 with the oral traditional world. To respond to the complexity, the story uses two different levels of magic realism: the first level of the story synchronically juxtaposes the contemporary Laguna myths and factual happenings of Tayo’s ceremony whereas the other level explains the Native American world diachronically: juxtaposing the Native American mythical past and present. In fixing these two methods of magical realism this study inscribes the Native American social and cultural history in *Ceremony* (1977).

4.2.2.1 A Ceremony in *Ceremony* (1977)

The first level of magic realism explains how Silko, in *Ceremony* (1977), knits the Pueblo community in a cultural web with the threads of routine happenings and the magical powers of medicine persons and places. The main story unfolds Tayo’s mixed blood parentage as he is the son of an unknown white man and Laura, a native woman, known for her promiscuity. After the death of his mother, the latter’s sister, known throughout as Auntie, unwillingly brings him up at the same time holding him as the reason for her family’s decline. She has only taken him “to conceal the shame of her younger sister” (Silko 25)⁸¹. In the family, Tayo gets Rocky’s affection - Auntie’s only son and the soccer star of the community school, and who had dreams to make a name for himself in the white community. World War II gives them both the chance for success

in the white world but on the battlefield rather than in the soccer field. Both join the army and this results in Rocky's being killed in Japan. After the war Tayo, returns home to Laguna, is disturbed mentally and blames himself for his cousin's death. Auntie, who is caring for him, warns the whole family "to be careful to make no mention of Rocky" (Silko 29)⁸².

The other side of the story explains the drought at Laguna in the Pueblo. The people of Laguna do not have the means to settle the issue of drought although they have been facing the problem for six years. Their lands become barren, their cattle begin to die and they have to work harder than ever for their livelihood. "And all this time they had watched the sky expectantly for the rainclouds to come" (Silko 10)⁸³. The Pueblo community, like Tayo and his family, is also suffering from isolation and, according to the local community, need a ceremony that is the only solution of retrieval of the rainclouds. The condition of an individual and the whole community is described in a realistic expression as the war trauma and drought are natural phenomena. But the connection of Tayo's ailment and Laguna-drought with the ceremony is magical. Silko, explaining Tayo's and Laguna's sufferings with realistic expressions, prepare readers for the magical retrieval of the rainclouds.

Tayo himself takes the responsibility of the Laguna-drought: he relates it with the curses he addresses to the rain in the Japanese jungles. Drought is a natural phenomenon, frequent in different parts of the world including America so when Rocky was injured in the forest, Tayo tried hard to drag his wounded body despite the heavy rain. He crawled in the mud to find the dead body of Rocky until he was discovered by the Japanese. He dragged the corpse by the arm and lifted *him* to his knees and cursed "the rain" (Silko 12)⁸⁴. Since then, there has been no rain in Laguna: April, usually perceived as the month of rain has been dry for a long time; the April-wind unusually blew throughout the month and rainclouds did not stay in the Laguna sky. People "said it had been that way for the past six years while he was gone" (Silko 9, 10)⁸⁵. Tayo, understandably in his condition, believes that the six-year drought is the result of his curse in Japan and the native people are not surprised at Tayo's statement as such magical happenings are a routine. On the other hand, Silko sets the events in such a chronological pattern that the historicity of unusual happenings cannot be denied.

The concept of a magical ceremony is also strengthened with the realistic expression of alienation. Tayo's ailment gradually makes him feel alienated in the white world. The end of the Second World War upsets him and western doctors cannot understand the symptoms of his disease. He is in a hospital feeling invisible and tongueless and this tonguelessness leads towards alienation (Allen 138)⁸⁶. He comes to his native town where his family suggests "[t]hat boy needs a medicine man ... Otherwise, he will have to go away" (Silko 30)⁸⁷. In this manner before Tayo's ceremony is actually begun, Silko prepares the readers' minds about the spiritual journey with a realistic description of his coming home. Tayo travels to the Navajo medicine man, Betonie, who tells him that the proper cure is a ceremony. Instead of an immediate journey, which may raise many questions on Tayo's ceremony, Silko gradually builds the story. Old Betonie told him about "the cattle ... the stars, the mountain, and the woman" (Silko 155)⁸⁸. And after retrieving all these patterns Tayo may retrieve not only his health but also the prosperity of the Laguna, Pueblo. There is no magic happening in finding stars, cattle, a woman and a mountain but the connection of all these patterns of ceremony with the cure of Tayo and Laguna is spiritual. On the other hand, Betonie also predicts to Tayo about the upcoming magical happenings of his ceremony and guides him on how to deal with them.

On his way to explore the magical patterns of his ceremony, Tayo goes through the entire Pueblo community, making it clear how Silko explains the unusual happenings as Pueblo's daily life. She throws light on the sicknesses of the people, alcoholism, gambling and other social evils, before revealing the healing impact of the ceremony. She describes the cultural invasion by explaining the life of Highway 66: "[G]oing up the line, and the bars were built one after the other alongside 66" (Silko 22)⁸⁹. Tayo's meeting with his friends, Leroy, Harley and Helen, on Highway 66, in their truck, also reveals the condition of Native American youth in and around the reservation. The fascination of the young generation in bars and trucks explains the transition of the native identity and which is a result of the prolonging of evil forces. This situation also demands a ceremony for the retrieval of the traditional values that have also been lost during the process of colonization.

Betonie does not tell Tayo the exact route map of his ceremony. He informs him of the four patterns and their sequence: a specific pattern of stars, the speckled lost cattle of Josiah, a mountain, and a woman. These patterns of the ceremony are real but the elements and characters

who meet Tayo during this journey, and the consequences of this ceremony are magical. The second pattern of the ceremony – to find Josiah’s cattle – mentions that the ceremony was settled a long time ago. When Tayo tells Betonie the story about his parentage and his affiliation with his uncle, Josiah, and his (Josiah’s) Mistress, Night Swan, who magically appears in the reservation from Tse-pi’na, the sacred mountain, and forces his uncle to buy the Mexican cattle, Betonie immediately gets the sense of the entire pre-settled journey. He insists that Tayo give him the maximum information about the woman, Night Swan, and informs him that “[t]his [ceremony] has been going on for a long time” (Silko 115)⁹⁰. The connection between prewar and postwar happenings defines that Tayo has already been chosen for the ceremony: his connection with the cantina dancer, Night Swan, in his boyhood, is also a part of his ceremony. But, Silko does not disclose the pre-settlement of the ceremony thus showing her use of magic realism. Susan Perez Castillo argues that the character of Night Swan in *Ceremony* (1977) defines the nature of her habitat, the kat’s’inas mountain. In Laguna myth, she is a sort of demigoddess: half-divine and half-human. Her love of the blue color shows her as a sacred symbol of the reformation of the earth (Castillo 234)⁹¹. Silko also derives this character from the Laguna myth, and is hence described in a timeless space: in *Ceremony* (1977) she is not judged as either “old or young [as] age had no relation to her” (Silko 98)⁹². Hence, this magical woman, Night Swan, for her divinity, is the key link in the patterns of Tayo’s ceremony.

To search for the specific pattern of the stars Tayo travels to the north as he had seen them in the north in late September. After several days, when he is on his way to the north, he stays at the home of the Montano, Ts’eh. At night he thinks of the stars. “He got up from the table and walked back through the rooms. He pushed the porch screen door wide open and looked up at the sky: Old Betonie’s stars were there.” (Silko 167)⁹³ The journey to the north, meeting with a woman and finding the stars are all natural things but, they relate to Betonie’s spiritual prediction. The first pattern of the ceremony i.e. the finding of stars, discloses another magical woman, Ts’eh. She is a medicine woman of mixed ancestry and belongs to Tse-pi’na, the sacred mountain. Both her names Ts’eh and Montano woman represent her belonging to the mountain as in Spanish the meaning of her name is ‘mountain’. Hence, Ts’eh, is a believable link with the other patterns of Tayo’s ceremony.

Besides Betonie, Ts'eh also helps Tayo in his ceremony as she teaches him the harmony of natural elements and what his role in natural harmony is. She guides him to the mountain to find out the speckled cattle. Following Ts'sh, Tayo searches for Josiah's lost cattle, the second pattern of his ceremony. At this level of his ceremony another mythical figure, the mountain lion guides him in the true direction of the cattle: in search of the cattle on the mountain, he confronts a lion that disappears into the trees. "He rode the mare west again, in the direction the mountain lion had come from ... he saw the spotted cattle, grazing in a dry lake flat below the ridge" (Silko 182)⁹⁴. Here, Tayo's ceremony adds to the prosperity of his family as well: the safe-drive of the cattle home again would make his family prosperous as they can then raise a new breed according to Josiah's plans. This benefit of the ceremony makes it valid even though it is spiritual.

Trouble arises when the two cowboys seize Tayo when he is driving the cattle home secretly, also leading Tayo to magical happenings. Tayo escapes when the cowboys go in search of the lion, which disappears and his tracks are protected by the falling snow. Tayo takes a dense path in the mountain-forest where he sees a hunter with deer-meat on his shoulder. The hunter seems to be the same lion in a transformed shape (Silko 192)⁹⁵. He is not described as a magical figure but the narrator's comparative description of the hunter (man) and lion (animal) makes him magical. The hunter, like the lion, belongs to the winter, the north and the wind. The hunter leads Tayo to his hut where Tayo again meets Ts'eh. The hunter says to the Mountain woman, "[Y]ou better fold up the blanket before the snow breaks the branches" (Silko193)⁹⁶ showing her power of controlling the wind and the snow. Hence, the snow falling is a plan to save the lion and Tayo, simultaneously, as the snow covers everything, erasing the tracks of the mountain lion and saving it from the cowboys; on the other hand, the snow, covering all the signs of the cattle, also saves them from the eyes of the white policemen; the flakes cling to the fence wire that Tayo cut away and the wide hole in the fence is veiled by snow. It shows that Ts'eh knows about Tayo and his ceremony as she helps him in all ways to complete his journey. Since she knows all of his patterns, she again leads him to the cattle and helps him in taming them as after breathing a long time in total freedom the cattle are untamed. "But the woman was not afraid. She stepped closer to the cattle, bending down to inspect their bellies and legs, walking a half circle in the muddy snow, looking at all of them. They watched her tensely" (Silko 197)⁹⁷.

The presentation of the meeting between Tayo, Ts'eh and the hunter is a reenactment of a Pueblo myth (Owens 187)⁹⁸. The mountain lion or the Hunter belongs to the north in Keres tradition and represents Winter and Tayo, the protagonist, is Summer. One day as the hunter, Yellow Woman's husband, is hunting deer, his wife encounters Summer and they have sex. When Winter finds out, he becomes furious but Yellow Woman's threat of leaving him alone cools him down. They make a deal according to which both Winter and Summer will live with her for a particular time decided by Yellow Woman (Graves 89-96)⁹⁹. The story predicts the future meeting of Ts'eh and Tayo that is scheduled for the coming summer. Hence, it is Ts'eh, the woman who is the last pattern of Tayo's ceremony. Tayo, after getting Ts'eh love, is completed and succeeds in retrieving the rainclouds and fertility to his lands as "[h]e was dreaming of her arms around him strong when the rain on the tin roof woke him up" (Silko 202)¹⁰⁰.

After Tayo's coming home the rain wet the whole land. The raining hint of how the community believes in the validity of unusual happenings, for instance, they believe in his curse in Japan's jungle at the start of the novel. The setting of the Japanese jungle, when Tayo curses the rain, is very similar to the setting of Laguna when he completes his ceremony. In Japan he was in a canyon with all the symbolic colors – blue (Mountain, dragonflies, sky), yellow (pollen, yellow sand, sunlight and sunflower); in the Laguna, when he completes the loop of his ceremonial patterns "[t]here were blue-bellied clouds ... and he could hear thunder faintly in the distance" (Silko 204)¹⁰¹. Similarly, the predicted result of the ceremony validates all the magical happenings. Tayo recovers and his traveling into different parts of the Pueblo helps him retrieve his health but, according to his family, the credit goes to the old medicine man, Betonie. They believe that "old Betonie did some good after all, [as Tayo is] "all right now" (Silko 200)¹⁰². The novel ends on another beginning as Tayo's experience will be helpful for the other people of Pueblo and for the future generations who may intend to undergo a ceremony for the retrieval of health or a valuable entity like rain. The various supernatural happenings in *Ceremony* (1977) are a daily routine of the Laguna community but Tayo represents the modern beliefs as he is educated in a Christian school and has served in the army. However, he does not raise any question about the nature of magical characters and happenings that shows he is going to be native again and complete his homecoming.

4.2.2.2 The Juxtaposition of Past and Present

Silko, through the narrative of *Ceremony* (1977), performs a ceremony to retrieve the historicity of the ceremony in Native American culture. She explains the ceremonies incorporated in Laguna myths regarding the ceremony of 1949. The stories in *Ceremony* (1977) are different regarding time and place but similar regarding their impact on Native American society. The poetic narratives of Laguna myths enlighten the ceremonies of the past whereas the prose narrative of Tayo's journey explains the current scenario of ceremonies. The juxtaposition of past and present ceremonies retrieves the thematic similarity of this ritual as both the narratives define the efforts to retrieve the rainclouds for the fertility of the barren land and its people.

[I]n many ways, the ceremonies have always been changing ... At one time the ceremonies as had been performed were enough for the way the world was then. *But after the white people came*, [for native people,] elements in this world *began to shift*; and it became *necessary to create new ceremonies ... this growth keeps the ceremonies strong*. (Silko 116, emphasis added)¹⁰³

Hence, the practice of the ceremonies in *Ceremony* (1977), unlike the traditional ways of the ceremony in a tipi or other sacred place, is based on a journey that is another thematic similarity among the ceremonies. Silko, explaining the social and cultural impact of ceremonies, also describes the power of medicine men and women, the interspatial relationship in the Pueblo society, the concept of Mother Earth and Native American beliefs in supernatural happenings.

The prose narrative of *Ceremony* (1977) unfolds Tayo's suffering as a war veteran who is disillusioned by the war and comes home to Laguna, Pueblo. The story, simultaneously, defines the Laguna-drought and its impact on the native community. Hence, the protagonist travels for his own inner-peace, lost in World War II, and for the benefit of the Laguna tribe that has been suffering from a dead-drought for six years. The sufferings of an individual and the community are realistic but gradually interact with magical happenings as Tayo himself takes the responsibility of the Laguna-drought. He cursed the rain in the jungle of Japan while pulling Rocky's dead body in the heavy rain. "So he had prayed the rain away, and for sixth year it was dry; the grass turned yellow and it did not grow [and w]herever he looked, Tayo could see the

consequences of his praying” (Silko 13)¹⁰⁴. The story is not written or told as an ultimate reality but as convenient possible incorporation from the unbelievable to a believable discussion. The Laguna myth of Corn Woman and Reed Woman, on the other one side, matures Tayo’s narrative. The myth is also about a long-time-ago-drought when Corn Woman had become angry with her sister Reed Woman for bathing instead of working. This had made Reed Woman sad and she had driven her rainclouds away from the community. “And there was no more rain then. / Everything dried up / ... / The people and the animals/were thirsty. / They were starving” (Silko 13-14)¹⁰⁵. The chronological placement of the different narratives of the same story makes them dialogic thus validating both the mythical drought and 1949-drought.

The myth of Corn Woman and the other Laguna myths gradually grow with Tayo’s narrative of the ceremony. The causative incidents in all the stories describe the same historicity of dead drought that convinces the readers about the validity of Native American myths and ceremonies. It depends on the readers to decide the nature of the happenings: magical or real (Todorov 33)¹⁰⁶ because it is “the capacity of mind that make[s] ... signs, images, metaphors” (Faris 175)¹⁰⁷, etc., to understand its surrounding world. In *Ceremony* (1977), several ceremonies strengthen each other to persuade the reader about the cultural impact of the ceremony. Different stories of a similar drought highlight the fact that the drought and the ceremony are chronic. Besides the story of Corn Woman, the mythical story of Pac’caya’nyi, Ck’o’yo medicine man builds up not only Tayo’s narrative but also the narrative of Corn Woman. Coming from Reed Leaf Town, the Ck’o’yo medicine man plans to trap the Corn Mother Nau’ts’ity’i, the custodian of rainclouds. The native people leave their work to see his tricks and the twin brothers Ma’ssee’wi and Ou’yu’ye’wi also leave the caring of mother corn’s altar. This makes Corn Mother angry “So she took / the plants and grass from them. / No baby animals were born. / She took the / rainclouds with her” (Silko 42, 44, 45)¹⁰⁸. Corn Mother, like Reed Woman, has power over clouds and rain. Both drive the rainclouds away from the community after feeling disgraced and disrespected. Similarly, the myth of the Gambler relates the story of the missing rainclouds. Ck’o’yo Kaup’ata, Gambler lived in the Zuni Mountains and “captured the stormclouds / [and] / was lock them up” (Silko 160)¹⁰⁹. The thematic similarity of all these myths and the 1949-drought influences readers’ minds who are bound to believe them, given the evidence.

The ceremonies in *Ceremony* (1977) are performed for the missing rainclouds showing the importance of the collaboration between man and nature. In Laguna, “[t]he old people used to say that drought happens when people forget [and] misbehave” to the natural objects (Silko 42)¹¹⁰. In Tayo’s narrative, the rain clouds go away for his abasement to the natural phenomena of raining (Silko 12)¹¹¹. He privileges his desire to carry Rocky’s body in heavy rain and forgets the necessity of rain for the other objects of nature. Corn Woman, like Tayo, also feels irritation for the continuous rain and rebukes her sister for her continuous bath. The disgracing comments of her sister lead Reed Woman away from her habitat and “she went back/to the original place/down below” (Silko 12)¹¹². Similarly, Nau’ts’ity’i Corn Mother is dishonored by the people who prefer the tricky magic of Ck’o’yo medicine man and forget that her altar needs caretaking. It makes her leave the people (Silko 45)¹¹³. Whenever the ethical and traditional values are ignored, nature becomes angry and demands a ceremony. Rain clouds, Reed Woman and Corn Mother cannot tolerate this disgrace and move away from the locality. The harmful impact of the disassociation of nature and man is natural and convinces readers about the rationality of the stories of the drought.

The other parts of Tayo’s ceremony are interconnected with the rest of the Laguna myths that convince readers not only about Tayo’s ceremony but unconsciously about the Laguna mythical ceremonies. Tayo’s traveling to regain the prosperity of his health, family and Laguna interconnects with the oral tradition myths. For instance, the Laguna myths of the messengers, Hummingbird and Fly, and Sun Man, also describe the retrieval of the rainclouds. Tayo is the chosen one for the ceremony as his disease is related to his quest. He visits the Navajo medicine man Betonie for his treatment and not only for the ceremony. The medicine man tells him to follow the patterns of his ceremony for the cure which is not simple; to determine the pattern of stars, cattle, a woman, and a mountain involves time and effort. On the other hand, Hummingbird and Fly follow the patterns of their ceremony which like Tayo’s ceremony, involve traveling for the rainclouds. The people just after the departure of Nau’ts’ity’i, the Corn Mother, are worried about their drylands: “‘She’s angry with us,’ / the people said. / ‘Maybe because of that / Ck’o’yo magic / ... / we were better send someone / to ask our forgiveness” (Silko 49)¹¹⁴. Hence, they request Hummingbird who knows all about the mythical worlds down there. Hummingbird lets them call another messenger through a spiritual ceremony. The people on Hummingbird’s directions bring a fine-looking pottery jar with paintings of beautiful flowers and parrots and sing

a song. As a result, a big green fly comes out of the jar. Fly and Hummingbird go down to the fourth world and request Corn Mother to bring back “food and storm clouds” (Silko 97)¹¹⁵. Both Fly and Hummingbird follow the patterns of their ceremony which are different from Tayo’s ceremony in performance but similar in the retrieval of the prosperity of the community.

However, these patterns are unlike Tayo’s pattern of the ceremony where Betonie at once tells him about the nature and sequence of his ceremony patterns. They visit Corn Mother who asks them: “[Y]ou get old Buzzard to purify / your town first/and then, maybe, I will send you people / food and rain again” (Silko 97)¹¹⁶. This is the first pattern of their ceremony. They come to the town again and get some sacred offerings for the old Buzzard: “They took more *pollen/more beads, and more prayer sticks,* / and they went to see old Buzzard” (Silko 104, emphasis added)¹¹⁷ and requested him to purify their town. Old Buzzard does not accept their offerings and asks them about “*the tobacco*” (Silko 104, emphasis added)¹¹⁸. Finding the tobacco for the old Buzzard is the second pattern of their ceremony. They come back again to the town but do not get any tobacco so they visit Corn Mother again, who tells them to ask caterpillar. Finding the caterpillar is the third pattern of their ceremony. When they find him, they ask for tobacco to take back for the safety of the community. “They took *the tobacco* to the old Buzzard / ... / Everything was set straight again / ... / The storm clouds returned / the grass and plants started growing again. / There was food / and the people were happy again” (Silko 140, 167, 237, emphasis added)¹¹⁹. Silko places the myth in an organized fragmented order for the sense of Tayo’s ceremony and the readers who, satisfied with the result of Tayo’s ceremony, unconsciously, accept the ceremony of Hummingbird and Fly which has a similar result of the prosperity of the land.

To explain Tayo’s ceremonial journey Silko relates the mythical tale of Sun Man who also takes a journey to get back the storm clouds from the prison of the Ck’o’yo Kaup’a’ta, the Gambler. This quest of Sun Man describes a similar ceremony of different patterns. He goes to all the directions – east, west, south and north – but cannot locate his children: the clouds. He decides to ask Spiderwoman who knows all about the universe. Like Hummingbird and Fly he takes some sacred things like yellow pollen, blue pollen, coral beads and tobacco to honor Spiderwoman who tells him the patterns of his ceremony i.e the tricks of Gambler:

He will say

What do I have hanging in that leather bag
 on the east wall?' ...
 you will guess ...
 'The Pleiades'. ...
 Next he will point to a woven cotton bag/hanging on the south wall.
 He will say
 'What is it I have in there?' ...
 you say
 'maybe you have Orion in there'
 And then
everything—
 his clothing, his beads, his heart
 and the rainclouds
 will be yours. (Silko 161,162)¹²⁰

Sun Man follows the guidance of Spiderwoman and retrieves the storm clouds. This ceremony of Sun Man also runs parallel to Tayo's ceremony, thus defining the continuity of the ritual. To explain this continuity Silko ends *Ceremony* (1977) with the hint of a future ceremony: "Remember that/next time/ some ck'o'yo magician/comes to the town" (Silko 238)¹²¹.

[A]s readers, we no longer follow the stories sequentially that is as the Indian tales interrupt the realist story. We now read contrapuntally; that is, as the weave of one story crosses the weave of another ... Such contrapuntal reading changes our sense of narrative as a self-contained form and our sense of what ontology is as well. (Slowik 115)¹²²

All such mythical characters and the stories related to them carry the reader far back to similar ceremonies and develop the connotation of different incidents. All the ceremonies follow a similar structure: (i) start with the separation of man and nature; (ii) that results in a drought; (iii) the situation needs a ceremony; (iv) hence, a saving messenger goes on a journey; (v) helped by a medicine man or woman for the patterns of the ceremony; (vi) and retrieves the lost relationship (retrieves the raincloud); (vi) that makes the land and its people happy. On the other hand, similar objects in the ceremonies also define collaboration between past and present and the

future world. For instance, on his way to his ceremony, Tayo confronts the spider, hummingbird and fly that relate the ceremony with the Laguna myths. Sacred objects like blue pollen, yellow pollen, coral beads and tobacco in all ceremonies draw a relational collaboration between Tayo's story and the Laguna myths. The connections make the real objects magical and magical appear real as the mystic figures of Reed Woman, Corn Woman, Sun Man, the Hunter and Ts'eh are parallel to Tayo's character and thus become believable.

Ceremony (1977) describes *the interspecies communication and transformation* to define the other side of the Laguna culture. Using magic realism, Silko describes the cohesion of the man world and the natural world by the placement of different narratives of similar happenings. The resemblance blurs the description of both worlds: mythical and real, animals and beings. This double narrative at various levels in the novel points out the circular movements of the happenings. The possibility and impossibility, here, is not a matter of discussion as the concept of interspecies communication or transformation is already the belief of the Pueblo. The character of Shush, Betonie's student, represents such beliefs of the Pueblo community. Shush means 'bear', thus recalling the traditional affiliation of the Laguna community with the bear. The boy does not act like normal human beings as "Tayo could see there was something strange about the boy, something remote in his eyes as if he were on a distant mountaintop alone and the fire and Hogan and the lights of the town below them did not exist" (Silko 118)¹²³. He does not say anything and nobody says anything about him. Even Betonie just tells the meaning of his name; the readers do not know anything about him except his name and his relationship with Betonie. However, Silko relates his character with a Laguna myth as the prose description of Shush follows the very next myth of a bear child who is lost in the bear-community and is living with bears. With the help of a medicine man, people retrieve the child but he sees that like bears he is "crawling on the ground / ... / They couldn't simply take him back / because he would be in between forever / and probably he would die" (Silko 120)¹²⁴. Hence, people leave the boy with the medicine man. The chronological location of the myth convinces the readers that the bear child is the boy Shush.

The tale of Coyote man, who unwillingly transforms into a coyote, also blurs the borders of usual and unusual happenings. The people trace the tracks of the lost man in various parts of the mountain and find him on a very dangerous hill. "The man tried to speak / but only a coyote

sound was heard” (Silko 130)¹²⁵. The story is derived from a myth and so a little hard to believe, however, the other characters of the story like the Bear people who perform a ceremony to retrieve the man from the coyote shape hints the folk of bears where Shush was living. Silko makes the unbelievable myth into a believable story through their chronological placement for the readers who can judge them because of the similarities between them. Similarly, the big Fly’s presence there also hints at the story of Hummingbird and Fly. On the other hand, the ceremony the Bear People perform to transform the man into the coyote is, simultaneously, also for the restoring of the future world. Different sacred colors: white, yellow, blue, and a large rainbow make the setting a symbolic painting related to Tayo sitting “in the center of the white corn sand painting” (Silko 141)¹²⁶. Silko uses this technique to describe the setting of a myth and then immediately relates the setting with another story making the unbelievable into the believable. Hence, Tayo, like the Coyote man, must be taken back to his native world.

4.2.3. Silko’s Approach to Time and Space in Storytelling

The transition of one world into another is related to the concept of time and space. Like Erdrich, Silko also explains the idea of time and space through magic realism and presents it with a dichotomy of the western and the Laguna worlds. Unlike Erdrich, however, she defines it diachronically: juxtaposing a contemporary mixed-blood society and the Laguna mythical past. The ceremonial sequence makes the simple things sacred. For instance, in the story of Hummingbird and Fly, the number four becomes sacred when it is placed in the circular mode: Hummingbird instructs the folk to “sing this softly / above the jar: / After four days / you will be alive / After four days / you will be alive / After four days / you will be alive” (Silko 66)¹²⁷, and on the fourth day the Fly comes out of the jar and goes with Hummingbird for finding Corn Woman in the fourth world.

Silko, herself admits that the presentation of ceremonial time while writing *Ceremony* (1977) charmed her as she was brought up among those who have a ceremonial vision of motion:

I was trying to reconcile Western European ideas of linear time – you know, someone’s here right now, but when she’s gone, she’s gone forever, she’s vaporized – and the older belief which Aunt Susie talked about, and the old folks talked about, which is: there is a place, a space-time for the older folks. (Coltelli 138)¹²⁸

Ceremony (1977) follows this ceremonial sequence. Even the chronology of Tayo's story is based on it. His ceremony is not like a traditional ritual in a tent but a journey, although he experiences the same timelessness that is the soul of every ceremony. His shift from Japan to Laguna is a shift from linear time to ceremonial. When he returns from the Euro-American-world to his native world, in his loneliness he decides that "[h]e wouldn't waste firewood to heat up yesterday's coffee or maybe it was day-before-yesterday's coffee. He had lost track of the days there" (Silko 10)¹²⁹. Similarly, the calendars that embarrassed him in Betonie's room are a ceremonial presentation of Eurocentric chronology:

[H]e saw layers of old calendars, the sequences of years confused and lost as if occasionally the oldest calendars had fallen or been taken out from under the others and then had been replaced on top of the most recent years. A few showed January, as if the months on the underlying pages had no longer been turned or torn away. (Silko 120)¹³⁰

The unsymmetrical placement of calendars gives an achronological sense that defines the ceremonial or circular pattern in Native American traditional societies.

The concept of space constructs that historicity that is beyond textual space and that raises the improbability of possibility (Wilson 220)¹³¹. Silko textualizes this historicity of the Pueblo mythical worlds with the microcosmic and macrocosmic concepts of space. The microcosmic concept relates to the physical places of the Pueblo. The western contact of these natural places makes these places familiar to modern readers. Tayo, on his way to Gallup, describes the urbanized impact on the native person "along Highway 66" (Silko 107)¹³². The transitional change in the affected areas of Gallup intensifies the microcosmic concept of space as the physical place of Gallup affects the lifestyle of the Pueblo youth as most youngsters, like Helen Jean and Rocky, are motivated to settling there and consider it a better place than the reservation. They too are eventually contaminated with the Eurocentric norms which turn them into prostitutes and drunkards. The unknown child, who narrates this description of Gallup, living with his prostitute mother at the bank of the river, can also be identified as Tayo.

The role of memory enhances the microcosmic concept of time and space. It is very spatial (like macrocosm) in its nature and functions as an archive of visual images of different places (Wilson 216)¹³³. In *Ceremony* (1977) most places and things come into the description

through Tayo's memory. For instance, the Veteran's Hospital, the school where Tayo studies with Rocky, the forest in Japan where Rocky is killed, the railway station where he meets Japanese children and women, the home on the bank of the river where he lives with his mother, the bars where he and other natives waste their time, are places the reader comes to know through Tayo's memory. These places prolong the idea of alienation that is ultimately harmful to the traditional harmony based on native cosmology: hospitals and schools are places that organize the native mind according to the western pattern by convincing them about the irrationality of their customs; similarly, bars affect native lives and drive them away from spirituality to nothingness. Silko could not present them physically and therefore uses the macrocosmic space of memory to explain them.

After leaving the Veterans Hospital, Tayo goes to the train tracks where he confronts the Japanese children and woman. This confrontation pushes him back to his past time which he spends in Japan. At that moment he realizes the diminishing of time and space boundaries. The glimpse of the smiling face of the small Japanese boy makes him think not only about World War II but also about his childhood memories with his cousin Rocky:

[H]e cried at how the world had come undone, how thousands of miles, high ocean waves and green jungles could not hold people in their place. Years and months had become weak, and people could push against them and wander back and forth in time. Maybe it had always been this way and he was only seeing it for the first time. (Silko 18)¹³⁴

During the war, Tayo has a similar experience of the state of mind at different times. For instance, in Japan, he rejected the order to kill his enemies as among them he sees his dear uncle Josiah in the face of one of the Japanese. The same face, same slant-eyed look and the same color make him realize the universality of brotherhood among beings that keeps the cosmos in balance and thus implies a universal time and space: "Distances and days existed in themselves then; they all had a story. They were not barriers" (Silko 19)¹³⁵. The timelessness of memories and visions is the true guidance of the supernatural spirits for the betterment of people and nature. These memories and visions have an important role in Tayo's ceremony.

The spiritual side of the Native American cultural history is often overlooked for its similarity in tribal culture. The social and cultural harmony among the tribes ironically results in

suspension of its cultural variety. In all tribal communities, cultural, economic, political, military and religious affairs are unified in a common practical knot that reduces the controversy among the social factors of different tribes and that explains the commonality of Native American identity. For a similar way of living, native people have a similar social order in all the disciplines of life that blur the differences among tribes, hence, the stories of the leading figures are, simply, followed without any question (Deloria 102)¹³⁶. The multicultural native society thus is essentialized as a singular phenomenon because of the resemblance that submerges the divergences of different cultures. On the other side, there are only a few written sources of documenting cultural history. Usually, the stories are told to explain the cultural richness of the land before the arrival of Columbus. The modern world of science, hence, questions the historicity shaped by these stories as they do not describe the world in positivistic ways. On the other hand, the non-natives living in a positivist world conceive the historicity of the Native American world as magic for their pre-understanding of traditional societies. But Native American contemporary tribes believe in the spiritual side of their world. Silko explains the native perception through the mode of storytelling to make up for the non-native perception of the Native American spiritual world.

CHAPTER 5

NATIVE AMERICAN [MYT]HISTORY

Points of view change the reality of a situation and there is a reality to madness, imagined events, and perhaps something beyond that. (Chavkin 224)¹

History, according to Stephen Greenblatt, the father of new historicism, is a subjective interpretation of social and political happenings because it fashioned “the selves ... according to the generative rules and conflicts of a given culture” (272)². The ‘self’, in its construction and consumption, was mainly a form of social structures and institutions, therefore, the fashioning of selves was not as independent as it was perceived since “... family, state, and religious institutions impose a rigid and far-reaching discipline upon their ... subjects” (Greenblatt 1)³. On the other hand, contemporary historians and critics always understand these happenings of the past according to their present consciousnesses (Greenblatt, therefore, insists on a co-textual reading). Greenblatt, therefore, rejects the traditional approach of criticism on history that reviews it as an ultimate description of ‘selves’. He argues that the historians and the critics were/are subjective as they interpret[ed] things according to their consciousnesses that were/are the production of their culture. He objects to the hypothetical ultimate stance of history and highlights the biases of historians and critics who have their own minds (that is the production of their culture) of understanding things. However, every text is the production and producer of its histories or historicity, therefore, history like literature constructs the histories or historicity in which it was constructed. The contemporary subsistence of histories or historicity inside the text depends on the asymmetrical sequence of historical connections as the aesthetic power is not directly transmitted from past to present because the circumstances are repeatedly and completely reconstructed. It does not signify that the historian/critic is continually limited in his present but that these reconstructions act as the “structured negotiation and exchange” that are “evident in the initial moments of empowerment” (Greenblatt 6)⁴.

New historicism argues that history was constructed in the histories or historicity in which it was written and then reconstructs those values. Hence, it interlocks the past and present

(Montrose 24)⁵ so one can understand the histories of history-text in which it was produced. However, in the colonial regime, especially in America, the inscription of history was doubtful because the self-defined-educated-outsiders who were not born and raised in American Indian culture shouldered the burden of defining native history. The imperial scholars researched the American Indians' traditional stories to know their traditional belief system and replaced it with modern scientific values to erase American Indians' identity (Galler 411)⁶.

However, the history of American Indians inscribed by Euro-Americans was countered in Native American renaissance as the American Indian writers challenged the intruders' research on indigenous histories or historicity. The conflict of scholarships makes the historians confused about Native American history. The arguments of each group of scholars appeal to its community and "frustrate the others" (Ferguson 63)⁷. Everyone claims the truthfulness of their history while falsifying the history of others. The American Indians' history is a myth for the Euro-Americans and vice versa. This conflict leads the discussion to what history is or what is not. William McNeill, an American historian, directs that the emphasis should not be on the facts of happenings but on the "task making their (historians') account of public affairs *credible* as well as *intelligible* to an audience that shares enough of their particular outlook and assumptions to accept what they say" (8, emphasis added)⁸. McNeill calls this practice 'mythistory'. To follow the argument of new historicism that history-texts reconstruct the histories in which they were constructed, this study focuses on Vine Deloria Jr.'s *God Is Red* (1973) and *The World We Used to Live In* (2006) and derives the histories or historicity from the mythical stories inscribed in these non-literary texts. But the retrieval of Native American history is a difficult task because it was inscribed through mythical stories that are not acknowledged by modern scholars. Therefore, this study also emphasizes on how Vine Deloria Jr. makes the history in Native American stories intelligible and credible.

This chapter clarifies how Deloria, as a historian, makes his account of Native American spiritual practices credible and intelligible to his audience who share enough of his outlook and assumptions to accept what he says and thus derive histories or historicity from Native American myths inscribed in *God Is Red* (1973) and *The World We Used To Live In* (2006). It argues that by taking care not to alienate his Western audience, on the one hand, and by playing on their own experience and assumptions, on the other, Deloria not only makes his account of Native

American spiritual practices both credible and intelligible but also retrieves Native American histories or historicity. In this regard, “[t]he legacy of Vine Deloria Jr. is rich and complex, bridging multiple kinds of knowledge, multiple sets of people, and multiple visions of the future” (Deloria xvi)⁹. Growing up in Bennett County, South Dakota, Deloria became a close observer of the Native American traditional belief system. He knew well of the medicine wo/men, ceremonies and cultural songs and traditional stories that he had heard from the tribal custodians. Hence, he knew his ancestors who

invoked the assistance of higher spiritual entities to solve pressing practical problems, such as *finding game, making predictions of the future, learning about medicines, participating in healings, conversing with other creatures, finding lost objects, and changing the course of physical events* through a relationship with the higher spirits who controlled the winds, the clouds, the mountains, the thunders, and other phenomena of the natural world. (Deloria xix, emphasis added)¹⁰

Thus, in defining the Native American ways of being, Deloria, like all other American Indian historians, is firm on the truthfulness of the accounts of the Native American past. But, given the presentation of Native American spiritual history, he has a double responsibility: he textualizes Native American spiritual stories, on one hand, and mythistoricizes them, on the other. He is not only determinative in retrieving Native American history but also argumentative to explain the mythical stories that reconstruct Native American history in which they were (re)produced. His research on the myriads of reported events and documents, of the Native American spiritual practices which he sorts out and reorders, shows his interest in his traditional belief system and “reveal[s] a world wholly different from the one in which [today Native Americans] live” (Deloria xviii)¹¹. He evaluates these documents not as a critic but as a historian. “Writing as a historian, he insists that old accounts of spiritual power be read not in terms of magical trickery or performance, but as real manifestations of the permeating [historicity] of indigenous spiritual power” (Deloria xv)¹².

Deloria’s interest in history, politics, law and education, and in modern teaching techniques helped him to textualize and mythistoricize Native American history. Graduating in general science from Iowa State University (1958 – a college at that time) provided him an

extensive background to argue the politics of science. In 1959 his admission to the Lutheran School of Theology showed his interest in philosophy and theology. “He trained himself in history, law, politics, and education, and he learned the ways of the American academy. All of these things he did to advance the place of Indian people in the world” (Deloria xiv)¹³. Such a wide range of understanding of different fields of studies enabled him to make a bridge between the Native American traditional and western modern values. Even then, it was not simple to textualize and mythistoricize Native American history.

However, the assignment of the executive director of the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) in 1964 provided Deloria with a big opportunity to talk on Native American policies and politics in various political and literary forums. This responsibility initiated his literary journey with political movements (*Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto* 1969) and later passed through history (*God is Red* 1973 and *Behind the Trail of Broken Treaties* 1974), philosophy (*Red Earth, White Lies* 1995), theology (*For This Land* 1999) and ended in metaphysics (*The World We Used To Live In* 2006). Phillip Deloria, his son, states that all his journey political and literary “had both spiritual origins and spiritual consequences” (qtd. in Deloria xiv)¹⁴. *The World We Used to Live In* (2006) was his last endeavor for Native American rights that published after his own spiritual journey to death in November 2005. His discovery of Native American history that started from *God is Red* (1973) and ended at *The World We Used to Live In* (2006) was a journey to explore his spiritual heritage and that related with a “complex kind of *coming home*, a weaving together of the many strands of his life and work” (Deloria xv, emphasis added)¹⁵.

5.1. Native American Truth, Truths and Myth

Greenblatt argues that historians shape the history of selves “according to the ... given culture” (272)¹⁶ therefore they do not textualize an ultimate ‘Truth’ but the history / historicity / truths of their time. On the other hand, critics, like historians, are historically bound and cannot escape the power of their culture and ideology. Thus history is imitative and imposed and perceived as “a manipulative, artful process” (Greenblatt 2)¹⁷ because it does not construct a concrete perception of the social realities. Historical facts are usually conceived as Truth, truths and myth. History is usually conceived as the ‘Truth’ of a given society, and therefore, is thought

to be an ultimate presentation of the past happenings. New historicism rejects the ultimate nature of history because historians and critics frame these social realities according to their perception, making it impossible to find the ultimate Truth as the “[u]nalterable and eternal Truth remains like the Kingdom of Heaven, an eschatological hope (McNeill 10)¹⁸.

However, every text is the production and producer of its histories or historicity, therefore, history, like other disciplines of study, constructs the histories or historicity in which it was produced. These histories or historicity are the ‘truths’ of a society that historians can retrieve through the critical ways of understanding things that makes the stories of public interaction credible and intelligible. The facts that do not make the stories of public interaction credible and intelligible are conceived as a myth. This study in this chapter retrieves truths not Truth of Native American past because the Truth is impossible to retrieve in contemporary ages since the history in pre-Columbian time was shaped according to those values whereas it is analyzed according to contemporary culture and ideology (Greenblatt 5)¹⁹. This study not only retrieves Native American ‘truths’ – the histories or historicity – inscribed in the stories and reports that Deloria presents in *God is Red* (1973) and *The World We Used to Live In* (2006) but also defines how Deloria critically makes the Native American stories of public interaction credible and intelligible. It retrieves the truths of the vision quest, holy prognostication of medicine men, ceremonies, interspecies communication and transformation, on one hand, and makes them valid to counter the arguments that review them ‘myth’, on the other. To understand the Native American truths – history or historicity – inscribed in *God is Red* (1973) and *The World We Used to Live In* (2006) this chapter focuses on Deloria’s critical as well as scientific approach which is highly privileged in modern academia to “attain a better historiographical balance between Truth, truths and myth” (McNeill 8)²⁰.

5.1.1. Deloria’s Critical Approach to Native American Spiritual History

Euro-American scholars criticize Native American history because it constructs spiritual histories or historicity in which, according to Native Americans, it was (re)produced. They argue that Native American historians do not follow the ‘reason’ but mythology. Deloria counters the orientalist approach of Euro-American scholars who criticize Native American spiritual stories on their readings since they do not have any firsthand experience of the aboriginal world. These

readings show the biases of Euro-Americans because they do not reject stories and reports inscribed in Native American literary and non-literary texts on critical grounds but just because of the unreasoned approach of these stories. Deloria argues that the Native American spiritual practices inscribed in stories and reports are not unreasoned but unusual and so can be understood through a critical reading. He mythistoricizes – makes credible and intelligible – Native American stories that construct the histories or historicity, and at the same time, retrieves the Native American histories or historicity in which these stories were (re)produced. He states:

[T]o understand the scope and intensity of the spiritual powers possessed by our ancestors, I have arranged the stories of their exploits in a ... developmental fashion ... I reproduce the accounts exactly as I found them. They are set off clearly as extracts or in quotation marks, with the sources documented, so that if the reader wants a copy of the original story, he or she need only to reproduce the page to make them available. (Deloria xxiv)²¹

Deloria provides the readers/critics with the complete source of his documents and reports that he ‘faithfully’ retrieved the ‘truths’ of the Native American past. In the same way he ‘truthfully’ sorts out various documents and reports of eyewitnesses and critically evaluates them to make the Native American past credible and intelligible. This chapter focuses on his efforts to mythistory discover how he establishes his arguments to:

- a) compare the Native American mythical stories with the Biblical stories to make sense of the supernatural elements of Indian stories regarding the Biblical stories;
- b) criticize the western concept that history is a western invention to prove that this concept promoted the colonial agenda to derail colonized history;
- c) submit the reports of the common people of the white community that settled in or nearby reservations or tribes and that verified the different ceremonies;
- d) refer to the works of non-native historians, scholars, musicians, anthropologists and painters who deliberately visited Native American tribes to understand the ‘truths’ of Native American traditional ways of being;
- e) discuss critically and ‘truthfully’, the stories, reports and the criticism of other scholars to explain Native American past-truths;

- f) unveil the forged presentation of the contemporary ceremonies and other spiritual practices to highlight those who performed ceremonies for money-making;
- g) concretize the ideas of ‘mother earth’, ‘medicine man’, ‘rain dance’, ‘sundance’, ‘vision quest’ and other rituals according to the modern understanding of ecology or environmental issues to explain the importance of surrounding nature in the modern industrial world;
- h) explore how the ceremonies are based on the systematic observation, measurement, and experiment, and the formulation, testing, and modification of that observation that is the procedure of modern scientific method;
- i) argue the biological conditions of the pre-Columbian time that helped perform the ceremonies;
- j) discuss the knowledge of medicine wo/men of human anatomy – the scientific knowledge of human body parts – and of medicine formation and prove how it is better than the modern scientific exploration in the field of medicine;
- k) explain the interspecies relationship by countering different psychologists;
- l) clarify the cultural representation of stories and their practices regarding the aboriginal practices of historians. The thick description of these mythistorical efforts explores the histories or historicity inscribed in Native American tradition stories.

Ecclesiastical stories are one of the few sources of the pre-history of history. The Euro-American concept of history follows its religious stories although the spiritual stories of the Native Americans were previously rejected because of their resistance against colonial hegemony. To explain Native American spiritual stories Deloria compares them with Biblical stories. The comparison points out that the spiritual elements of biblical stories are similar to Native American stories but for their spiritual nature both are treated differently. Spirituality is believed as the high status of religious life and hence cannot be grasped without the understanding of the religious values of a community. Religious entities, generally, are synonymous with spirituality and are equally interpreted (Zinnbauer et al 549)²². The pre-history concept of history is spiritual that is “a complex, multidimensional construct composed of several major factors” (Elkins et al 8)²³ that “are identified as ... the journey, transcendence, community, religion, the ‘mystery of creation’, and transformation” (Lapierre 153)²⁴. Deloria (1973) explores these factors in Native American spiritual stories and compares them with

Biblical tales. For instance, the Native American and Biblical stories both narrates the destruction of the world in the past: the Bible tells of the ending of the world and the survival of the new generation; Native American stories also describe how the native people survived three destructions of the world, though each time, the conditions were different. These experiences of suffering were told to the succeeding generations through songs and stories to prepare them for the next destruction. Therefore, “[b]efore each destruction they were given special instructions for survival” (Deloria 101)²⁵ through the ceremonies, medicine songs and stories that (re)construct the histories or historicity of the society in which they were (re)produced to advise the new generation how to survive.

Being similar Christianity does not deny the supernatural elements of the Native American spiritual world narrated and reported by native and non-native eyewitnesses: “Both the Catholic and Protestant missionaries in early colonial days observed the wonderful feats of the medicine men but interpreted them as works of the devil” (Deloria xxi)²⁶. Deloria argues that the acceptance of Native American spiritual stories of ceremonies by Christianity, even though negative, proves them to be true as the belief in the evidence of satanic power of the ceremonies accepts their supernatural nature. The missionaries reported the power of medicine men “*to assume animal shapes, to walk through fire unharmed, through water without being drowned, to translate himself through the air with the quickness of thought, to control the elements*” (Deloria 23)²⁷. However, the reporters labeled these medicine men as the devil’s disciples and their ceremonies as devilish. Many clergymen personally witnessed the spiritual ceremonies but they avoided talking of them since they could not reject their truthfulness or call them tricks. So, “[t]he quick answer for [them], of course, was that the ceremony was the work of the devil and ... demons” (Deloria 90)²⁸. Deloria (2006) argues that since the eyewitnesses of these ceremonies did not focus on the purpose of the ceremonies, they could not understand their nature. “Since the *ceremony is designed to assist people in illness, in finding lost objects, and in finding game – all efforts to assist people*” then it is surprising to call them devilish (Deloria 90, emphasis added)²⁹.

Deloria (1973) pushes back the western criticism on the spiritual stories with his counter-criticism. He criticizes the western concept of history that follows the biblical frame. He argues that the West misguided people when it claimed the invention of history because the Hebrew

tribes of Judah known as Jews were the first that practiced the modern sense of recording happenings. Christianity adopted the Hebrew history and history – a practice that chronological comes first to it as the Gospels in their stories of historical incidents following the Jewish inscriptions (Deloria 104)³⁰. The historical stories in the Gospels were manipulated to promote Christianity in the colonies as the truthful and the biggest religion of contemporary times. The Christian “doctrine that Jesus had established ‘church’ to supervise the affairs of men until he decided to return” (Deloria 105)³¹ was promoted in the colonies but condemned in Europe showing that the west promoted or excluded Biblical history according to her need; thus clouding the concept of history. On the other hand, the involvement of ‘church’ in the inscription of history also derailed the concept of history. For instance, the appointment of Lord Acton, a Roman Catholic and a Religious Professor of History at Cambridge, as the editor of the first *Cambridge Modern History* declares the influence of the church on the modern concept of history (McNeill 1)³².

Deloria (1973) claims the truthfulness of Native American spiritual stories and the church also acknowledges them because of its bend towards spirituality. Modern historians, however, conceive the idea of spirituality as being absurd or mythical as it favors timelessness. They blame the Indian spiritual stories since they are used to make the new generation foolish. But, this criticism of Native American spirituality makes the biblical stories appear doubtful that also declines the value of the church in European societies whereas Native Americans who counter this criticism come close to their traditional belief system. They face severe criticism and political pressure to leave their position and join the mainstream. Congress, in 1978, passed the ‘Religious Freedom Act for American Indians’ that discriminates Native Americans as not being capable enough of documenting their traditional values. Following up on the act, Congress claimed responsibility for the protection and documentation of Native American religious values. According to this Act, American Indians were bound to practice their ceremonies at Congress-approved places and religious ceremonies were propagated as a personal aesthetic pleasure and choice and not as a social entity (Deloria 213)³³. Deloria demands his fellow historians to be careful about the proliferation of mainstream ideology and urges them to respond to the second-hand knowledge of Euro-Americans about the firsthand experience of Native Americans. He insists that Indian tribes should not invite the evil-minded non-natives into their rituals and religious practices and in doing so, he (2006) appreciates the Southwest tribes that have secretly

preserved their rituals (Deloria xxi)³⁴; the only known ceremonies of these tribes were the public dances where the general public was invited but as far as the actual religious ceremonies were concerned, the general public remained ignorant of them.

Deloria also emphasizes that “[s]hared truths that provide a sanction for common effort have obvious survival value. Without such social cement, no group can long preserve itself” (McNeill 3)³⁵. This is the reason why most Native American tribes did not restrict anyone from attending their ceremonies. Besides the clergymen, many traders, travelers, company employees and other white people who settled in nearby reservations also verified the spiritual practices in Native American communities. Deloria argues that there was no political agenda of this common white community and it just described the ceremonies as a source of amazement without a sacred, self-justifying and religious explanation. He is insistent that American Indian tribes should avoid the presence of evil-minded non-natives in their ceremonies, although the reports of the white community that describe the power of ceremonies also explain the Native American social and cultural embedment because these reports are based on the firsthand experiences of non-natives of the strange mythical world that in their opinion is inhabited by the American Indian tribes. For instance, numerous non-natives reported the Pawnee traditional medicine lodge since anyone could attend the ceremony and the Pawnee people themselves invited the non-natives and natives of other tribes in their ceremonies because they believed in the truthfulness of their medicine men.

Deloria (2006) refers to the report of Major Frank North who organized the Pawnee scouts’ camp for the frontier army. North attended many ceremonies and described his experience to George Bird Grinnell who confirms that Frank North told him of the competition of ‘corn growing ceremony’ where a medicine man prepared soft soil in his lodge and buried a few kernels of corn in it. Then he “sang [and] the soil was seen to move, and a tiny green blade came slowly into view. This continued ... to grow until ... of full height. [The medicine man] plucked an ear and passed it to the spectators” (Grinnell, qtd. in Deloria 127)³⁶.

Deloria also refers to the report of Charles Lummis who reported the 1890s competition where a Navajo medicine man demonstrated his powers to grow corn kernels to full plants quickly. In the competition, a medicine man distributed the seeds of different plants in which the

corn revealed itself. However, Charles Lummis called them jugglers and magicians and did not believe in their powers, although, he could not explain how these medicine men were able to accomplish these feats (qtd. in Deloria 130)³⁷. Various medicine men showed their power in different competitions for which viewers were welcomed as the competition “was not a matter of belief or sleight of hand, but performing before a critical audience. If anyone claimed powers and could not appear and demonstrate them before the village, they would be disgraced beyond redemption” (Deloria 127)³⁸.

However, the critics argue that the non-native eyewitnesses describe the spiritual ceremonies as they saw and could not understand the trickery of medicine men. Such arguments, according to Deloria, “divert the attention from their factual approach” (xx)³⁹. To counter the argument, he refers to the works of non-native historians, scholars, musicians, anthropologists and painters who visited Native American tribes to understand the ‘truths’ of Native American traditional ways of being. These books and articles of non-native scholars explain the nature of the Native American rituals and therefore are answers to allegations on the power of medicine men. Deloria (2006) refers to Thomas Lewis’ *The Medicine Men* that explains the traditional concept of medicine men in yuwipi that is not different from the Native American viewpoint. Lewis defines the Native American “old religions in a new form” (qtd. in Deloria xx)⁴⁰ to explore the traditional concept of ceremonies. In the same way, Deloria (2006) privileges Frances Densmore who visited the Standing Rock Reservation in the last decade of the 20th century and faithfully noted the rituals of the Sioux. Her book *Teton Sioux Music and Culture* gave details of Indian culture (Deloria xxi)⁴¹. Deloria appreciates her efforts to assemble the facts of American Indian tradition and invites modern critics to read her works to gain answers to their arguments. To understand the nature of medicine men, Deloria (2006) mentions *The Old North Trail* in which Walter McClintock describes his experience with the Blackfeet of Montana. McClintock describes various contests between medicine men that were routine matters in the native community. These contests explain the correlation between man and nature to improve living standards.

The presentation of medicine men in different books proves that they were equally honored in different Native American tribes. Deloria (2006) cites James W Schultz’s *My Life as an Indian* which describes the living ways of the Blackfeet of Montana. Schultz describes the

“spirit lodge ritual performed ... by the medicine man Old Sun” (Deloria 97)⁴² to explain the Native American spiritual world. The book has credible information given by Schulz who did his best to explore the Native American rituals; even marrying into the tribe to be permitted in the ceremonies and observe the spiritual practices minutely. Deloria also refers to *The Oregon Trail* of Francis Parkman to explain the practice of vision quests. “Some of these visions will be familiar to people, others will come as a surprise, and some will cause embarrassment” (Deloria xxiv)⁴³ but Parkman admits the power of these visions to explore the secrets of nature. These books of well-known white writers are answers to critics who defer Native American rituals and term them as frauds of medicine men. These white writers verify the stories and reports of the common white community that expresses a similar experience.

Deloria (2006) also discusses several notable western journals that are considered credible because of their objective scrutiny. Publishing the reports of missionaries, travelers and merchants about Native American spiritual practices, these journals have acknowledged their sensibility and authenticity as in the report of a clergyman who saw “a herd of buffalo coming from the sky ... When the people see anything like that they say it is a holy thing” (Cooper qtd. in Deloria 119)⁴⁴ showing that it was a routine matter in the Native American community. The religious affiliation of the reporter, being a clergyman, enabled him to understand this supernatural entity, albeit as satanic. Deloria (2006) mentions the report of the Roman Catholic journal, which was also published in “The New York Times” in 1922. This report explains the spiritual powers of medicine men who could “change the rate of the passage of time for another entity” (Deloria 133)⁴⁵. The report is deemed authentic as the magazine is of international credibility and does not publish without validating it with its own critical judgment. This incident has also been reported in other parts of the world. Deloria points out William E. Curtis’ report of the ‘seed grass ceremony’ in the Boise Daily Statesman newspaper. Deloria argues that Curtis was right because he defined the ceremony neutrally since he did not know the purpose of the ritual and so did not have any political agenda in its description. Besides different books, articles and reports published in authentic western journals Deloria also highlights Paul Kane’s paintings of Native American rituals and sacred places. Kane visited the west part of America and Canada in 1848 and painted about thirty paintings that portray the traditional rituals and ceremonial dresses of the tribes (Deloria 93)⁴⁶.

Works of non-native artists and writers that publicize the rituals of Native American tribes verify the similarity between the various American Indian tribes. Historians and scholars who traveled to different tribes for purposes of research have explored the Native American ways of being. The stories, they assembled, link the dead (their witnesses) and the living (their narrators or researchers) to reveal the past-truths that have survived in them even after the death of the storytellers or eyewitnesses. The ‘truths’ – histories or historicity – encoded in these traditional stories can be explored through the “verbal, aural, and visual traces” (Greenblatt 6)⁴⁷ that reaches out beyond an individual to a group. Deloria (2006) appreciates the Southwest tribes that did not propagate their rituals by preventing strangers from their ceremonies, at the same time that he encourages research-minded scholars to visit Native American tribes as the more information of Indian rituals whites have the better are “the chances of creating an understanding between the races” (91)⁴⁸ and their critical notes enable to create Native American worlds (Cox 108)⁴⁹.

Many Euro-American scholars blame scholars and historians, even though non-native, to just assemble the stories of Native American rituals from various parts of Indian land without evaluating their contents. They argue that these historians followed what Herodotus advised the historians of the time i.e. to be ‘faithful’ in collecting and correlating various stories and should not pass judgment over the in/validity of collected stories (Herodotus 149)⁵⁰ and ignored Thucydides who insisted that historians had to be ‘truthful’ or critical when categorizing the stories to save the truths inside the historical tales (Thucydides qtd. in McNeal 324)⁵¹. Deloria invites these scholars to read these stories or reports critically. He argues that these scholars’ native and non-native ‘faithfully’ sorted out Native American stories from different sources and noted them critically or ‘truthfully’. To explore the validity of various reports inscribed by native or non-native scholars, historians, anthropologists, sociologists, musicians, painters and even common travelers and clergymen, Deloria discusses them critically / ‘truthfully’. The critical understanding of these stories or reports explains Native American ‘truths’ of past ceremonies. For example, western scholars accuse medicine men of trickery in influencing innocent people to govern them. They criticize the performance of ceremonies thinking that the medicine man himself shook the tent. The critics usually state that the tents for the ceremonies were specially made on the instruction of the medicine men and that, they would, therefore, shake easily. Deloria argues that such judgments on the reports and the stories of Native American rituals are

not critical but personal. He cites the report of John R. Swanton who described the ceremonies of the Cree where “instead of building a separate tent, the [people] apparently simply enclosed the medicine man’s cabin for the ritual, and it shook as if it were a temporary tent erected for the occasion” (Deloria 102)⁵². Deloria argues that claims of the ceremony to be a trick of the medicine man to fool his audience is beyond reason as the tent was not specifically made and could be checked to be not as flexible before and after the ceremony as it was observed during the ceremony.

Deloria also argues that the eyewitnesses of these spiritual practices were not as innocent or ignorant as the western critics conceive them to be. He describes Stephen Feraca’s experience of a ceremony when he visited the yuwipi to check the law and enforcement conditions on the orders of the superintendent of the Pine Ridge Reservation. Feraca describes that Horn Chips, the chief medicine man of yuwipi, performed the ceremony in a lighted tent. “Indian police were present, and the police chief himself carefully tied and wrapped the yuwipi man. Lights flashed on the ceiling. Horn Chips was untied when the flashing ceased” (Feraca, qtd. in Deloria 88)⁵³. The ceremony was performed in daylight in the presence of a critical audience, thus reducing the chances of trickery. Feraca could not understand how the medicine man performed the spiritual ceremony but claimed it to be a trick, even though he could never prove it to have been a trick since he was himself a critical observer.

Euro-American critics accuse Native American ceremonies of being nonsensical and the excuse given most frequently is that the medicine man himself shakes the tent. “However, on occasion, the tent shakes for several hours, certainly sufficiently long enough to sap the strength of anyone trying to move the structure in the powerful way that the shaking occurs” (Deloria 89)⁵⁴. Critics frequently demand the reason for the stout poles of the tent to become soft and flexible at the arrival of spirits during the ceremony. They also accuse the medicine men of producing different sounds thus pretending to be talking to the spirits. According to Deloria, they do not even accept the explanations of those non-native “people [who] have to admit that the voices are different and that they engage in conversation with some voices appearing to be speaking from the top of the tent, while others are definitely heard at ground level” (Deloria 90)⁵⁵. Deloria argues that there are official documents regarding the truths of these cultural

feasts, but the criticism on them demands the modern scientific clarification of these spiritual performances.

Many scholars and critics claim the ceremonies to be sleight-of-hand tricks and accuse the medicine men in question to have concealed things to show the audience at the end of the rituals as proof of their success. Deloria argues that to perform a trick before a critical audience who are already in a disbelieving frame of mind is not as simple as is conceived because “[i]f anyone claimed powers and could not appear and demonstrate them before the village, they would be disgraced beyond redemption” (Deloria 127)⁵⁶. Thus, whenever one tries “to visualize these feats of the medicine men, [one] must remember that these people are within feet of their audience and usually wear very few clothes so as not to be accused of a sleight-of-hand trick” (Deloria 133)⁵⁷. There are also some scholars who when they are unable to prove the fraud of medicine men accept their power but do not acknowledge it to be spiritual. They argue that medicine men work hard to make their minds so strong that they can hypnotize any person they want, thus claiming that the medicine men hypnotize the entire audience and thus they cannot see the tricks behind the rituals or can only see whatever the medicine men desire. Deloria calls such arguments humorous because the power to hypnotize the mass “of onlookers seems even more unlikely. If a crowd of people can be that easily hypnotized, the real feat here would be mesmerizing the crowd to see whatever you wanted them to see, and that is a power not lightly bestowed” (Deloria 135)⁵⁸. These scholars could not prove the tricks of the ceremonies, therefore, relate them with a recognized practice of hypnotism.

One of the most notable achievements of medicine man that is often criticized was his power of changing the weather. The newscasters delighted to cast the news of the ‘rain dance’ ceremony, where the dancing of the American Indians caused it rain, to publicize the absurdity of the Native American traditional belief system. Euro-American critics also state the ‘rain dance’ ceremonies as a self-commercialization of the Native American medicine community to induce the public to depend on them. They argue that the rain and dancing were coincidences that favored the medicine men to brag. For instance, Deloria refers a French explorer Jean N. Nicolet Notice who was appointed by the federal government in 1841 for a population-survey of the Couteau de Prairie. Notice describes his experience of ‘rain dance’ and laughed at the dancing of the medicine man and called the raining “as a mere coincidence, and that the belief of

the American Indians is merely a superstition” (Deloria 164)⁵⁹. Sometimes Euro-American scholars relate this ceremony with the medicine man’s knowledge of ecology. They argue that the medicine man only performed ‘rain dance’ when he assured of raining but pretended to produce it. Deloria calls such parameters of understanding ‘rain dance’ humor that misconceive the endeavors of medicine men to control the thunder, clouds, and rain. He insists on the critical understanding of the stories or reports of ‘rain dance’ that reveal the social impact of the ceremony because the medicine man was asked for the benefit of the entire community to produce rain in a draught. He mentions *An Apache Life Way* wherein Morris Opler also reported the Chiricahua “ceremony [to] bring rain when it is very dry” (qtd. in Deloria 137)⁶⁰. It explains the correlation between the need for rain and the ‘rain dance’ and when the medicine man danced, it rained within a few minutes. On the other hand, it sounds irrational that people requested for ‘rain dance’ in the rainy season when weather was already cloudy because if the people knew the possibility of rain or the weather was cloudy there would be no need to ask the medicine man to rain (Deloria 137)⁶¹.

The ‘rain dance’ was not always performed for raining as there are various reports that describe how the medicine man controlled thunder or storm to save the community from the disaster. Deloria explains his own experience of ‘rain dance’ on the Lummi Reservation that often receives a deadly rain-storm. In this part of Washington, the medicine men are not asked for rain but to control it. Deloria describes a snow-storm that covered the entire reservation for a long time and trapped the people inside their homes to die of starvation or suffocation. Similarly, the Lummi medicine man was also requested to control the falling snow that had accumulated to a dangerous depth; consequently, he dances “and sings a song that changes the snow into rain and melts the snow on the ground, relieving the Lummis from danger” (Deloria 138)⁶². The whole practice explains the social impact of the ‘rain dance’ ceremony that was performed to change the path of the storm rather than to produce rain. Sometimes there were contests of ‘rain dance’ that were held for medicine men to show their powers. Such types of competitions of ‘rain dance’ were the daily routine of the Blackfeet of Montana where the medicine men were asked to show their powers. In this regard, Deloria argues the report of Walter McClintock who tells of two medicine men Mastepene and Spotted Eagle who were determined to show their powers. In a challenge to Spotted Eagle, Mastepene produced a dark cloud on the eastern side of the mountain-range of Rockies. The people observed an unexpected change in the wind that

Mastepene foretold (McClintock qtd. in Deloria 142)⁶³. Before the black cloud came into range to drench the people, Spotted Eagle announced that he would control it and immediately the rainclouds diverted from the direction thus proving him stronger than Mastepene.

The ‘rain dance’ was a common practice of the Native American tribes as the ceremony is reported in various books, journals and reports. It is stated that the ceremony would be performed for three reasons: 1.) when people asked the medicine man to rain as there was a dry spell or drought; 2.) when people asked to control the torrents of rain and to change the path of a havoc-creating storm to save the community; and 3.) when the medicine men were engaged in a competition to show their power of changing weather. In the first case, the power to bring rain resides in the special songs and dances that were given to spiritual elders in a vision or dream. In the second case, the spirits control the rain-storm at the request of a medicine man who has good relations with the spirits. In the last case, the weather becomes an arena of competition through which spiritual powers remind people that there is something larger than the forces of nature they see daily. The critical understanding of the stories of these ceremonies reveals that medicine men respond positively to the natural phenomena, and therefore, understand its future direction.

The deathbed confessions of various medicine men about their spiritual world also verified the Native American ‘truths’ as no-one on the point of death should be presumed to be lying (Polelle 290)⁶⁴. Usually, a deathbed confession reveals a crime or a secret the dying person has had in his/her life to clear the burden of his/her conscience. Such confessions have worth even in modern courts to re-open an already decided case even in a criminal trial (Polelle 290)⁶⁵. Deloria submits such confessions of medicine men to explore ‘truths’ of the Native American spiritual world. He refers to the report of Stiles, a Museum researcher, who noted (in 1950) the confession of a converted medicine man. Stiles thought that in his miserable condition the medicine man must confess the trickery of his spiritual practices. He asked him to speak the truth of his experience as a medicine man that would be better for the salvation of his soul. But the dying Indian did not change the words of his experience of a ceremony:

I have become a Christian, I am old, I am sick, I cannot live much longer, and I can do no other than speak the truth ... I did not deceive you at the time. I did not *move the lodge* ... The top of the lodge was full of [spirits], and before me *the sky and wide lands lay*

expanded. I could see a great distance about me, and believed I could recognize the most distant objects. (Stiles qtd. in Deloria 101, emphasis added)⁶⁶

The confession discloses that the medicine man is no more a medicine man but a Christian who can easily deny the spirituality of the ceremony once he practiced. His deathbed conviction not only explains the spirituality of his ceremony but also highlights the forced conversion of American Indians to Christianity. Deloria also submits the dying confession of a medicine man Wau-chus-co who confessed: “I possessed a power which I cannot explain or describe to you ... *I held communications with supernatural beings, or thinking minds, or spirits which acted upon my mind, or soul, and revealed to me such knowledge as I have described*” (qtd. in Deloria 101, emphasis added)⁶⁷. These confessions explain the Native Americans’ viewpoint of the spiritual nature of their rituals.

“[H]istorian can only expect to be heard if they say what the people around them want to hear – in some degree. They can only be useful if they also tell people some things they are reluctant to hear – in some degree” (McNeill 10)⁶⁸. The serious historians critically explain the stories or happenings of history not to just explain the ‘truths’ of a nation but also to unveil the forged good presentation of that nation. Despite his firm stance on the validity of Native American rituals, Deloria highlights the falsehood of contemporary ceremonies. He is disappointed by the contemporary Indians who have little understanding of their oral traditional culture (Deloria xvii)⁶⁹. He criticizes the contemporary ceremonies of medicine men that are not practiced for the benefit of people but for money-making (Deloria xvii)⁷⁰. However, his approach to the contemporary ‘bogus’ ceremonies also explains his viewpoint of the power and validity of spiritual practices. Contemporary bogus ceremonies like ‘Mother Earth’ that turn spiritual practice into prostitution. In these ceremonies, several native women were encouraged to play the role of ‘Mother Earth’ for a handsome amount of money. For him, it is the misuse of Indian ceremonies to make money that puts the native values at a position where they become an easy victim of criticism. On the other hand, “secular ways of modern time, change of living conditions [and] foreign educational system ... [took American Indians] away from the spiritual energy that once directed [their] lives ... [and flourished] popular beliefs and dogmas” (Deloria xviii)⁷¹. Thus, the ceremonial happenings are politicized according to the colonial agenda of civilization.

The accultured reservations where “the erosion of the old ways is so profound that many people are willing to cast aside [their] ceremonies” (Deloria xvii)⁷².

The critical analysis of Native American stories explains that the collection of these stories constructs the histories or historicity of the Indian past in which they were (re)produced. Deloria’s critical approach to various stories is an effort to make their constructed histories or historicity credible and intelligible. This chapter explains how Deloria mythohistoricizes Native American traditional belief systems and, at the same time, explores the histories of these stories in which they were (re)produced. It [myt]historicizes the ‘tent shake ceremony’ ‘seed grass ceremony’ ‘Rain dance ceremony’ ‘corn grown ceremony’, sweat lodge, Mother Earth, powers of medicine wo/men and other supernatural happenings of Native American community to lead the researchers to the critical research of Indian stories because such aboriginal stories are the only knowledge to understand the pre-history civilizations and dogmas. The survival of these stories explains that aboriginal people promote the practice of storytelling to preserve their histories or historicity because this was the credible way to publicize and preserve their social and cultural values. The colonizers knew the power of these stories “[s]o they try to destroy the stories [and] let the stories be confused and forgotten” (Silko 2)⁷³. For instance, the new generation of Native Americans was taught the senselessness of these stories to civilize them. Deloria’s efforts to mythohistoricize and textualize the Indian aboriginal stories show that Native American historians have realized not only the agenda of settlers but also the importance of these stories: “There is life here / for the [Indian] people” because in every “story / the rituals and ceremony / are still growing” (Silko 2)⁷⁴.

5.1.2. Deloria’s Scientific Approach to Native American Spiritual History

The ‘indigenous procedural knowledge’ or knowledge of the rituals or ceremonies of a community is mostly conceived as having no relationship with scientific knowledge (Norton-Smith 59)⁷⁵. The traditional belief system of any native community is not valued, in the modern scientific world, as a source for raising the standard of human life (Deloria 203)⁷⁶. However, the interdisciplinary approach of scientific research admits the importance of the indigenous knowledge of a community towards improving modern living standards. Thus, the knowledge of how the aboriginal tribes survived in the presence of severe natural phenomena not only helps

scientists to understand the climate-change procedures that enhance the cost-effective, participatory and sustainable strategies (Southall iv)⁷⁷ but also helps them to understand the adjustment of aboriginal human beings into the natural phenomenon. Hence, the “knowledge gained through experience with plants and animals is not an inferior substitute for proper scientific knowledge: it is the real thing. Direct experience is the only way to build up an understanding that is not only intellectual but intuitive and practical” (Sheldrake 213)⁷⁸. To follow the environmental science that “everything is connected to everything else” (Rueckert 108)⁷⁹ the Native American stories treat the natural world “as a real entity: the ‘environment,’ ‘human ecology,’ Gaia or the organismic Earth, the universe, God” (Glotfelty 356-357)⁸⁰ and concretize the ideas of ‘mother earth’, ‘medicine man’, ‘rain dance’, ‘sun dance’, ‘vision quest’ and other rituals to explain the importance of surrounding nature in the contemporary industrial world because man is still dependent on “the earth as he was in the beginning” (Bear, qtd. in Deloria xxxi)⁸¹. The traditional belief system inscribed in Native American stories promotes the modern understanding of *Ecology or environmental issues*. It (belief system) explains aboriginal natural conditions and their impact on creatures, and therefore, publicizes the importance of natural living ways in the modern unnatural or industrial world. On the other hand, the indigenous knowledge of supernatural elements and behaviors gives new impetus to the metaphysical theories that reform western notions of science. This mythical knowledge introduces science by explaining the ideas of how to control the wind, rain, fire and other elements of nature to benefit mankind.

The man-nature correlation inscribed in Native American stories links the prosperity of mankind with his love for nature thus promoting the ideology of environmental science. These stories explain how much native people felt good in the company of nature. They showed equal respect for the living and non-living elements of nature because they believed “that all things have life – trees, rock, the wind, mountains” (Deloria xxxii)⁸² and that there was benign personal energy in every object of nature for mankind (Deloria xxv)⁸³. Their respect and beliefs brought them close to natural elements that in turn helped them to adapt and adjust to live in a good way. Also, they were completely dependent on nature for their food, clothing and shelter and this dependence on nature made Native Americans extraordinarily clear in their observation of nature thus helping them to survive in various circumstances. Thus, they could predict the weather as well as the impact of the moon and sun on the periodic rains and winds. This empirical

knowledge was publicized through stories or ritual-songs because there was no other way to preserve it. Thus, Indian stories or medicine-songs are not for entertainment or fable, as some scholars have assumed, but are the experiences of veterans based on their lifelong observation of nature or environment. Deloria criticizes Euro-American educationists for putting aside Native American stories without researching what they are saying. He argues that there are colonial motives behind ignoring Indian stories and Euro-Americans are making up the minds of the new generation of American Indians to confine them “within a foreign educational system” (Deloria xviii)⁸⁴. On the other hand, from graduate to post-doctoral level the researchers are not encouraged to work on Native American issues as compared with other scientific projects on nature-related issues. Thus, the new generation of American Indians is moving away from their traditional knowledge and their traditional belief system is becoming redundant.

Deloria states that “the preliminary efforts by American Indians to gain knowledge of the physical world through observation and inquiry may be understood as the aboriginal equivalent of high school and college education” (Deloria xxx)⁸⁵. He argues that the critical understanding of Native American stories explores how the ceremonies are based on the systematic observation, measurement, and experiment, and the formulation, testing, and modification of hypotheses that is the procedure of the modern scientific method (Oxford)⁸⁶. To explain the approach of American Indians to the scientific research method he submits the story of Morris Opler, Chiricahua Apache medicine man, whose ceremony follows the scientific research method:

[H]e sang songs about different medicines. He sang about one herb and then another. There was no sign that any of these would help. Then he started on the trees. He got to juniper. Then he stopped. His power had showed him that juniper was good. ‘What kind of juniper,’ he asked. His power told him to name the junipers. ‘Alligator bark juniper?’ he asked. ‘No.’ ‘Rock juniper?’ It was not right either. ‘One-seeded juniper?’ ‘You’ve got it,’ said his power. He started another song. Right at the beginning he stopped. He nodded. ‘There are four,’ he said, ‘slim medicine (Pereziawrightii), sumac, pinon, and one-seeded juniper. The roots of the first two can be used and the needles of the last two’. (qtd. in Deloria 48)⁸⁷

The ceremony was performed to find a particular medicine plant to cure a disease. The medicine man was guided from general to particular i.e the main locus of scientific research. This systematic practice from general to particular is also explained in the “dreams in which aspects of the living universe came forward to urge [people] to take certain well-defined paths of behavior” (Deloria xxv)⁸⁸. The persons with a good heart and soul were addressed in a dream by an animal, bird or plant that offered its friendship and told the secrets of various medicinal plants. Usually, a plant came into a dream and defined the whole systematic procedure: “how to harvest it and prepare it for food or use as a medicine, they followed the plant’s directions, and they always found the message to be true” (Deloria xxv)⁸⁹. The message is again publicized through stories or songs to the other people who followed these stories faithfully because there was no good reason to doubt them as their contents were empirically proved true in their daily lives. Through storytelling practice, this knowledge was conveyed to the other tribes or to the next generations that made American Indians able to strengthen their relationship with nature.

Therefore, it is wrong to perceive that Native Americans’ relationship with their surrounding nature is accidental; it is, on the contrary, the result of consistent research that increased the knowledge of pre-Columbian man to understand natural elements: the land, the animals and the plants. Thus, he could control the natural elements (as medicine men claimed) through his deep observation and previous experiences that built up a solid understanding of the subjects of study. The rituals or ceremonies were not accidental but scientific as the medicine wo/men performed it according to calculated or estimated understanding of a possible result. For instance, the Osage and Pawnee tribes in planting their corn moved westward and returned when a certain flower turned a color that was a symbol of the harvesting season. They had “intimate knowledge of the flora over a 500 to 600 mile radius since they ensured that their activities were nicely dovetailed with what the plant people were doing in their growth and death cycle” (Deloria 125)⁹⁰.

Dreams were a significant part of the ‘vision quest ceremony’ where a person fasted and prayed in isolation for many days (in most cases four) to contact a spirit and understand natural phenomena. The quest was twofold as some of the persons claimed to hear the command of a spirit that bestowed them, for their devotions, the knowledge of natural elements to help people whereas some people were instructed in dreams to devote themselves to working for their

community. The chosen ones were known as medicine (wo)men who followed their destiny to help people or guided the younger ones in various ceremonies. However, not everyone was lucky enough to go beyond the physical world into the spiritual world of powers. Usually, people avoided confrontation with the spirits because the gift of powers always imposed additional responsibility on them. People with higher powers and knowledge were set aside in a tribe or a band and their ordinary life became strange. However, the majority, even though not chosen to be medicine men, was acknowledged for their pains of the quest. Usually, a voice told them that their efforts were acknowledged; sometimes an insect or a bird “had come before them, stating simply that their efforts had not gone unnoticed” (Deloria 17)⁹¹. Often the people were told of their successful future life or long life or the best food to eat or what food they must avoid. Most of the people who passed through the vision quests, simply expected to live lives protected by the higher powers. However, American Indians also went on a quest only for “the search [of] knowledge. A recognition of the reality and profound significance of the ... world, the inner impulses of a questioning mind, and the determination to delve ever more deeply into the mystery and meaning of life are intrinsic to [their] search” (Irwin 12)⁹².

Euro-American critics label the stories of vision quests as mythical and argue that the quest without food and water could make American Indians too weak enough to observe their surroundings properly and that they were therefore confused. They point out a medical disease of hallucination in which a man without food and water for a long period becomes sick mentally, and therefore, his mind suffers from hallucinations. They argue that the person who practiced vision quest ceremonies would be a victim of hallucination since their complete isolation and prolonged fasting took them into a world that was nothing but the creation of their sick and fatigued mind. On the other hand, the stories of vision quests are also marked as self-made because like other ceremonies they were not performed in the presence of a critical audience. Deloria argues that this criticism came from scholars who do not know the biological conditions of pre-Columbian times; who are well-fed and thus do not know the hardship of aboriginal people. He explains that American Indians grew up in an entirely biological and therefore natural environment; they were trained “to withstand all the rigors of nature and, consequently, could easily go without food and water for long periods. A mere four days would not affect a well-raised Indian” (Deloria 19)⁹³. He also states that American Indians also knew the difference between reality and hallucination so they trained their children so that they “could withstand the

physical tests that a ten-day vision demanded” (Deloria 34)⁹⁴. On the other hand, the children were educated enough to think critically to understand the responsibilities of ceremonies. For instance, every girl and boy in the Native American tribes of Powamuy or Katsina was raised thinking critically about her/his surroundings. They were also mature about their social, cultural and religious norms (Loftin 689)⁹⁵. At the end of the quest, they had to explain their quest to the veteran medicine community or other spiritual heads who confirmed that either the quest was truthful or mere hallucination. Such experiential practices of knowledge give birth to beliefs, would be astonishing for the westerners.

The vision quest ceremony or dreams had a significant role of knowing the medicine secrets of various plants that help cure different diseases. The medicine (wo)men in the Indian community, therefore, were privileged for their knowledge of human anatomy – the scientific knowledge of human body parts – and medicine formation. “[B]eing a medicine man, more than anything else, is a state of mind, a way of looking at and understanding this earth, a sense of what it is all about” (Deer 163)⁹⁶. Various stories and reports describe their knowledge of medicines and diseases. Some of the reports explain that their medicinal knowledge was better than modern scientific exploration in the medicine field. Deloria states that their medicinal knowledge was directly related to their knowledge of anatomy; they knew well the different functions of body parts, and therefore, got immediate results. Even a number of non-natives were witnesses of medicine men treatments and acknowledged their skill in medicine fields. Deloria cites the report of M. J. Healy, an American ship captain to understand the spiritual medicine knowledge of a medicine man. Healy reported the severe ailment of a young girl during a voyage somewhere in the Alaskan islands. The girl fell because she was hemorrhaging and vomiting blood all around as she lay there on the deck as pale as a dead. Before the doctor Yeamans, the ship’s surgeon, reached there, the chief medicine man rushed to the girl and “blew first into one ear and then into the other, and then tapped her on the chin, and she got up and was all right again” (Healy qtd. in Deloria 52)⁹⁷ and danced as though she had never been sick. Healy was surprised as two minutes before she was suffering from hemorrhage. The report of the white educated man describes the amazing medicine ability of Native American doctor and his knowledge of ‘human anatomy’.

Deloria states that even the non-natives preferred medicine men to white doctors. He submits the reports of many non-natives about Dr. Perry, a medicine man to prove the superiority of traditional medicine ways. For instance, a white family called Dr. Perry for their daughter who was suffering from tuberculosis. The parents called in many specialists and physicians for her treatment but she could not improve and grow worse. The father was told to ask Dr. Perry for her treatment. Dr. Perry visited the girl “administered some herb medicine and in a short time, the girl was feeling stronger. After a while he ordered her to sit up and then in a few days she was out of doors” (Perry qtd. in Deloria 49)⁹⁸. On another occasion, a boy who had become mentally ill was treated by Dr. Perry. His mother requested Dr. Perry to treat him but he was far away from there. The boy constantly cast out an imaginary line to catch fish. The mother visited several white doctors to discuss his son’s case but they could not cure him. When Dr. Perry came there after some days he immediately judges the mental sickness of the boy. “He went out in the back yard and returned shortly with some roots which he had dug up. He prepared the roots and made a strong tea which he administered to the boy who fell into a deep sleep” (Perry qtd. in Deloria 50)⁹⁹. After a fixed time the boy regained consciousness and was normal. The reports explain the effect of Indian medicines that have been abandoned because of the lack of research on them.

Modern critics/scientists do not accept the results of any medicine and argue that the treatments of medicine men were based on their knowledge of psychosomatic understanding of the patient’s condition. They declare that the medicine man was experienced enough to understand the mentality of the patient, and so, could tackle him accordingly. Deloria argues that the medicine man knew the mental state of the patient and it is because of his experience and skill that he suggests a suitable medicine because the psychosomatic way of curing is a long term process whereas in the reported cases the patient recovers immediately. Russell Thornton points out the poor health conditions during the colonial period and questions the responsibility and ability of medicine men (Thornton 88)¹⁰⁰ to which Deloria responds that scholars like Thornton forget the fact that Native Americans were pushed into the reservations where they were cut off from their natural surroundings i.e their power. On the other hand, the epidemic broke out because of the white people and Native Americans on the reservations became easy victims (Deloria 55)¹⁰¹.

Dreams or vision quests were not the only means that defined the Native American traditional belief system; the interspecies relationship was equally important as a confrontation with birds and animals was a routine matter in the Native American community. Deloria cites the adulthood experience of Charles Eastman and Luther Standing Bear to argue interspecies communication. Charles Eastman says that when his grandmother was young enough to take notice, she could communicate with birds and red squirrels in an unknown dialect. Luther Standing Bear also relates that the larks in his state of South Dakota spoke Sioux language whereas in California, where he lives now, speak another language or perhaps he is getting too civilized (qtd. in Deloria 109)¹⁰². Such descriptions are severely criticized and provide the non-native with reason to trash Native American stories and belief systems. Deloria criticizes their haste in throwing away traditional Indian stories so that they could inscribe spiritual histories or historicity. He explains that most animals and birds talked to human beings in disturbing times. He argues that Native Americans were keen observers of the natural world, and could, therefore, quickly understand the response of birds and animals to the disturbances in nature, and therefore, were ready to face the problems.

Modern science also researches the behavior of different animals and birds in danger and catastrophes. Many stories and reports of interspecies relationship, inscribed in *God Is Red* (1973) and *The World We Used to Live In* (2006), explore the sacred intrusion of the plants, animals or other natural elements in the Indian community. Deloria has submitted the report of William Rowland; who when he was in the Cheyenne camp in late autumn in 1854 or 1855, reported that at about nine or ten o'clock at night he heard the howling of a coyote. Shortly, an old man came around the camp and predicted that an armed group of Pawnees was about to attack the camp. "The next morning, the camp was attacked by Pawnees, who were driven off" at the warning of the coyote (qtd. in Deloria 114)¹⁰³. Similarly, another report of Dives Backward, a Cheyenne, describes that a coyote led a war party of Cheyenne (in 1858) to the camp of Utes (qtd. in Deloria 116).¹⁰⁴ Such anecdotal beliefs provide the basic understanding of the interspecies relationship in the Native American community but they do not provide the foundation or sound footing for argumentation. The most sophisticated interpretation is that people had a fair knowledge of the sounds and behavior of birds and animals much like the people can comprehend the moods of their pets like dogs and cats. However, such arguments are

not enough to counter the modern scholars or psychologists who severely criticize such beliefs of American Indians.

Deloria explains the Native American concept of interspecies relationship with the story of Black Elk, the Sioux medicine man, who told his experience of interspecies communication. Black Elk was trapped in a strong snowstorm while hunting and took shelter under a nearby hill. Since the night was cold he hid under his buffalo skin. Soon he heard the howling of a coyote that was not far off. Black Elk immediately understands what the coyote was trying to convey: “Two-legged one, on the big ridge west of you there are bison; but first you shall see two more two-legged over there” (Deloria 111)¹⁰⁵. The very next day Black Elk met an old man and a boy together who were also there for hunting and were waiting for the storm to calm down. Then, up to the hill westward, he found seven buffalos stranded in the snow and thus easy to hunt. They killed the buffalos and brought their meat back to their camp. The story is not convincing for the scientific world since the critics do not agree with the Indian viewpoint of interspecies communication and argue that the incidents only define that human beings are capable of drawing them out of any nasty condition and are capable of surviving difficult circumstances. Deloria argues that the psychologist like Carl Gustav Jung relates such stories with the collective consciousness of a society. Deloria cites Jung who figures out the significance of the appearances of animals and other things in dreams in the humanitarian crisis. Jung explains the phenomenon as “the motif of the helpful animal intervening when everything is impossible and people expect a catastrophe-help out of a tight corner” (Jung qtd. in Deloria 111)¹⁰⁶. He argues that the animals in Indian stories do not convey anything and that it is the thinking of Native Americans who assume meanings according to their problems. He explains that the appearances of animals and other things in dreams and communication with them can also be part of American Indians’ collective consciousness that can be the projection by the already given knowledge because that information has been discovered earlier and remained in their collective consciousness. On the other hand, the idea of interspecies communication maybe some form of psychic heredity that can retrieve relevant information from the collective consciousness and locate it precisely when and where it is needed. Jung argues that the myth collectively influences aboriginal people who believe in it without objection (Jung qtd. in Deloria 112)¹⁰⁷. In many tribes owl was a messenger of death, or of misfortune, therefore, its presence was conceived of as evil or bad luck. For this reason, many tribes did not welcome owl in their communities even

though they did not face any misfortune. It was assumed that the owl had a link with the ghost that haunted the places, and that it was, therefore, a nasty bird. The Chiricahua Apaches advised their young ones to be careful in the presence of owls because their presence was the sign that a ghost was nearby. Deloria argues that critics like Jung argue that American Indian beliefs are based on the superstitions of their past people (Deloria 110)¹⁰⁸. Deloria counters such criticisms and argues that Black Elk did not face any crises that would make him scared enough to think of ways of avoiding the nasty snowstorm. He was not worried about the storm as he had the experience of such hardships. Later he met two persons and buffalos thus confirming that he was right in his perception of the coyote's message. Deloria discusses the collective conscience theory and points out that he does not find repetition in the myriads of stories or reports. He argues that no one understands the specific things present in his collective consciousness as Black Elk did. How a person knew the elements of time: "tomorrow, this will happen ... spatial directions: over the ridge to the west ... the two-legged Black Elk met prior to discovering the buffalo" (Deloria 112)¹⁰⁹. Therefore, the message was neither the result of hallucination nor the collective consciousness and had significant experiential content. The basic objection was that the coyote did not convey the message in human language, but the objection reviews the entire episode in different criteria. Deloria strengthens his argument with the help of quantum theory:

According to *quantum theory* there are certain conditions under which, in the case of two very distant sub-atomic particles, if the behavior of one is altered the other can be expected to change instantaneously in exactly the same way, despite no apparent force or signal linking them. It is as if each particle 'knows' what the other is doing. (Wilson, qtd. in Deloria 112)¹¹⁰

Therefore, a face to face encounter was not necessary as Black Elk could not physically see the coyote. Both coyote and Black Elk faced similar conditions of hunger and storm and recognized each other's circumstances and that he (coyote) knew what Black Elk was doing. Deloria argues that the interspecies relationship of American Indians was so strong that they were "not dependent on language ... [the message] can pass from one entity to another quite easily if the receiving party is alert" (Deloria 112)¹¹¹.

Interspecies relationship especially communication with animals and birds and interpreting their strange sounds in meaningful messages are just not limited to the beliefs of American Indians. Some white men who settled in the American Indian community in one way or the other and adapted American Indian ways could also understand the sounds and behaviors of other creatures. Deloria discusses the story of Jim Bridger, who worked as a scout in General Connor's Expedition in 1865 in Wyoming, as an example that white people understand what the animals conveyed. One night when Bridger was in his camp he heard the howling of a wolf and, and according to Indian beliefs, he realized that danger was near. He warned General Connors of the danger who "rejected Jim's explanation and said he would not be turned back because ... American Indians were superstitious" (Bridger qtd. in Deloria 115)¹¹². Bridger along with two experienced mountain men packed his luggage and left the place and camped away from Connor's camp. The next morning Connor faced disaster and lost almost 600 horses and his mission failed. The white man's understanding of the calling of a 'medicine wolf' explains that the people who adopted American Indian ways of living could probably understand the secrets of nature. Various stories and reports expose that doctors, traders, missionaries, trappers were influenced by the American Indian way of life.

Some Euro-American scholars call the Indian stories of various ceremonies hearsay because that is what they are told it is. These stories were told to the coming generations and to the other tribes without revealing who had told them and what their sources were. Deloria (1973) argues that Indian history practices show that social values were more important than individuals. The historians documented the social and cultural hierarchy through stories but not their custodians, the medicine men. For instance, Sweet Medicine, the Cheyenne spiritual leader was among those who received their powers in the pre-colonial times but evidence of the ceremonies he conducted was articulated by people other than himself. Similarly, the Sioux account of White Buffalo Calf Woman is only recorded for 'Sacred Pipe' (Deloria 98)¹¹³ with the reservation that the authenticity or credibility of the stories cannot be judged without knowing the identity of the historians and recorder. In this regard, Deloria gives credit to those native and non-native scholars who visited various American Indian tribes to search for authentic ways to record history or stories in primitive times (Deloria 40)¹¹⁴.

The pre-Columbian ways of judging the credibility of Native American historians are very similar to the modern ways of assigning duties to the historians. In the Native American community, every historian was followed by his descendent, usually a son or nephew who was usually appointed during the life of the historian for the smooth progress of recording events (Sandoz iv)¹¹⁵. The son or nephew devoted himself at an early age and kept him away from other activities of life. In this way, he would already be familiar with several techniques of recording events. This widespread practice of sharing knowledge is also fashioned in modern academies where the most comprising students became the custodian of the knowledge of the history of their mentor. While selecting a specific image or two to define the past year's happenings, Native American historians did ask a group of wise men. As a historian, he could not include any image or metaphor without the nod of the council of elder men of the Native American community. Hence, the documentation of the socio-political affairs was not an individual entity. A group of wise men of the community looked after even minor changes and without solid proof, things remained mainly skeptical. On different occasions, the appointed historian was bound to unroll the calendar and retell the events of his people's past (Mallery 12)¹¹⁶ so that people could have the opportunity to recall their past activities and even tell their date of birth (Deloria 102)¹¹⁷.

The critical analysis of the stories and reports of the dreams, vision quests, rain dance, sun dance, interspecies relationship and other ceremonies verifies and explores the histories or historicity of Native American stories in which they were (re)produced. However, "[t]o become a history, facts have to be put together into a pattern that is understandable and credible; and when that has been achieved, the resulting portrait of the past may become useful as well" (McNeill 2)¹¹⁸. Old oral songs and stories therefore can be admitted if they put together into a pattern that could fill the gaps in recorded history (William 18)¹¹⁹. Deloria insists that these stories be read collectively rather than individually (Deloria xx)¹²⁰. The critical and scientific analysis of various stories explores that the relationship of man and nature was not accidental but a deliberate effort; similarly American Indians' love of nature was based on the systematic process of understanding things. Young American Indians often visited medicine men to consult on how to adopt better ways of living. Gradually, they became experienced and some of them were welcomed for their insight in certain fields and thus became the next generation of medicine men who had responsibilities to teach the next generation of medicine persons, thus

proving it to be a systemic flow of knowledge. Stories and reports that explain the powers of medicine wo/men, how s/he suddenly cured a sick person or quickly grew a sapling, demonstrate the medicine wo/man's research that made them "able to move into the life cycle of any plant and change the tempo of its development" (Deloria 127)¹²¹.

CHAPTER 6

RETRIEVAL OF NATIVE AMERICAN HISTORICITY/HISTORY

You should understand
 the way
 it was back then
 because it is the same even now. (Silko 6)¹

History and literature, according to Stephen Greenblatt, are productions of the culture in which they were written rather than an impersonal (as history is assumed) or a personal (as literature is assumed) thought of an individual or a group. Hence, they are producers of the culture in which they emerged. The author thinks and creates in a social environment: the negotiations and contests of his imagination are social because they do not build up in his mind in his private chamber but in the presence of materials, sources and aspirations that are already constructed by society. On the other hand, the critic or the reader studies in his own cultural consciousness. Therefore, the retrieval of an ultimate Truth of a given time and place is not possible because the text was written and is read or examined in different cultural consciousness. In this regard, Greenblatt insists on the co-textual not contextual reading of a text (literary) and its co-text (non-literary) of a time and place. This co-textual reading, for Greenblatt, bridge the historical or cultural values of different times and hence help understand “social identities ... formed in the given culture (Greenblatt 6)².”

This study theorizes that myths inscribed in Native American literary and non-literary texts are the productions and therefore the producers of the culture or history in which they were (re)produced. This interdisciplinary co-textual approach would have a better understanding of Native American history. New historicists use the world history for the culture. The non-literary discursive practices, for Greenblatt, stand for documents like “official documents, private papers, newspaper clippings, and so forth” (3)³. Hence, this study delimited *God Is Red* (1973) and *The World We Used to Live In* (2006) as they are based on Deloria’s collection of personal experiences, official reports, biographical reports, private reports, news reports of Native and non-Native writers, ethnographers, historians, storytellers, painters, administrators, news reporters, literary writers, priests, etc. Deloria argues that these “reports from eyewitnesses or

unimpeachable sources hidden in diaries, biographies, commentaries, and scholarly writings ... reveal[s] a world wholly different from the one in which [today Native Americans] live” (Deloria xviii)⁴. This study co-textualizes the myths inscribed in Native American literary texts – *Tracks* (1988) and *Ceremony* (1977) – and non-literary co-texts – *God is Red* (1973) and *The World We Used to Live In* (2006) to unveil the maximum range of “the material necessities and social pressures that [American Indian] men and women daily confronted” (Greenblatt 5)⁵. This chapter, discusses myths about medicine wo/men ceremonies, interspecies relationship, etc. inscribed in *Tracks* (1988) and *Ceremony* (1977), and the official documented reports, private documented reports, news reports, etc. of these ceremonies and other cultural practices assembled in *God Is Red* (1973) and *The World We Used to Live In* (2006) in a consistency to have a better sense of Native American history. This emphasis on the History and Historicity in Native American selected literary texts is analogous with History and Historicity in Native American non-literary texts that explain Native American configurations of power, society, or ideology in a given time.

6.1. Native American History and Historicity

Native American oral traditional structure tells a range of Native American social, cultural, religious, political, or educational beliefs and practices Being the social core of Native American aboriginal societies, it was the producer, and hence the production, of Native American mythical stories. In post-Columbian/historical time, the Native Americans, when they were forced to join boarding schools and, later, encouraged to study in the white universities to the extraction of their traditional beliefs, textualized their cultural stories to preserve and continue their lost past. The new-historicist approach of these cultural stories also privileges Native American literary and non-literary texts because they are the productions, hence the producers, of the Native American aboriginal norms in which they emerged. Hence, the co-textual study of *Tracks* (1988), *Ceremony* (1977), *God is Red* (1973) and *The World We Used to Live In* (2006) retrieves the Native American oral traditional beliefs of North American aboriginal societies from pre-Columbian or pre-historical time (before 1492) to the late 20th century wherein the stories embedded in delimited texts were [re]produced. In pre-Columbian or pre-historical time, the stories were documented in storytelling that stressed the ceremonial “presentation of events or ideas” (McMaster and Trafzer 116)⁶ rather than names and dates;

therefore, this study mentions their timeframe as pre-Columbian or pre-historical historicity. However, in post-Columbian or Eurocentric historical time, the stories and documented reports were mentioned with names and dates because they were documented either by whites or by Native American historian and scholars to whites, this study also mentions names and dates of the stories and reports that explain the synchronic and diachronic differences and similarities of Native American tribes.

6.1.1. Native American Cultural Historicity

The stories and reports of pictographs, calendar sticks, biographical drawings, Walum Olum and the historiographical extracts, ceremonies, oral traditional beliefs assembled in *God Is Red* (1973), *Ceremony* (1977), *Tracks* (1988) and *The World We Used to Live In* (2006) tell the nature of Native American cultural hierarchy. These stories tell the participation of medicine / mazical / magical and mundane / common wo/man in different times and tribes of North America to explain the synchronic and diachronic assimilation in Native American culture. This study explicates that the medicine wo/man in Native American oral traditional context is not merely a being but is considered as the locus of the Native American oral traditional culture. Deloria explains the common nature of the medicine wo/man in American Indian communities with the story of a Lakota medicine man Lame Deer: “I am a medicine man because a dream told me to be one because I am commanded to be one, because the old holy men – Chest, Thunder hawk, Chips, Good Lance – helped me to be one” (qtd. in Deloria 14)⁷. This story tells that the medicine wo/man in Native American communities was a chosen person who was commanded, usually in a dream, by the high spirits to devote his/her life as a medicine wo/man. However, it also reveals that Native American were very careful about their dreams or visions and knew well that a dream or a vision was not enough to claim to be a medicine wo/man, so, they shared their dreams with other veteran medicine wo/men who helped them find the right way. Deloria argues that mostly the individuals with a dream or vision were not acknowledged and advised to concentrate on their surroundings. He refers to Lone Man, a Teton Sioux Elder, who went to a medicine man with his dream but he was told to “understand the earth ... the changes of the weather, the habits of animals, and all things by which [he] might be guided in the future” (qtd. in Deloria xxvii)⁸. It conceives that the native people believed in the involvement of the Great Spirit even in their daily routine, therefore, they were always ready to face extraordinary or

spiritual happenings. When they were instructed to follow directions in a dream, they obeyed without any question as the dreams were regarded as living objects that guided people to their vision-selves or resolutions of being in the community. However, Deloria mentions several cases when a person was not confronted with a voice or dream but had a desire to discover their vision that is called the 'vision quest'. He cites the vision quest of Catherine Wabose and Siya'Ka who were instructed to concentrate on their surrounding world to call the high spirits or the Great Spirit and be ready for any extraordinary confrontation with a spirit in the shape of an animal, bird or insect and after a mentioned time "would discuss their experiences" to the veteran elders (Deloria 19)⁹. These vision quests were highly private hence organized in isolation on a hill, distant from the habitat.

6.1.1.1. Dreams and Visions

These stories, at the same time, explain the significance of dreams and visions in the Native American tribal communities as they encouraged the people to their quest to understand their surrounding world for their prosperity. Most of the time, a vision quest is referred to as "dreaming" because in most cases the messages are received in dreams at night. However, there is a visible difference between these two as the story of Eagle Shield, mentions Deloria, explains the common role of dreams in American Indian lives. Shield stated that a badger in the form of a man came into his dream with a specific plant and told him to "remember this plant well" (qtd. in Deloria 2)¹⁰. Here the dream did not urge the dreamer to go on a hill in isolation with no food and water but just informed him of the medicinal power of a specific plant. It was significant because the information given in the dreams was proved true afterward. For sure, it is information from an unknown source. On the other hand, it was commonly believed that the surprising effects were not merely in the herbal medicines but in the spiritual connection of the healers with the plants or animals (Deer and Erdoes 137)¹¹ whom they (medicine wo/men) were believed to request to tell the cure of a particular disease. These healing practices were found in the culture of different distant lands because of their positive results. Another story of Brave Buffalo in *The World We Used to Live In* tells how a dream took him to the elks who wanted to be his friends (qtd. in Deloria 4, 5)¹². Thus, dreams individually were very significant in Native American communities because they were considered as the ways to get instructions from the Great Spirit for the future.

6.1.1.2. Menace of Daydreaming

The dreams whether they led to the vision quest or not were received at night. Not a single story of the vision quest or medicine dreams describes the daydreaming that explains the menace of daydreaming in American Indian communities. It explains that the Native Americans did not sleep or felt bad to sleep in the daytime because there are only a few stories about daydreaming. Deloria states that the Sioux elders discouraged people from taking naps during the daytime that evoke the bad spirits to harm them. He related the story of mixed blood George Schmidt who napped in the daylight and found himself in darkness with thunder and lightning. After he woke up he remained in a trance for many days and “then one day the thunders did strike him, and burned [him] in odd designs, but [he] recovered” (Deloria 7)¹³.

6.1.1.3. Medicine Inheritance

Erdrich (1988) and Silko (1977) explain that the dreams or visions were not the only way to be a medicine wo/man. In *Tracks* and *Ceremony*, the inherited trails of medicine clans of Anishinaabe and Pueblo describe that mostly the sons or the daughters of the medicine men or women continued their legacy of spiritual powers. No doubt, they had their own dreams or visions but they were the medicine wo/men because they belonged to the medicine clans that “knew the secret power of healing” (Erdrich 2)¹⁴. For instance, Fleur and Moses (Erdrich, 1988) and Betonie (Silko, 1977) were powerful because they belonged to the medicine clans of Pillager and Navajo. Deloria (2006) also points out the inheritance of medicine powers and refers the preference of medicine wo/men either to marry wo/men of medicine clans to whom they could rely the most for their assigned purpose or to make their spouse according to their traditional ways of living; otherwise, the unstable domestic life might ruin their purpose of being. He argues that “if the wife of the man who is receiving the power does not wish to become a doctor, the man must find another woman to act with him” (Deloria 14)¹⁵. Since a medicine wo/man shared spiritual rites with his/her spouse, s/he, therefore, could understand the spiritual nature of the ceremonies performed by his/her husband; and their children also knew the secrets of their ceremonies as they were born and raised in that environment; and they were educated about the nature and demands of different ceremonies from their childhood.

This cultural historicity of American Indian communities in which the medicine wo/men were regarded as custodians of medicine knowledge of their ancestors are equally significant in Native American pre-Columbian/prehistorical and post-Columbian/historical social orders. They were equally regarded as healers as they were regarded to recover one's wholeness (Cohen 307)¹⁶ or restored harmony with nature (Rybak et al. 26)¹⁷. To explain them as healers Deloria quotes the medicine practice of Dr. Perry, a Massachusetts, regarding the stories of Gladys Tantaquidgeon, a respected Native American elder, of the colonial days when a boy of a white family reportedly lost his mind and many white doctors could not cure him. The disparity made the boy's mother call Dr. Perry who found the boy playing continuously with an imaginary fishline to catch a fish. He brought some roots from the backyard of his patient's home and prepared a strong tea for the boy. After taking tea the boy fell into a deep sleep. When he woke up and recognized his mother "[h]is mental and physical conditions were normal and he had no more trouble" (Tantaquidgeon qtd. in Deloria 50)¹⁸. On another occasion, a white family requested Dr. Perry to cure the daughter who was suffering from tuberculosis. Dr. Perry "administered some herb medicine and in a short time the girl was feeling stronger ... and then in a few days she was out of doors" (Tantaquidgeon qtd. in Deloria 49)¹⁹. In the same vein, Deloria refers to the story of the Sioux medicine man, Black Elk, to explain how the Bear medicine man cured Raffling Hawk. Black Elk related the fight between the Sioux insurgents and white soldiers, in 1876, in which Hawk was injured badly and could not be cured. The Bear medicine man prepared hot "water and herb" (Elk qtd. in Deloria 56)²⁰ after taking which, the man who could not sit properly before, started walking. This medicine ability of native people is not a magical artifact but a modern way of knowledge of medicine. Erdrich mentions that the medicine wo/men in Native American communities had had the great collection of medicine plants that they "gathered from the woods or shore or the bottom of the lake" (Erdrich 156)²¹. This nature of research made them popular in the community even in post-Columbian societies as the people usually visit the medicine wo/men in their ailment and do "not want the off-reservation doctor whom [they] could not trust" (Erdrich 168)²². Erdrich describes that the old-style medication was a common practice in the 20th century-Native societies but the people did not know "the plant's configuration, even though its use was common enough for ... problems" (Erdrich 132)²³. People believed that plants or animals only opened their secrets to the medicine clans or those who respected nature.

6.1.1.4. Mazical Women

The Native American stories explain that the medicine women in Native American pre-Columbian and Post-Columbian communities were not social but mysterious, hence, were regarded as ‘mazical’ / magical women (Rabinowitz 33)²⁴. Their lifestyle explains the common nature of the oral traditional societies where the healing has been viewed as the natural obligation of women, mothers and wives (Minkowski 288; Brooke 1)^{25, 26} – and gets an exposition of the feminine attitude (Thorne 73)²⁷. This co-textualization explains the healing power of Native American medicine women who therefore are considered stronger than the medicine men. Their representation in their communities explains the matriarchal structure of Native American societies. Silko, regarding the opening myth of ‘Ts’its’tsinako’, Thought Woman, in *Ceremony* (1977), relates that god or the creator of the entire universe in Native American oral tradition is a woman who thinks “and whatever she thinks about / appears” (Silko 1)²⁸. Similarly, she refers to another oral traditional myth of Ck’o’yo Kaup’ata, the Gambler, to confirm the magical representation of women in American Indian oral tradition as the custodian of the present, past and future. This myths of Spiderwoman who knows everything about the world and therefore tells the secrets of the Gambler to Sun man also explains Native American oral tradition societies wherein the woman was the god who made the whole universe and its epistemes hence knew everything (Silko 154)²⁹. The Pueblo people called her ‘the spider’ that was believed to knit the entire web of universe-epistemes and made all the five worlds above and beneath the earth. Besides ‘Thinking Woman’ or the ‘Spiderwoman’, Iyatiko – Earth Woman / Corn Woman / Corn Mother is also the traditional symbol of fertility or prosperity of lands and people (Coltelli 20)³⁰. With the Pueblo myth of Corn Mother Nau’ts’ity’I, Silko confirms that the women in Pueblo oral tradition were the custodian of rainclouds, the prosperity (Silko 171)³¹.

These magical representations of women were also the cultural historicity of post-Columbian/pre-historical tribes that were based on oral tradition beliefs. For their belonging to myths or oral tradition the magical women in the post-Columbian/historical era were regarded and respected equally as they were in pre-Columbian/pre-historical communities: native people equally believed them as sacred and asked them about their future life and its prosperity. Deloria assembles the stories of Catherine Wabose, Pretiy Shield and Mary Sdipp-Shin-Mah to explain the cultural importance of magical women in Native American post-Columbian societies (76,

77)³². Silko also explains the representation of magical women in 20th century Pueblo. In *Ceremony*, the mysterious characters of cantina dancer Night Swan and the Montano woman Ts'eh explain the cultural historicity of magical women in American Indian modern communities. No one in the Pueblo community knew about their background. The common belief was that they belonged to Tse-pi'na, the sacred mountain. They were not social but unusual regarding their behavior.

6.1.1.5. Mundane Women

These magical or magical women define one facet of Native American social order because they are mysterious and are only talked through assumptions. The mundane or common women in Native American societies explain the other facets of Native American matriarchal societies because they represent the everyday life of American Indian tribes (Rabinowitz 33)³³. In *Ceremony*, Silko explains the nature of this facet of Native American social order. She describes the role of mundane women regarding Tayo's kinship and his acquaintances who lived in his surroundings and those who met him at various places. The description explains the common society of Pueblo where the women like Auntie, Rocky's mother, and Old Grandma, according to the Native American tradition, enjoyed themselves the ownership of all the property – land, house and herd of the cattle – once belonged to their deceased men. Their key role in the decisions of family size and other family matters describes the Laguna tradition where a family was, unlike the common nuclear unit, was a social unit. For instance, it was the Old Grandma who decided for Tayo to consult a medicine man (Silko 12)³⁴. She tells various stories about her family and tribe that shows the structure of Laguna society where a woman, especially at the old age, would be an influential storyteller.

6.1.2. Ceremonies

Silko (1977) argues that in Native American communities for every individual or social problem “[t]he only cure / ... / is a good ceremony” (3)³⁵ – a rite that was/is organized for the spiritual solutions of the social problems. Deloria mentions that the ceremonies were the locus of tribal societies, therefore, they were documented through storytelling or other standards of Native American historiography like winter counts, Wolum Olum, calendar sticks, etc. In this

way, they survived even after the three destruction of the American Indian world. Each time the storytelling made them popular again in the surviving communities that conceived stories as sacred objects because they had the traces of their traditional ceremonies, sacred places, medicine powers of plants and social hierarchy that helped each generation survive (101)³⁶. This study co-textualizes these stories and the reports of ceremonies presented in delimited texts to understand how American Indians lived hundreds of years ago and how these ceremonies continue the oral tradition in post-Columbian American Indian societies.

Deloria explains the nature and the purpose of the ceremonies in American Indian communities. He refers to the experience of Catherine Wabose, an Ojibwe, who was asked to hold a ceremony for the prosperity of the people. Wabose made people build up the Jee-suk-aun or prophet's lodge; went inside; sang a spirit song and immediately a wind storm hit the lodge severely. After that, the people "had abundance of animal food" (Wabose qtd. in Deloria 96)³⁷. The report of G. H. Pond, a missionary to the Sioux and Chippewa in Minnesota, mentions Deloria, however, explains that Red Bird, a Sioux medicine man, was asked to cure a very sick man. A tent was prepared; his "arms were bound behind his back and rolled up in a buffalo robe, and carefully bound it by cords around it outside ... Over him was hung a drum and a deer hoof rattle" (Pond qtd. in Deloria 87)³⁸. His assistant sang loudly and immediately a great storm hit the tent; the audience heard the loud conversation between the spirits and the medicine man in an unknown dialect. After some hours, the medicine man came out of the lodge with a cure told by the spirit. The Jesuit report of 1642 in *The World We Used to Live In* also tells the conversation of a young medicine man with the khichigouai (spirits) "which lasted about three hours" (qtd. in Deloria 91)³⁹. The reports tell that the purpose of these ceremonies was not personal but social as they were performed to find out either the cure of a severe ailment or the prosperity for the people. In both cases, the contents of the ceremony – to build a spirit lodge, sing a song, whiplash a drum – are the same. The difference in performance as the medicine wo/men tied their hands or not is provincial. The above reports of the post-Columbian times describe the long trail of these cultural feasts in Indian communities for the ailment or prosperity. But Deloria tells the experience of Stephen Feraca to explain the additional responsibilities of medicine men in a post-Columbian time when the enlightenment was ridiculing such concepts of healing and getting prosperity. Feraca reports that the superintendent of the Pine Ridge Reservation arrived in Horn Chips' lodge to argue the nature of his art of ceremony: Chips was "carefully tied and

wrapped. ... Lights flashed on the ceiling. Horn Chips was untied when the flashing ceased” (Feraca qtd. in Deloria 88)⁴⁰. This ceremony was neither for the prosperity nor for the cure of the sickness but for the sake of ceremony itself that was usually mocked as trick or fraud by the whites. This ceremony was different as instead of building a separate tent the medicine man’s own lodge was used. The report of Sir Cecil Denny, a Canadian Northwest Mounted Police official, cites Deloria, tells the commonality of such spirit lodge ritual in Indian communities as Denny incidentally went into Blackfoot’s lodge on the Red Deer River. “The medicine man was seated wrapped in his buffalo robe at the side of the teepee smoking one of their long medicine pipes. ... Presently the teepee began to rock, even lifting off the ground about a foot” (Denny qtd. in Deoria 98).⁴¹

Deloria tells that these yuwipi or spirit lodge or tent shaking ceremonies were sacred, and the native people were very much careful while discussing them, therefore, mostly these cultural feasts were reported by non-natives. For instance, Deloria mentions the paintings of Paul Kane, an artist who visited different tribes of North America in 1848, and painted the Indians and their habitat, their specific costumes for ceremonies and yuwipi lodges for the Great spirits (Deloria 54)⁴². However, Deloria includes a rare report of Andrew Blackbird, a Chippewa historian, to explain the native viewpoint of the cultural significance of these yuwipi ceremonies. Blackbird reported, in 1880, that the spirit lodge was constructed for the queries of the Native people and the yuwibi man

either [went] into the lodge ... or [sat] outside with the rest of the audience, and simply throw[ed] something of his wear in the lodge ... And immediately the lodge [began] to tremble ... of wind. Then voices of various kinds [we]re heard from top to bottom, some speaking in unknown tongues, and when the spectators ask[ed] any questions they would receive replies sometimes with unknown tongues, but among the spirits there [was] always a special interpreter to make known what other spirits [said]. (Blackbird qtd. in Deloria 92)⁴³

The variation as the medicine man could perform the ritual either inside the tent or outside it among the audience shows the cultural variety among tribes. The reports of A. Irving Hallowell about Pawaganak, Saulteaux medicine man, in *The World We Used to Live In* also continues this belief that the medicine man did not go inside the tent rather “sat down outside a little distance

from the lodge” (Hallowell qtd. in Deloria 95)⁴⁴. But the contents of these stories and reports also explain the cultural unity of Ojibwa, Sioux, Chippewa, Cheyenne, Saulteaux, Pine Ridge Reservation and Blackfeet of Montana, synchronically and diachronically. They confirm how Native American oral tradition intertwines American Indian religion, culture, lifestyle, and daily routine (Edwards and Edwards 498)⁴⁵. As in all tribes, the ritual of a spirit lodge began with building the structure of a lodge that was constructed when the people or council asked the medicine men to hold a feast for the high spirits or the Great Spirit. These lodges were up to ten or twelve feet high and were made of heavy timber or other wood, and therefore needed several men to fix the poles deep in the ground and cover them from all sides but top with animal skin. Only a little place was left open at the bottom so that the medicine man could enter. There was a slight difference in the performance of the medicine men and in the level of the audience. In many tribes the spirit lodge rituals were performed in the night; the medicine man entered the lodge and signaled his assistant outside the tent, usually by smoking a pipe and singing a sacred song. The medicine man’s fingers and toes were tied up together with the help of leather strings and the man would usually be either naked or wearing very few clothes. In all the cases the spirit lodge ceremonies were performed to call a spirit, usually, Great Spirit or Wakan Tanka or the god of creation to ask for answers to social fears. Drum beating was the common practice in these ceremonies because the drum had a sacred value in many Native American tribes as its rounded shape signified the entire world, and the periodic beat signified the heartbeat of the world (Brown 69)⁴⁶. Immediately after the medicine men began singing, a strong storm of wind hit the tent that was a sign of the arrival of spirits. The medicine men on behalf of the audience or council asked the spirits questions in a dialect that could not be conceived by the common people. The ceremonies were performed in the sufficient light so that a person could recognize others and explain the feasts in detail. Most ceremonies in post-Columbian time are reported by white males showing the presence of white men, outside or inside the tipi or lodge. It reveals that these ceremonies are pre-planned hence many people mostly natives were invited. Most of these social cum sacred gatherings of American Indian people were the Pow Wows. These pow wows introduced the culture of different clans since they wore traditional dresses or regalia. Usually, a circular area was prepared for dancing and singing that were essential contents of many Native American healing rites (Lyon 421)⁴⁷. People set up stalls to trade different musical instruments, goods, artwork, crafts, and foods. Such gatherings expressed the solidity of Native American

societies as the people sang: ‘mitakuye oyasin’ – we are all related (Rybaka and Decker-Fittsb 336)⁴⁸.

The American Indian communities believed that the Great Spirit often visited the place where the ceremony was performed. Hence, in post-Columbian times these rites gradually became secrete. The tribes in the 20th century avoided the spirit lodge ceremonies as public events as they were in past years. Erdrich, in *Tracks* (1988), describes the spirit lodge ceremony in the early 20th century that is not a public event but a private practice. The sickness of Fleur Pillager made Nanapush worried, so, he requested Moses, the only promising medicine man after Fleur, to hold the feast for spirits. Hence, to build up a traditional tent they “*cut willows and shaped them into a frame for [the] tent of blankets and skins*” (Erdrich 189, emphasis added)⁴⁹. The Chippewa practice is similar in its practice and purpose to the traditional concept of the spirit lodge ceremonies as it also was held to call the spirits to ask the medicine for the cure of Fleur. The conversation between the spirits and Moses was not public but the result of the rite was similar as Fleur was better after that. Deloria appreciates the tribes that did not allow non-serious non-natives in their sacred ceremonies (Deloria xxi)⁵⁰ and welcomes only the true researches to the Indian tribes. For instance, he appreciates the research project of Densmore who points out the exploration of Medicine Mounds in Texas that are believed to be one of the sacred places where American Indians once performed Sundance, which was one of the main rituals for the Oglala Sioux (Deloria 377)⁵¹. In 1911, Densmore visited Standing Rock supposedly the site of the last ‘Sundance’ by Sitting Bull in 1882. The site had evidence of holes that explained how the poles would be erected in the ground. She was accompanied by Native Americans who were with Sitting Bull during the 1882-Sundance and had not been able to visit the owap'ka waka' (sacred place) since then. There she found a decayed buffalo skull on which the traditional red paint was still visible, showing the use of buffalo skull in the ceremony. On the eastern side, the remains of the shade-house or shelter of branches showed that a lodge in a circular direction was built and was covered from all sides except for a wide door on the east for entry (Densmore qtd. in Deloria 166)⁵².

In *Ceremony* (1977), Silko tells the practice and purpose of the ceremonies of oral traditional time. The myths of Corn Women and Corn Mother explain the purpose of the homecoming rite of an oral traditional time that was planned to understand the prosperity of

Pueblo. The myths tell a long-time-ago-drought of Laguna when “[e]verything dried up / ... / The people and the animals / were thirsty. / They were starving” (Silko 13-14)⁵³. Therefore, the Hummingbird and Fly were asked to travel to all the five worlds above and beneath the earth to find out old Buzzard who could purify the town. They traveled to him with some sacred offerings – pollen and tobacco – and came back with “[t]he storm clouds ... the grass and plants. ... There was food / and the people were happy again” (Silko 140, 167, 237)⁵⁴. On the other hand, with the Tayo’s homecoming, Silko explains the continuity of the homecoming rite in 1922-1949. Tayo had gone away from his hometown during World War II to make his name in the white world but became upset and sick when his cousin and best friend died and he had to come back home. However, coming home led him to another journey to recover his health, his family and the entire Laguna. “[O]ld Betonie telling him to get on his way, telling him that ... there were the cattle to find, and the stars, the mountain, and the woman” (Silko 155)⁵⁵. He travelled to the distant lands to discover the sacred patterns and came home with his Native American identity, the cattle and the rain. These homecoming rites define the cultural practices in American Indian communities wherein a person who has to leave his Native American place “comes home and finds his identity by staying” (Bevis 580)⁵⁶. Their role in the mythical time and the 20th century are equally spiritual that confirm the survival of oral tradition in the modern world.

Deloria mentions another popular rite for the rain clouds in Indian communities. He refers to the report of Morris Opler to state the rite of ‘rain dance’ that explains the homogeneity of cultural tracks of Native American pre-Columbian and post-Columbian times and tribes. Opler reported the Chiricahua ceremony of rain dance that was performed to bring rain during a drought. The people prayed to water spirits and danced “and a blowing noise, ‘hoo, hoo !’ [was] made. In the prayer there [was] mention of the number of days it should rain” (Opler qtd. in Deloria 137)⁵⁷. However, Deloria’s experience of ‘rain dance’ on the Lummi Reservation explains the difference in the purposes of the rite. This part of Washington state, where the reservation is located, often receives a deadly strike of rain-storm, therefore, the medicine men are not asked to make it rain but to control it. Deloria reported a snow-storm that covered the entire reservation for a long time and people entrapped inside their homes suffered starvation or suffocation. The Lummi medicine man was requested for a rain dance to control the snow falling. He dances “and sings a song that changes the snow into rain and melts the snow on the

ground, relieving the Lummi from danger” (Deloria 138)⁵⁸. The whole practice explains that in many parts of American Indian lands the ‘rain dance’ was not performed to bring rain but to control the thunder or snow-storm to save the community from the disaster. The variation of the rites also explains the different ecological problems of American Indian lands.

However, the competitions of ‘rain dance’ arranged by the Blackfeet of Montana define a different cultural context of the rite as instead of asking to rain or to control it the medicine men were asked to show their powers. Deloria quotes the report of Walter McClintock to describe the competition of two medicine men Mastepene and Spotted Eagle who were determined to show their powers. In a challenge to Spotted Eagle, Mastepene produced a dark cloud on the eastern side of the Rockies. People observed that “[a] sudden change in the wind averted its course and it divided, as Mastepene predicted” (McClintock qtd. in Deloria 142)⁵⁹. Before the black cloud came into the range to wet the people, Spotted Eagle claimed to control it and immediately the rainclouds changed their direction, thus proving him stronger than Mastepene. Thus, the ‘rain dance’ ceremonies were conducted:

- 1.) when there was a dry spell or drought;
- 2.) when there was thunder or snowstorm; and
- 3.) when there was a competition to confirm the powers of medicine men in changing weather.

The first case of the rite shows the power of medicine men to bring rain by singing sacred songs that were given in a vision or dream or that were inherited in the medicine clans. The second situation explains that medicine men had a good relationship with the Great Spirit that controlled the rain-storm at his request. Sometimes, as in the last case, the weather became an arena of competition through which the spiritual powers reminded people that there was something larger than the forces of nature they confronted daily. All American Indian communities, mentions Deloria (1973), used the reptile in their ceremonies. For instance, the Hopi people used snakes in their rain dance rites as they believed in stories that some of their ancestors “lived with the snake people for a while and learned from them the secrets of making rain for crops” (Deloria 88)⁶⁰.

At the beginning of spring, the Navajos performed a ritual to estimate the harvesting in the coming year. This ceremony was known as the ‘seed grass’ ceremony that was a potent activity in the American Indian plains. Deloria refers to the report of Charles Lummis who reported a seed grass ceremony of the Navajos wherein medicine men performed a medicine-dance and then sang the medicine song. The chief medicine man placed the ears of perfect white corn in front of each medicine man. These ears of white corn used to be called ‘Mothers’ as they had seeds for cultivation. After the dancing and singing the chief medicine man and the other medicine men shook their ‘Mothers’ to pour out a “shower of kernels of corn, wheat, and seeds of all kinds” (Lummis qtd. in Deloria 131)⁶¹. This story explains the spirituality of the ritual as the chief medicine man had the ears of corn but figured out corn, wheat and different kinds of seeds to quantify the crops in the forthcoming harvesting. Referring to William E. Curtis’ report, which was also published in the Boise Daily Statesman newspaper, Deloria explains that the ceremony originated in Pueblo oral tradition and the Navajos adopted the tradition when they settled in the spring season near Pueblo. Deloria explains that, in the Pueblo, the ceremony was planned during the harvesting season to foresee the success or failure of the forthcoming seasonal crop. The medicine men put an ear of white corn in the blanket. He sang a sacred song and danced several hours as singing or dancing was believed to link the past, present, and future (Hand 34)⁶². After that, the chief medicine man signaled to open the blanket and there were “more of different kinds of seeds-corn, wheat, beans, peas, watermelon and other seeds used by the American Indians in their gardens” (Curtis qtd. in Deloria 132)⁶³. The quantity of these seeds specified the size of forthcoming crops. The abundance of corn predicted good sized corn crops whereas if there were a few kernels of corns and the wheat was more, suggested that farmers must grow wheat rather than corn; and if the rite did not achieve the desired results, the entire community felt sad and took some useful precautions to face the approaching famine.

Deloria (2006) points out another report, published by *The New York Times*, to explain the ‘corn raise’ rites of the Zuni tribe where the medicine men could prepare a full corn plant within one and a half days. The report explains that the Zunis prepared a big square of spotless yellowish sand and levelled it carefully. Using a sacred arrow, the medicine man drew traditional images of the sun, the earth, the sky and the rain, the corn, the harvest on each side of the square and filled them with different sacred colors: the clouds and sky with blue, the earth with black, and the harvest with chrome yellow. Then the chief medicine man sat in the center of the

medicine lodge in front of the prepared corn-seed square. On either side and around the square, the Native American chiefs and warriors sat according to their ranks in the tribe. The medicine man smoked his sacred pipe filled with tobacco and “blows one puff of smoke to the east, one to the west, one to the north, one to the south, and two to the heavens” (The New York Times qtd. in Deloria 132)⁶⁴ and told the spiritual history of the tribe including the famines and the kindness of the Great Spirit or Wakan Tanka. The sermon ended with a prayer for future prosperity. The medicine man stood up, made a hole in the center of the sand square, put a kernel of corn in it, levelled the earth and waited silently for the call of the Great Spirit. Usually, the corn stem spread out on the surface of sand and became a full-grown plant within thirty-six hours. During the period of the plantation, the participants did not leave the place. The growth of the plant indicated prosperity in future harvesting. The corn seeds of the plant of the rite were preserved for future ceremonies whereas its stalk was pulled up from the sandy soil and suspended over the entrance of the medicine lodge. The people rested a whole day “in order to be ready for the rain dances on the following day (The New York Times qtd. in Deloria 134)⁶⁵.

The different ceremonies of the American Indian Plains signify the traditional importance of the earth and the sky towards the fertility or prosperity of the land. In corn raise ceremonies they were privileged as spiritual beings since the medicine men made their images on the ground and filled them with sacred colors. Deloria highlights the traditional communities wherein it was articulated that the intimate relationship between the earth and the sky caused the richness of corn, maize or other crops. The earth was regarded as Mother that provides food and shelter whereas the sky was perceived as the father responsible for the rain and the sunshine. Deloria describes that this sacred relationship was usually personified in a ceremony called the ‘Mother Earth’ ceremony, wherein the [medicine] woman participated as “mother earth, while the medicine man [as] the Father Sky” (Deloria 39)⁶⁶. The ceremony was based on the lovemaking of Mother Earth (medicine woman) and Father Sky (medicine man) that was believed to be responsible for the fertility of lands. The woman in the ceremony was the personification of Earth as Mother for the people and the lover was therefore the father. Silko, in *Ceremony* (1977) confirms the Mother Earth concept of the Plains. In the novel, the mother / lover relationships of Ts’eh with Tayo teases out the nature and role of the Mother Earth ceremony. Her motherly affection played an important role in Tayo’s ceremony whereas her intimate relationship with

Tayo was necessary to create and change the scenario of the entire Pueblo that was experiencing drought (Silko 194)⁶⁷. This ceremony was highly personal hence was not reported.

The stories of these rites of different times explain the cultural relationship of man with his surrounding nature. The “old people used to say that drought happens when people forget [and] misbehave” to the natural objects (Silko 42)⁶⁸. The story of Tayo traces how he abused rain in the jungles of Japan: “[A]ll the time he could hear his own voice praying against the rain” (Silko 12)⁶⁹. He cursed the heavy rain that made it difficult to carry Rocky’s dead body and thus overlooked the significance of rain for the other natural objects. Also, the oral tradition myth of Reed woman explains how she was disgraced by her sister the Corn woman, so, went from her habitat “to the original place / down below” (Silko 12)⁷⁰. The myth of Nau’ts’ity’i or Corn Mother also explains his depression over the behavior of people who preferred the magic of Ck’o’yo medicine man rather than to take care of her sacred corn altar. Thus, she left them saying: “If they like that magic so much / let them live off it” (Silko 45)⁷¹. Thus, the relationship between the Native American people and their surrounding nature or its custodians is based on ethical grounds; and whenever these oral traditional or ethical values were disregarded, the relationship between man and nature was disturbed too and the situation demanded a ceremony.

Deloria cites the contemporary practices of ceremonies of diagnosing ailments in Arizona. He cites the reports and experiences of natives and non-natives about the ceremonies of Hand Trembler, the Star Gazer and the Listener. These medicine practices vary in nature. In case of a chronic illness, or if a past event has cast a nasty impact over a certain person or family, the Shaking Hand rite is usually performed. Deloria refers to the report of Fran Newcomb who reported that in the Hand Trembler ceremony the medicine man takes a sacred position and prays to the high spirits. During his prayer, the medicine man closes his eyes and sings a sacred song. Immediately his face is averted, and his hand begins to shake. The hand may tremble at any time: during the prayer or at the start of the song. Whenever the hand moves, the medicine man calls out the names of various ailments. After diagnosing the disease, the medicine man thinks of various medicine songs or plants “or other therapeutic measure which might be used. After all the desired information has been divined the shaking stops and the diagnostician opens his eyes and tells those assembled what he had discovered” (Newcomb qtd. in Deloria 46)⁷². This ceremony was not very familiar in other tribes and therefore was not usually reported. Like the

Shaking Hand ceremony, Deloria also describes Star-gazing or Sun-gazing ceremonies that are practiced in Arizona to sort out an individual or social problems. Deloria quotes the experience of Fran Newcomb who describes that these ceremonies are preferred as a treatment for behavioral changes that may become the cause of sickness. These changes occur in case of a difficult decision that may influence the attitude of a person or a family like a long journey or move from one place to another for permanent settlement. Such decisions or their hostile results may cause sickness for which “the Star-gazing or the Sun-gazing rite is often used” (Newcomb qtd. in Deloria 45)⁷³. Deloria also refers to the reports of Wyman to explain the practice of the Star-gazing ceremony. Wyman explains that in the star-gazing ceremony the medicine man uses a crystal to find out the cause of the sickness. The medicine man and his helper go to a specific place where the sky is visible, so, they can gaze at the stars or the sun perfectly. The ceremony starts with the star-prayer in which the medicine man asks the spirits of stars or sun about the cause of sickness. After that, he sings star-songs and continuously stares at the star or sun whereas the helper focuses on the quartz crystal gripped in the medicine man’s hand and tells him when it reflects the light of the stars or the sun. The medicine man, at the declaration of his assistant, also focuses on ‘glass rock’ or crystal to see the root cause of sickness. “If these strings of light are white or yellow the patient will recover; if red, the illness is serious or dangerous. If the white light falls on the house and makes it light as day around it, the patient will get well” (Wyman qtd. in Deloria 47)⁷⁴.

Deloria refers to the reports of Fran Newcomb that state that among the Navajo the old Native Americans have to work in faraway places and cannot have any connection with their relatives. This, sometimes, is the cause of their sickness, and as a cure, the medicine men use the Listening Ceremony that is “considered most effective in locating the lost animals or children and ... distant relatives. This ceremony is also used if a Navajo has been having very bad luck and thinks that someone is casting an evil spell over him” (Newcomb qtd. in Deloria 46)⁷⁵. Referring to Wyman's report Deloria describes the practice of the Listening ceremony wherein the medicine man or listener dips his finger in the sacred powder and puts the finger in his ear. After this, his assistant who stays outside the lodge or house starts prayer to the spirits of ‘listening’ and sings the spirit-song, usually a star song. The medicine man or the Listener inside the room focuses his attention on something audible by which he can diagnose the cause of the sickness “such as the rattling of a rattlesnake, the roar of a bear, or thunder. If someone is heard

crying, the patient will die” (Wyman qtd. in Deloria 47)⁷⁶. These ceremonies are strictly classified for their purposes and results but are similar in one way or the other. The Listeners use techniques different in some respect to the Star Gazer, yet there is a similarity in their determinations and results i.e to diagnose and cure the ailment.

6.1.3. Native American Social Historicity

6.1.3.1. Interspecies Communication

Stories and reports of different ceremonies and social practices in delimited texts also describe how the birds and animals were believed to talk in an understandable dialect or gestures. The phenomenon was usually conceived as a way of the Great Spirit to show themselves. Some stories and reports explain the actuality of interspecies relationships at different times and tribes. These interspecies relationships explain the significance of animals and birds in the American Indian tribes. This co-textual study explains the nature of such interspecies relationships in American Indian communities through the concepts of interspecies communication, assimilation and transformation.

This study figures out how animals came into the dreams of Native American people and told them the secrets of natural objects in curing ailments. Deloria cites the Eagle Shield’s dream wherein a badger tells him: “My friend, remember this plant well. Be sure to get the right one, as this is good” (qtd. in Deloria 2)⁷⁷. The communication was considered valid in daily routine because dreams were not taken as an unconscious state of mind but a way to know the spiritual world. The story of Brave Buffalo in *The World We Used to Live In* also explains how a dream took him to the elks who taught him songs and “gave him numerous instructions” for future protection (qtd. in Deloria 4)⁷⁸. Brave Buffalo followed the elks and organized a ceremony. The stories define the nature of the Native American traditional world where communication with the animals even in dreams was a significant part of the community because the information or suggestions given in the dreams were proved true afterward. However, the report of William Rowland in *The World We Used to Live In* explains a different understanding of interspecies communication in American Indian communities. In 1854-55, he traveled with the Cheyenne to explore American Indian culture. It was ten o’clock at night when he heard the howling of a

coyote. Immediately, an old man rushed into the camp and stated that the coyote had warned about a war party of Pawnees that was about to attack the camp. The Cheyenne immediately left the place and camped at another hidden place nearby. The next morning the camp was attacked by the Pawnees, however, the Cheyenne remained safe because they had driven off (Rowland qtd. in Deloria 114)⁷⁹. Here, the coyote did not come into someone's dream but was factually heard and interpreted thus explaining that the Cheyenne could understand the sounds of animals and believed in what they conveyed in different circumstances.

The story of Dives Backward, a Cheyenne, in *The World We Used to Live In* confirms the understanding powers of Native Americans of different sounds of animals. In 1858, when he led a war party to the south and camped near the Rio Grande del Norte river, he heard the howling of a coyote somewhere close to their camps. He immediately understood the message and informed his friends about the Utes “[a]cross that big river” (Backward qtd. in Deloria 116)⁸⁰. So, the war party crossed the river and searched a camp of Utes whom they imprisoned. American Indian traditional communities believed that the animals were always ready to help human beings in their difficulties and came for them either in dreams or consciousness. As the Native Americans were born and raised among these trees, animals and birds, thus, they claimed to understand what they said. For instance, Deloria refers to the story of Walking Buffalo who claimed to talk to trees and therefore he “learned a lot from trees; sometimes about the weather, sometimes about the animals, sometimes about the Great Spirit” (qtd. in Deloria 89)⁸¹.

Deloria includes the famous story of the Oglala Sioux sacred man Black Elk, a medicine man famous for his medicine powers. In the 1870s, Sioux was out for hunting when a blizzard came over. He settled down his buffalo robe and waited for the storm to stop. Suddenly, he heard the howling of a coyote that was not far off. He “knew it was saying something. It was not making words, but it said something plainer than words, and this was it: ‘Two-legged one, on the big ridge west of you there are bison; but first you shall see two more two-legged over there’” (qtd. in Deloria 76)⁸². The next morning he followed his understanding of what coyote said and found an old man with a boy who was also there for hunting and entrapped in a snow-storm. They went on over the hill to the west and found seven buffalo stranded in the snow. They killed them and took their meat back to the camp (qtd. in Deloria 76)⁸³. The story also confirms the mythical role of the coyote as a savior in Cheyenne and Sioux's oral tradition. The people gave

attention to coyotes as they immediately responded to its howling because the message given by them proved true afterward. The nature of interspecies communication in Anishinaabe in the 20th century confirms that this oral traditional concept was equally popular synchronically and diachronically. In *Tracks* (1988), the narratives explain the aboriginal nature of modern society where the people did not argue with those who claim to talk with animals and birds. However, in Chippewa Anishinaabe, the bears, not a coyote, were told to communicate with the people. In *Tracks* (1988), the episode of Lulu's birth defines how "*the bear heard Fleur calling, and answered*" (Erdrich 59, emphasis added)⁸⁴. It did not harm anyone and disappeared after Fleur gave birth to a baby girl. The response of the bear to Fleur's call clarifies that the interspecies communication was a two-way process and that the animals were believed to understand the sounds of human beings and respond accordingly.

Native American traditional communities believed in the communication with the animals and birds in the dreams and communicated with them through different sounds. In *The World We Used to Live In*, the story of Charles Eastman states that his grandmother told him that when she was young enough to understand things she could communicate with birds and red squirrels in an unknown dialect. Deloria also refers to the story of Luther Standing Bear who relates his experience of talking with the larks in South Dakota in "Sioux language" (qtd. in Deloria 109)⁸⁵. Such anecdotal beliefs provide a different understanding of interspecies communication in American Indian communities. The study of different rites has already pointed out the nature of these types of communication. This study has delimited the involvement of animals and birds in the different rites, especially in vision quests, as the messengers of High Spirits or the Great Spirit. These animals and birds were believed to be transformed the shape of spirits who were believed to come in disguise to keep themselves secret or sacred. They did not communicate in the voices of animals but the Native American language or some unknown dialect that the receivers knew well. In *The World We Used to Live In*, the story of Lame Deer confirms one of the common beliefs of the Native American communities wherein "Butterflies usually talk to women. A spirit comes in the form of a butterfly and flies over a young squaw. ... The spirit will talk to that young squaw in disguise of a butterfly and then offering her to become a medicine woman" (Deer qtd. in Deloria 110)⁸⁶. Thus, it was a common cultural belief among the tribes that the higher spirits, in the disguises of animals, birds and insects, met human beings to drive them to the spiritual knowledge of their surrounding world for the benefits of their

communities. Therefore, the people regarded all the non-human species and ready for an extraordinary confrontation with them to search out the spiritual world.

6.1.3.2. Interspecies Cultural Assimilation

This co-textual study of stories and reports inscribed in delimited literary and non-literary texts has figured out the involvement of animals and birds in various human matters. It highlighting the assimilation of animals into the human world since, according to Native American beliefs, they could “communicate and learn from each other” (Deloria 89)⁸⁷. The story of Brave Buffalo in *The World We Used to Live In* explains the friendship between animals and humans as he was requested by the elks to be their friend because he was “a great friend of the buffalos” (qtd. in Deloria 4)⁸⁸. The stories of *Tracks* (1988) and *Ceremony* (1977) explain this assimilation by explaining how the Anishinaabe and Pueblo people used to live with animals and how their association with specific animals became their identity. Erdrich (1988) relates the Chippewa society of the early 20th century where the medicine wo/men were identified with their association with specific plants and animals. These wo/men usually left the human community and lived with the animals in the forest. For instance, Moses, in *Tracks* (1988), was thought dead in the town because of his long absence. It was Father Damien who first informed people that he “was alive in the woods” (Erdrich 7)⁸⁹. Moses lived fit and happy in the natural environment among cats and was usually found in the presence of cats and a strong smell of cats frequently revealed his presence: “Fleur was standing by the front door. [Nanapush] smelled the sharp, sour warmth of cats, and knew Moses had walked behind [him] and was hiding” (Erdrich 221)⁹⁰.

Silko (1977) confirms this culture of interspecies assimilation in Laguna Pueblo where the people had lived with animals since the times of oral tradition. The Laguna myth of a bear, in *Ceremony*, explains the nature of assimilated communities in the oral tradition. The myth relates the story of a child who got lost in the forest and started living with bears. With the help of a medicine man, people retrieved the child but like bears he had started “crawling on the ground” (Silko 120)⁹¹. The people tried to bring him back to the human community but soon realized that the boy had gone, and a bear remained. Also, the myth of Coyote man, in *Ceremony* (1977), inscribes the nature of interspecies assimilation in a mythical time. The myth explains how a man lost from home was traced on a treacherous hill. “The man tried to speak / but only a coyote

sound was heard” (Silko 130)⁹². The people took him to Bear people who performed a ceremony to retrieve the man from the coyote behavior. The understanding of these Laguna myths explains the living of animals in or near human societies that affected human living ways. The people adapted their attitudes, sounds and living ways as well. Silko (1977) explains the concept of oral traditional interspecies societies with the 20th-century story of Shush, Betonie’s student. This story explains the animal behavior of Shush during the meeting of Tayo and Betonie, the Navajo medicine man. The boy did not act like normal human beings but bears. “Tayo could see there was something strange about the boy” His name, Shush or ‘bear’, recalls the oral traditional affiliation of the Pueblo community with bears (Silko 118)⁹³. These stories explain that many Native American tribes lived in or nearby animal societies, so, both the worlds assimilated in one way or the other. The people who chose or got lost in these societies naturally adopted their ways of being.

6.1.3.3. Interspecies Transformation

This co-textual study has retrieved the oral traditional beliefs about the transformation of high spirits or the Great Spirit into animals or birds. Some tribal religions believe that humans can transform into animals and birds, and vice versa. For instance, the Hopi considered the snake as a people “the Plains American Indians considered the buffalo as a people, the Northwest Coast American Indians regarded the salmon as a people” (Deloria 88, 89)⁹⁴. However, such spiritual powers of sacred persons to transform into animals or other species were not open like interspecies communication and assimilations and were articulated through community beliefs. In *Ceremony* (1977) the story of the Hunter, the lion, explains the nature of the beliefs of interspecies transformation amongst the Pueblo. The Hunter, the lion, led Tayo to the lost cattle and later when Tayo took a dense path in the mountain-forest, he met a man-hunter that resembled the lion-hunter: “[T]he cap he wore over his ears was made from tawny thick fur which shone when the wind ruffled through it; it looked like mountain-lion skin” (Silko 192)⁹⁵. Tayo was firm in his belief as the man-hunter, like the lion-hunter, belonged to the winter, north and wind. The story of *Tracks* (1988) explains the Chippewa beliefs in the transformation of medicine wo/men in animals especially in bears that confirm the beliefs of the Pueblo. In the novel, the Chippewas believed in Fleur’s power of transformation into a bear. They claimed to trace the tracks of her bare paws in the dust or snow as they “saw where they changed, where the

claws sprang out the pad broadened and pressed into the dirt. By night [they] heard her chuffing cough, the bear cough” (Erdrich 12)⁹⁶. The story explains the nature of interspecies transformation in Chippewa that was secret in one way but opened in another as the people claimed to see the bear claws on the snow where Fleur passed. The story of Brave Buffalo in *The World We Used to Live In* also explains the openness of interspecies transformation in American Indian communities. The story describes how a dream took Brave Buffalo to the elks who taught him songs and sacred things. He performed a ceremony to show the people “the power of the elk. ... A crowd of people followed him, and after he had passed over [the dumb ground] they saw the footprints of an elk instead of those of a man (qtd. in Deloria 5)⁹⁷.

6.1.4. Native American Theological Historicity

Deloria (1973) argues that the Native American societies were methodically based on the spiritual grounds, therefore, “[r]eligion as a tribal phenomenon [could] be found in American Indian life in many respects” (195)⁹⁸ and predominantly important to the integrity of the Native American social and cultural structure (Dicharry 26)⁹⁹. The people of different tribes equally believed in the high spirits or the Great Spirit, which represented Wakan Tanka, the god of creation, and called on them in their cultural, economic, political, military, religious and social worries and prosperities and followed the revelations without any question. “The revelations ... establishe[d] the tribal community or [brought] it to the sacred pipes, the sacred arrows, the sacred hats” and the sacred offerings like pollen or tobacco (Deloria 195)¹⁰⁰. The beliefs in the revelations and their implementation unified different distant lands into a common cultural knot. Hence, the performance of ceremonies, songs and medicine powers were similar in the tribes with slight variation. The ceremonies practiced in one tribe, whether weak or strong, were not a matter of surprise to the other tribes since they were equally spiritual.

However, the beliefs and revelations were not merely based on empiricism, but rather prevailed through oral tradition as well. People followed the oral stories and revelations in their routines and ceremonies without any question because it provided the knowledge of how to live. This knowledge of life unified distant tribes regarding not only their spiritual ceremonies, songs and medicines but also their concept of god, their origin and their beliefs in life after death. This study has explained this assimilation of spiritual ceremonies, songs, medicines and ways of

communication. It also explains the American Indian concept of god, the origin of Native American life and beliefs in life after death that defines the religion of every spiritual community. The opening myth in *Ceremony* (1988) explains that in the American Indian communities a woman is commonly thought of as god. The novel unfolds the myth of ‘Ts’its’tsinako’, Thought Woman, who thinks “and whatever she thinks about / appears” (Silko 1)¹⁰¹. The pueblos named her ‘spider’ since the spider was believed to knit the entire web of universe-epistemes and all the five worlds above and beneath the earth. Deloria tells the detail of these worlds. The first three worlds were neither good nor healthful. They moved all the time and made the people dizzy. In Navajo oral tradition it is conceived that the Navajos came from the dark worlds to the fourth world of light; the Pawnees and Arikara also talk about their ancestors who came from the dark worlds to the light; the pueblos believe that their ancestors were “led by Mother Corn into the new world of light from the world of darkness” (Deloria 141)¹⁰². Deloria explains that the Mundans believe that they were the first who climbed a vine rope from the underground dark world to the world of light where Wakan Tanka or Great Spirit taught them how to live. However, “[t]he Biloxi called themselves *taneks aya, first people* [or] *the principle people*” (Deloria 210, emphasis added)¹⁰³. These oral beliefs of different tribes explain the univocal concept of life originating in different American Indian lands. The tribes commonly believed that they were the successors of the inhabitants of the dark worlds. They did not acknowledge those who converted to Native American religion in one way or the other because they were not considered the descendants of the people of the dark worlds. Thus, it was “virtually impossible to join a tribal religion by agreeing on its doctrines” (Deloria 195)¹⁰⁴.

American Indians were very firm in their belief of life after death as there were ceremonies to be done in conjunction with the dead. For instance, Deloria describes the rites in Kiowa wherein the Native Americans held feasts for the deceased to discover life after death or to seek their blessings. They believed that life after death was a continuance of life already experienced. Hence, the items of personal use like cooking utensils, weapons, food or familiar tools were put near the body after it was left in a forest or mountain or in a tree to naturally decompose. It was conceived that these things would be helpful for the deceased in the next life. Some tribes used to prepare medicine bales “containing bits of hair of the deceased, flesh or claws of the animals and birds most closely related to the family, and other intimate things of the deceased” (Deloria 171)¹⁰⁵. The family of the deceased kept the bale for a year or two and

assumed that the person was still there with them. Deloria refers Lame Deer who, however, points out “that the old American Indian grave-yard had markers of wood because it was felt that the body and the wood would both return to the earth as intended” (qtd. in Deloria 181-182)¹⁰⁶. The beliefs explain the variation of oral tradition with a commonality as the dead were believed to live among the people and ultimately returned to this world of light. In *The World We Used to Live In*, the ceremony of Saulteaux shaman, in 1910, confirms these beliefs. He was requested to cure a very sick Native American girl in the Lake Winnipeg area who was later announced dead. He knew, however, that the soul would not be far and tied red yarn around her wrists and went into a dream-spell, during which his body was as still as the dead body of the girl. After some time, the viewers noticed the movement of their bodies as they regained consciousness. The medicine man related his journey to the realm of the dead where he searched for the girl with the red yarn, “in the crowd of the dead, and he then brought her back to the land of the living” (Deloria 54)¹⁰⁷.

In *The World We Used to Live In*, the ceremony of Hultktranz in the same year explained this realm of the dead. The story unfolds the illness of an American Indian policeman’s son who lost consciousness, the parents rushed to the medicine man who declared him to be in a coma and stated that the soul (free-soul) had gone while his breath (symbol of life soul) remained. To bring the lost soul back, the medicine man also went into trance and brought the soul back. He shared that “he found the boy’s soul on the other side of the mountains where he was playing with dead boys” (Deloria 54)¹⁰⁸. The stories explain that the land of the dead was conceived to be near the tribes or might even be the next mountain. The story of *Tracks* (1988) explains that these places or the realm of the dead were acknowledged in Anishinaabe even in the early part of the century. The novel unfolds the social beliefs of Chippewa where the deceased spirits and ghosts were believed to reside in the clumps of trees nearby Matchimanito Lake. The people recalled these places as the habitat of ghosts, departed souls and other supernatural beings. Because of their mysterious nature, the people avoided these places. On the other hand, there were stories of those who claimed to be lost and “spent a whole night following the moving lights and lamps of people *who would not answer [them] but talked and laughed among themselves*” (Erdrich 9)¹⁰⁹. Such experiences claimed by the Native American Americans were the daily routine that strengthened the community’s beliefs in life after death.

6.1.5. Native American Jurisprudential Historicity

Deloria cites the story of corn raising ceremony published in ‘The New York Times’ to explain that Native American tribes were structured on the political hierarchy as warriors and civilians in this Zuni ceremony sat around the corn square according to their rank in the tribe. Also, the stories and reports of Le Borgne, William Rowland and Dives Backward in *The World We Used to Live In* explain that every tribe had militia or war-parties of its own that were usually caretakers of the borders which drew on the language-based distinction. The people who spoke a similar language or its dialects were considered one family or clan or tribe as the same language unified them socially. The story of *Ceremony* (1977) describes the law of inheritance in the Pueblo where the women like Auntie and Old Grandma, according to the Native American oral tradition, equally enjoyed the ownership of the property – land, house and herd of the cattle – once belonged to their deceased men.

The stories and reports of different rites and social actions in delimited literary and non-literary texts have figured out that Native American constitutional regulation was based on ethical grounds as the people did not tell a lie or rob a person or a group because they were afraid of the Great Spirit or Wakan Tanka. Deloria, however, highlights the existence and implementation of law according to that the culprits of an offensive act were punished by 3 to 9 years imprisonment or exile. “Occasionally a member of the tribe was sentenced to death ... the condemned would be informed when and where the execution would take place” (Deloria 179)¹¹⁰. Then he was free to spend the rest of his days with his family or in religious ceremonies; and on the pre-selected day, he came to the place of his execution. In *God Is Red* the story of the two Cheyenne who killed Hugh Boyle, a young white man, describes the nature of the execution in American Indian tribes as the Cheyenne rejected strongly the hanging of its men because there were beliefs in American Indian communities that the soul of a man would leave his body with his last breath but in case he was hanged, his soul was restricted in his body with the rope. However, the crime was neither denied nor defended and September 13, 1890, was appointed as their day of execution. The night before the execution a solemn dance was announced wherein the Cheyenne participated. The next morning the medicine men anointed them and painted their body with great attention. The doomed men dressed in their best regalia. “Their best horses were chosen for the ride to death, and the animals were devoted to the same fate that was to be meted

out to their masters: for it was unlikely that they could escape the hail of bullets (McLaughlin qtd. in Deloria 176)¹¹¹.

The stories and their social implementation reported by whites explain that in American Indian communities the constitutional activities were legislated through the oral tradition practice of storytelling. The people believed in these stories and legislated their socio-political matters according to their oral tradition contents. However, Deloria highlights the history practices like ‘winter counts’, ‘calendar sticks,’ and ‘Walum Olum’ that were also helpful in understanding the socio-political matters of different times and tribes, hence, were helpful in the legislation of different socio-political matters as well. Winter counts are animal hides painted with various images, mostly animals to remember the social and political understanding of that time (Greene and Thornton 12)¹¹². Deloria argues that in American Indian communities, these images were taken as metaphors to understand the sequence of socio-political happenings of American Indian tribes. Similarly, ‘calendar sticks’ practiced in Tohono O’odhams and Pimas of Arizona, are wood-sticks with specific signs that metaphorically explain the socio-political proceedings of the tribe. Delaware’s ‘Walum Olum’ are rocks with images that explain the chronological location of numerous political proceedings and describes the issue of borders of various tribes and political matters in detail. All these practices were used to inscribe the socio-political happenings and hence used to solve the social or political matters in Native American communities (Deloria 98)¹¹³.

The stories of different rites in delimited literary and non-literary texts also figure out the powerful role of the council in various social, political and religious matters: it urged the medicine wo/men to perform a ceremony for an individual or social problem; or could ask vision quester for the detail of their spiritual quest. Deloria describes that in the nineteenth century, several tribes of Oklahoma had their own courts or councils to discuss or settle the socio-political matters of people or tribes that confirm the role of councils in Native American socio-political regulation (179)¹¹⁴. Hence, Native American historians while selecting a specific image or two for defining the past socio-political happenings did ask the council of wise men and could not include any image without the nod of the council. Thus, these historiographical practices were solid in the legislation of different socio-political matters as they (history practices) were based on the empirical knowledge of the most experienced persons of the communities who looked

after even minor changes in these documents and without their univocal permission, the things remained skeptical. On different occasions in certain socio-political matters, the council asked the appointed historian to “unroll the calendar and retold the events of [their] people’s past” (Mallery 12)¹¹⁵ and then decided the matter in the light of similar past activities.

6.1.6. Native American Geographical Historicity

The nature of the lands and cosmos of Anishinaabe, Pueblo, Sioux, Montana, Creeks, Chiricahua, Powamuy or Katsina, Great Plains and Great Basin explains the variations of Native Americans’ ways of being. In *The World We Used to Live In* the story of Black Elk, for instance, shows that life on the hills of Sioux was not suitable for farming, therefore the people were hunters. It unfolds that the snowstorms were the routine part of the region as hunters like Black Elk and the other two men in the story were hunting on the hills in a severe snowstorm (Deloria 112)¹¹⁶. Chippewa Anishinaabe in *Tracks* (1988) was also a tribe of hunters since the land was full of forests and clumps of trees. Because of the forests, the weather of Chippewa Anishinaabe was cold and snow falling was the routine weather that was not favorable for farming. Thus, like the Sioux, food shortage was the main issue of the Chippewa in the late 19th or early 20th century as the people had to survive on hunting even during severe snowfall. The episode of Nanapush and Eli Kashpaw in *Tracks* (1988) explains the nature of life for the Chippewa: being an old man Nanapush could not survive the snowstorm and asked Eli Kashpaw to go north for hunting (Erdrich 100,101)¹¹⁷. Contrary to the hills of the Great Basin Sioux and forests of Chippewa Anishinaabe, the Laguna Pueblo of the Great Plains, the land-setting of *Ceremony* (1977), was suitable for agriculture. There were a few clumps of trees that affected the climate since the drought was the major problem of the area. The people were dependent on the harvesting, hence, performed ceremonies “for the rainclouds” (Silko 10)¹¹⁸. However, some of the lands of the Plains in the 20th century were famous for their rich soil, the Osage and Pawnee in *The World We Used to Live in* (2006) explain how the American Indians lived in these lands for hundreds of years. These tribes were very skilled in harvesting and knew “the flora over a 500 to 600 mile radius” (Deloria 125)¹¹⁹. The geographical milieu of these different lands explains that the people were hunters or farmers by nature and not by choice since they were born and raised in these lands and thus adopt and not adapt to the ecological effects and changes.

Deloria (1973) argues that the Native American “world has many sacred places – worlds under or within mountains, caves that come and go according to the kinds of ceremonies” (xvii)¹²⁰ These sacred mountains or caves are believed to be the origin of life and ceremonies and storytelling, “such as Spider Woman Rock in Chaco Canyon, the Bear's Lodge (Devil's Tower) in Wyoming, or Mount Shasta in California, provide empirical verification of the ancient stories of origins and previous worlds” (Deloria 149)¹²¹. Some of these mountains are honored as an entrance into this world whereas others, like the Blue Lake of Taos Pueblo in New Mexico, are believed to sustain life. These places or lands are culturally significant because they were also the places of American Indian rituals around which the entire American Indian culture revolved. These places, however, were not as familiar as the Anishinaabe, Pueblo, Sioux, Montana, Creeks, Chiricahua, Powamuy or Katsina, Great Plains and Great Basin were in early colonial regime (1607-1776) because many Native American tribes did not “... allow strangers into their ceremonies [on such sacred places] who might write down what they experienced” (Deloria xxi)¹²². Their anxiety and doubt to non-Native Americans caused by past discrimination and oppression made it nearly impossible for a non-Native American to get entry into the Native American tribes (Ho 90)¹²³. So, these lands remained secret in the early colonial period (1607-1776) because the non-Native American reporters could not visit or report about these places. Consequently, these places were removed from the colonial influence and therefore keep the traditional ways of living. Deloria appreciates Densmore to point out the exploration of Medicine Mounds in Texas, believed as one of the sacred places where American Indians once performed Sundance. In 1911, she visited Standing Rock near the Missouri River said to have been the site of the last ‘Sundance’ by Sitting Bull in 1882. She was accompanied by the Native American Americans who were with Sitting Bull during the 1882-Sundance and could not visit the owap'ka waka' (sacred place) since then (Densmore qtd. in Deloria 166)¹²⁴ thus showing how emotionally significant the secrecy of these places is in American Indian communities.

6.1.7. Native American Historiographical Historicity

Besides Native American methods of historiography Native American literary and non-literary delimited texts also signify the role of storytelling in American Indian communities that explains the socio-cultural matters in detail and documents the different ceremonies, sacred songs and medicines for other tribes or coming generations (Martinez et al. 57)¹²⁵. Diachronic

assimilations in Native American tribes regarding their origin, ceremonies and other social, political, religious, or healing practices explain how storytelling survived different calamities and colonization and reestablished oral traditional values (Deloria 101)¹²⁶. In this regard, the stories of the Sundance, the vision quest, the sweat lodge, the spirit lodge, the use of sacred stones, pollen and tobacco, and other rites restored their tribal identities and perceptions of historicity in the new world (Bigfoot and Dunlap 133)¹²⁷.

The stories and reports of a Lakota medicine man Lame Deer, Eagle Shield, Brave Buffalo, the Chippewa historian Andrew Blackbird, or an Ojibwe spiritual leader Catherine Wabose explains that in American Indian communities the storytellers usually copied the things which they had seen with their own eyes and themselves heard (Brown and Brown 259)¹²⁸ and did not describe hearsay. Only legends or medicine clans were told the stories of the oral tradition as they were believed to be custodians of the oral tradition. The storytelling techniques in *Tracks* (1988) and *Ceremony* (1977) explain that Native American writers and storytellers of the 20th century also follow the oral tradition techniques of storytelling as Nanapush and Pauline (*Tracks* 1988), and Tayo (*Ceremony* 1977) are parts of the narratives and do not relate hearsay. In *Tracks* (1988) Nanapush tells his story to his granddaughter, Lulu, the caretaker of his stories and the future storyteller as Erdrich places her character in her other novels – *The Beat Queen*, *Love Medicine*, *The Bingo Palace*, etc. Readers, on the other hand, also become the listeners of Nanapush's story, simultaneously. Thus the “reader-as-listener” (Rainwater 145)¹²⁹ listens to the story of Nanapush at the same time and keeps it for the others. Relating the story to Lulu or the readers reveals the purpose of storytelling in American Indian communities as the storytellers could not live forever and thus saved their tribal norms by making their stories public.

Since the reliability of the storytellers was not questionable therefore, their narratives explain the descriptions of Native American ways of being. The stories of *Tracks* (1988) and *Ceremony* (1977) also explains that American Indians had a strong faith in their stories. In the novels, Tayo (*Ceremony* 1977) and Nanapush (*Tracks* 1988), have modern education but rely on the Laguna and Chippewa myths as the traces of their origin and doctrines because these myths / stories are threads of their cultural web; and all they “have to fight off / illness and death” (Silko 2)¹³⁰. Hence, the American Indians, event in contemporary time, are very careful about exact meanings because they are not just entertainment but are sacred since they have generated new

life and have the secrets of community life that can never be revealed in front of unworthy people.

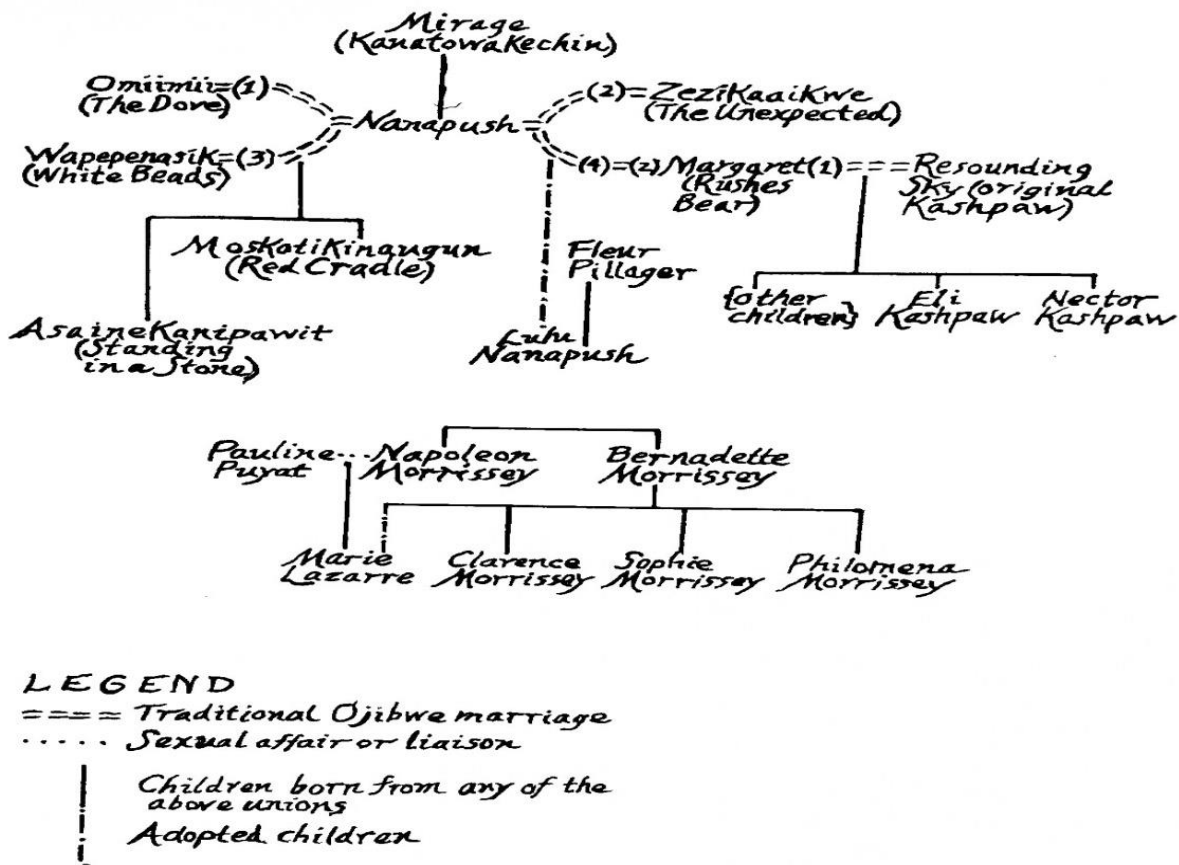
In *Ceremony* (1977) the story follows the contents of a ‘ceremony’ and begins with medicine songs for healing purposes. Next to the healing songs, “[s]unrise” (Silko 3)¹³¹ reveals the call for prayers which were also an integral part of every ceremony. The storytelling technique of *Ceremony* (1977) reveals that the storytellers usually include the contents of the event which they saw or heard. The ceremonial style of storytelling shows American Indians’ ceremonial thinking in their daily routine which was based on the “motions of the sun and moon ... periodic winds, rains, and snows (Deloria xxv)¹³². Deloria (1973) argues that similar ceremonial modes of storytelling in different tribes reduced the controversy among them regarding their social, political, economic, military, cultural and religious affairs. Hence, the people in Native American traditional communities did not have any concern with the dates but the significance of happenings. The comparable chronological experiences in all fields of life sustained the traditional belief system but made the chronology insignificant. Thus, the storytellers told their experiences of communal activities as “[t]he way I heard it [or] it was a long time ago” (Deloria 97)¹³³ because the actions not the dates were significant for them.

6.1.8. Native American Acculturated Historicity

This co-textual study explains Native American history of different times and tribes and, simultaneously, figures out the oral traditional acculturation in different tribes regarding ceremonies, songs, medicines and spiritual ideologies about an interspecies relationship, god or creator, life origin and life after death. However, the stories and reports of the post-Columbian era explain colonial hegemony at the same time that it contaminated the oral tradition concepts on which the American Indian communities were based. Family-tracks, storytelling practices, ceremonial and linear time presentation, and lands and cosmos inscribed in these stories and reports hint at the Native American contemporary acculturation: the continuance and modification of oral tradition beliefs in Native American societies of the colonial regime.

6.1.8.1. Family-Tracks

The family trees were the core of Native American social order that explain the nature of mundane and medicine clans and that succeeded the Native American oral tradition even in the colonial regime (1607-). These family tracks not only explain the Native American acculturation at different times and tribes but also mention the future of traditional culture. In *Tracks* (1988), the timeline of the story apparently frames a period of twelve years from 1912 to 1924, however, the family-tree traces the oral tradition trail in Chippewa Anishinaabe.



(Erdrich iv)¹³⁴.

This retrieves the family trail of Nanapush, Pillagers, Puyat, Kashpaw, Lazarre and Morrissey and explains the strong affiliation within them as they are “all attached, and ... hooked from one side to the other” (Erdrich 46)¹³⁵. This strong affiliation among the families and tribes clarifies how the oral tradition prevailed in the contemporary tribes. The growing branches of the family-tree explain the continuance and modification of social connection and traditional beliefs as well.

On the other hand, the tree defines the significance of family-name in a tribal social order where a person was privileged according to their clan. The Nanapush, Pillagers, Puyats, Kashpaws, Lazarres and Morrisseys do not represent an individual but a tribe showing that the American Indian people were known or obliged by the names of their clans or tribes. The ‘traditional Ojibwe marriages’ explain the traditional past where the people were married and raised their families. However, the ‘sexual affairs or liaison’ and ‘adopted children’ in the genealogical tree show the menace of the colonial regime wherein the people died of slavery and diseases and could not survive or bring up their children. The situation also points out the mixed ancestry in the early 20th century and at what time change from generation to generation might be observed in American Indian communities (Metcalf 181)¹³⁶.

The story of *Ceremony* (1977) confirms the long trails of traditional families in Laguna Pueblo, however, the novel explains that the family trail was used to understand the physiognomy or geography, for instance, the hazel green eyes and the Mexican context of Night Swan and Betonie’s mother are clues to their similar ancestry (Silko 107)¹³⁷. Twentieth-century stories in *Ceremony* (1977) and *Tracks* (1988) depict the continuation and modification of traditional culture through the presentation of mundane and medicine clans of women: medicine or magical women like Fleur Pillager, (*Tracks* 1988) Night Swan and Ts’eh (*Ceremony* 1977) represent the oral tradition values in colonial regime in the 20th century whereas ordinary women like Pauline Puyat, (*Tracks* 1988) Auntie and old grandmother (*Ceremony* 1977) explain the cultural variation in different Native American tribes where the ordinary wo/men were converted to white norms and education and adopted the modern ways of living to survive in the contemporary social order.

6.1.8.2. Storytelling

The manner of storytelling, in *Tracks* (1988) and *The World We Used to Live in* (2006), explains the continuation and modification in storytelling practices, on one hand, and the social structure – that usually makes up the content of storytelling – of Native American societies in 20th century, on the other. In most tribal stories there was no word for “I – only we” (Deborah 41)¹³⁸ and this explains the manner of communication in aboriginal societies where the people in their conversations used ‘we’ rather than ‘I’. This collective perspective of individuals shows the

strong connection of people with their communities. For instance, Deloria's *The World We Used to Live In* (2006) uses the plural perspective of 'we' thereby showing the social approach of the story (book) rather than an individual one: "What *we* do today is often simply a 'walk-through' of a once – potent ceremony that now has a little visible effect on the participants" (Deloria xviii, emphasis added)¹³⁹. He communally describes Native American contemporary acculturation and not as only his own. In *Tracks* (1988) the story also starts with a 'we' perspective: "We started dying before the snow, and like the snow, we continued to fall" (Erdrich 1)¹⁴⁰. Here, the 'we' perspective represents all of the Anishinaabe suffering the severe cold weather on the reservation from which point they could not easily migrate to another locality. However, the narrative immediately moves in the next paragraph from 'we' to 'I': "In the years I'd passed, I saw more change than in a hundred upon a hundred before" (Erdrich 2)¹⁴¹. This shift from the communal lookout to a lone opinion defines the surprising genocide as the lone viewpoint is of Nanapush, the only remaining voice of Anishinaabe. This narrative shift also explains the shift from a collective oral tradition to a solely written one and from a Native American viewpoint to a Euro-American viewpoint.

6.1.8.3. Ceremonial and Linear Time

The stories and reports inscribed in delimited texts explain that the American Indian traditional ways of living were "based on ceremonial understandings rather than on industrial ... orderings" (Allen 150)¹⁴². The Native Americans followed the seasonal order and performed their ceremonies accordingly. The storytelling documented the organized events in a ceremonial manner wherein the event and its context was more important than the names and dates. However, the reports were usually documented by whites and therefore were marked with names and dates to understand the chronology of these events. The contemporary writings follow the ceremonial-linear style to inscribe the traditional American Indian societies thus indicating the continuance of the oral tradition style, on one hand, and the adoption of modern trends, on the other. For instance, Erdrich (1988) presents the social order of the Chippewa / Anishinaabe in the ceremonial-linear style. The chronological sequence of time in *Tracks* (1988) explains the invasion of western culture whereas the ceremonial or cyclic records clarify the survival of the oral tradition in the 20th century. For instance, the headings of all nine chapters in the novel fix the events in a chronological and ceremonial presentation in both English and Anishinaabe:

Chapter One: Winter 1912

Manitou-geezisohns

Little Spirit Sun

...

Chapter Two: Summer 1913

Miskomini-geezis

Raspberry Sun (Erdrich 1, 10)¹⁴³

The duality of time explains the Native American contemporary acculturation as every chapter of events begins with “first a date, including the designation of season(s) and year(s), then a phrase in Anishinaabe followed by an English translation” (Peterson 986)¹⁴⁴. The establishing of two opposite time frames explains the orality, a seasonal or cyclic approach to history, a pre-contact culture, on one hand, and a linear or progressive approach to history, a post-contact culture, on the other. Silko also confirms the American Indian accultured societies of the time between 1922-1948 through the ceremonial-linear presentation of happenings. However, in *Ceremony* (1977), the ceremonial-linear timeframe explains the dichotomy of a contemporary mixed-blood society and Laguna’s timeless past that “is holy, being endless” (Neihardt 2)¹⁴⁵. The myths in the novel reflect a timeless society that was based on a ceremonial understanding of things whereas the colonial hegemony in tribes like the Navajo, Zuni, Hopi and Laguna (Silko 107)¹⁴⁶ reflect modern adoption of storytelling as the events are framed in chronological sequence from 1922 to 1948.

6.1.8.4. Lands and Cosmos

The nature of the lands and cosmos of post-Columbian Chippewa Anishinaabe, Laguna Pueblo, Lakota Sioux, Blackfeet Reservation of Montana, Creeks, Apache of Chiricahua, Powamuy or Katsina, Cheyenne of Great Plains or Ute of Great Basin, simultaneously, explain the continuation of Native American oral tradition values and the impact of colonial hegemony. For instance, the story of *Tracks* (1988) unfolds the nature of Chippewa Anishinaabe, a common American Indian habitat and a land full of forests that attracted the lumber company in 1912. As the land was common habitat, it was easy for the lumber company to stay there and grab the land, on the pretext of construction. The deforestation destroyed the natural balance of

Anishinaabe reservation and disturbed the aboriginal ways of being: the hunters were forced to adopt farming as a profession and this was not liked by the Chippewa. Chippewa's notable families, therefore, started to migrate thus discouraging the rest of the community which therefore had to accept colonial ways of living. The multicolored land-map in *Tracks* (1988) explains the gradual displacement of American Indian families and the cultural invasion of imperialism:

[T]he lines and circles of the homesteads paid up – Morrissey, Pukwan, Hat, Lazarres everywhere. They were colored green. The lands that were gone out of the tribe – to deaths with no heirs, to sales, to the lumber company – were painted a pale and rotten pink. Those in question, a sharper yellow. At the center of a bright square was Matchimanito, a small blue triangle. (Erdrich 173)¹⁴⁷

Similarly, the western schools and churches, on the reservation, also highlighted the colonial encroachment.

The story of *Tracks* (1988) also explains the Anishinaabe reservation from where the Native Americans could not easily move during unfavorable weather as convention stated and so could not survive the severe winter. Most of the population died of the sickness called consumption (Erdrich 2)¹⁴⁸. The unnatural circumstances made it difficult even for the veteran medicine wo/men to adjust and find a cure. Deloria (2006) also explains life on the reservations wherein the people had to live against their desires and this in turn made them easy victims of various epidemics which wasted a huge population of American Indians. For example, the Chinooks that lived near the Columbia River lost 90 percent of their population to a flu epidemic during the period from 1829 to 1833 (Deloria 55)¹⁴⁹. Unlike the Chippewa Anishinaabe in *Tracks* (1988), the Laguna Pueblo, in *Ceremony* (1977) had a plain unyielding land. Culturally it had not been affected by colonization because it was not rich in natural resources and thus it retained its communal identity in the transition period (Castillo 288)¹⁵⁰. However, the land was a common habitat and as such was affected by the menace of colonialism indirectly. In *Ceremony*, Silko describes that the land around Highway 66 explains the transition of Native American identity as it had many bars or pubs and “Navajos in torn old jackets [and] Zunis and Hopis [and] a few Lagunas. All of them slouched down against the dirty walls of the bar along Highway 66,

their eyes staring at the ground as if they had forgotten the sun in the sky” (Silko 107)¹⁵¹. On the other hand, the reports of the whites about the Lakota Sioux, Blackfeet of Montana, Creeks, Apache of Chiricahua, Powamuy or Katsina, Cheyenne of Great Plains, or Ute of Great Basin also describe the easy approach of intruders (as they reported them) in lands such as these that were the common habitats of American Indians.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

The most effective way to destroy people is to deny and obliterate their own understanding of their history. (Orwell 90)¹

Since the beginning of the colonial regime in North America (1607) Native American history has been refashioned in the names of the reforms in Native American religion, politics and historiography. The movements of reformation (1517-1648) and enlightenment (late 17th century-19th century) in Europe were re-institutionalized politically in North America in the name of *civilization* (Niekerk 10)². In the early colonial regime (1607 to 1776), the church, which was criticized in Europe for its corruption, was mainly used as the tool to convert Indians; later, from 1776 to 1960, the enlightenment was established to industrialize the Indian lands (Kennedy, Cohen, and Bailey 157)³. Hence, disregarding their differences in timeline and agenda, the reformative acts tied the same knot that hegemonized Native American history. The oral traditional belief system could not survive itself in the proliferation of modern civilization which helped Euro-American scholars turn down oral traditional civilization. Before Euro-Americans achieved the goal Native American bizarre “manifestos ha[d] been issued, lists of people no longer welcome on the reservations ha[d] been compiled, and biographies of proven fraudulent medicine men ha[d] been publicized” (Deloria xvii)⁴. The misuse of Indian ceremonies was encouraged to spoil their historical / cultural keenness. For instance, many poor red women were encouraged monetarily to act for ‘Mother Earth’; “[s]weat lodges conducted for \$50, peyote meetings for \$1,500, medicine drums for \$300, weekend workshops and vision quests for \$500 ... The consumer society [wa]s indeed consuming everything in its path” (Deloria xvii, xviii)⁵. All this fuss made American Indian oral traditional stories and ceremonies unreliable and pushed Native American tribes on the back foot. They escaped from the discussions of their ceremonies and put aside the norms “that stood them in good stead for thousands of years and live in increasing and meaningless secularity” (Deloria xvii)⁶. Even the most acknowledged-cultured reservations could not help sidelining the rituals which they were once practiced. Thus, an “overwhelming majority of Indian people today have little

understanding or remembrance of the powers once possessed by the spiritual leaders of their communities” (Deloria xvii)⁷.

In the post-1960s, the Native American scholars, when they were encouraged to study in the white universities, apprehended how the Euro-American agenda of civilization politicized their history. The postcolonial studies, on the other hand, also made Native American scholars think of their lost past “*that helped, healed, and honored [them] with its presence and companionship*” (Deloria xix, emphasis added)⁸ and urged them to “*write back*” (Ashcroft 8, emphasis added)⁸ to the misconception of their history. The theoretical perspectives like cultural criticism (1970s) new historicism (1980s) also opposed the imperial concept of history as Truth or final reality and studied it as the truths or cultural embedment. These perspectives enthused many Native American writers to assemble their cultural stories in a text form. Also, they let the modern scholarship examine Native American literary and non-literary texts concerning the production of cultural norms in which the stories of these texts were produced. This epistemological shift changed the mode of research from a thin description (a brief / single text reading) to a thick description (interdisciplinary / co-text reading) of “humanistic disciplines such as cultural anthropology, psychology and literary criticism” (Mali 87)⁹. This study adapts this thick description to explain the truths in the mythical stories inscribed in Native American literary and non-literary writings. It follows Greenblatt’s theorization: a text is a credible way to preserve history because of the impermanence of beings; all the literary and non-literary texts are the production and producer of cultural norms, therefore, literature like history is also a source of history of the time in which it was produced; correspondingly, history like all other disciplines of knowledge is a subjective approach, and therefore, cannot retrieve alone the better sense of the past; hence, the parallel study of literary texts and non-literary texts of the same period can have a better sense of the history of the time in which these texts were produced.

‘Historicity in Native American Fiction’, chapter 4, answers the question proposed for this research: ‘How is Native American historicity inscribed in Louise Erdrich’s *Tracks* (1988) and Leslie Marmon Silko’s *Ceremony* (1977)? This chapter establishes this argument of the new historicism that ‘literature, like other disciplines of studies, is also the production, hence the producer, of the historicity of a society in which it was written’. It argues that Native American literary works are embedded in the multiple narratives that express different perspectives of the

indigenous community. In this regard, this chapter unrolls the matriarchal nature of families; the nature of the medicine wo/men and their role as healers; the quests of native people for their dreams or vision quests to know the medicine power of the specific plants or herbs and the role of prophecies in future happenings; the ceremonies to cure the people or communities; and the interspecies relationship of medicine clans in Chippewa Anishinaabe and Laguna Pueblo. This historicity in delimited Native American fictions establishes the social, cultural, political, and religious aspects of aboriginal North American societies that seem to build up against the common laws of nature. For instance, the historicity embedded in *Tracks* (1988) and *Ceremony* (1977) explain the unusual nature and role of medicine men and women in North American communities; the affiliation of people with animals for exploring the future happenings; the oral traditional beliefs, vision quests, interspatial communication and transformation, and intrapersonal communication; the involvements of spirits and anthropomorphic animals. To define this unusual nature of Native American past and present, this chapter argues how Erdrich and Silko use the oral traditional and modern techniques to describe the coexistence of Native American natural cum supernatural social order. This coexistence not only explains the ceremonial aspect of Native American society but also makes up the mind of modern readers about the spiritual society.

The realistic expression of various happenings proves that the concept of the entire Native American community being supernatural is wrong. Non-natives focus on the supernatural elements and ignore the natural one and are thus unable to understand the Native American realm. The strong imagery and presentation of the correlation of the natural and supernatural worlds make the natural world supernatural for them. However, the natives, regardless of their tribal affiliation, perceives everything natural because of the strong belief system and their daily involvement in such mythical practices. The characters' presentation and the way they are textualized and the settings of the novels are normal things for the native community, for the native readers and even for Erdrich and Silko, as the writers like their protagonists have "believed in the stories for a long time" (Silko 18)¹⁰. This is the common tragedy of the Native American community that the people conflict with the historicity of their myths. They are in between the scientific stories read at school and the childhood stories of their grandmothers: "The science books explained the causes and effects. But Old Grandma always used to say, Back in time immemorial, things were different, the animals could talk to human beings and many

magical things still happened” (Silko 94-95)¹¹. The aboriginal believes in the mythical tales of the magical power of medicine men and women, ceremonies, visions quests, interspecies communication and transformation, Mother Earth, intrapersonal communication, but the western education turn down these beliefs.

Native Americans’ beliefs in these stories promote the practice of storytelling because one cannot enjoy the healing power of these stories without believing them truthful. Nanapush (*Tracks*) and Tayo (*Ceremony*) rely on the healing power of the Laguna and Chippewa tales, although they are educated in a white school where they were told about the irrationality of the tales related to their native folk. This shows that both Tayo and Nanapush live in different ‘realities’ that cannot be fixed. They make different stories for accessible assistance and that “give them strength” (Silko 12)¹². These stories help understand the ancestral civilizations and dogmas as they are constructed within the microcosmic and macrocosmic concepts of time and place. The main stories of *Tracks* (1988) and *Ceremony* (1977), according to the traditional framework, nourish numerous smaller narratives, and with these smaller stories, one can judge the historicity of the traditional context where everything is taken as a story. The Native American spontaneous integrity of its land, language and storytelling inscribed in these historical / cultural stories interrelated not only the similarities but also the differences among the cultural traits of the native tribes. Also, it calculates the differences between Tribal Nations and American Citizenry. Modern academia however ignores the former and does not show any respect to the orality regarding the native history of American. However, such Eurocentric distinction ironically canonizes Native American literature as the locus of its indigenous life.

Chapter 5, ‘Native American [Myt]history’, responses to the question: ‘How do Deloria’s *God Is Red* (1973) and *The World We Used to Live In* (2006) mythistoricize Native American history?’ This chapter explains this theorization of Greenblatt that ‘history like all other disciplines of knowledge is a subjective approach, and therefore, cannot retrieve the better sense of the past’. In this regard, this chapter emphasizes how Vine Deloria Jr. mythistoricizes his accounts of Native American spiritual practices to his audience. This study focuses on how Deloria in *God Is Red* (1973) and *The World We Used to Live In* (2006) has ‘faithfully’ assembled the stories about Native American oral traditional belief system and the reports of its practices in different times and tribes; and how he ‘truthfully’ evaluates the stories and reports of

eyewitnesses to textualize the ‘truths’ (not Truth) of Native American history. The mythistory of Deloria, simultaneously, explains the oral traditional ways of Native American being: the spiritual powers of medicine wo/men; the exploration in medicine field; the role of magical women in different tribes; the healing power of ‘Mother Earth’; the beliefs in dreams and vision quests to find out prosperity; the presentations of ‘spirit lodge’, ‘sweat lodge’, ‘corn raise’ ‘rain dance’, ‘sun dance’ and other rituals of social impacts; and interspecies relationship in different tribes.

Ironically, Native American spiritual history flourished during the Western-led Native American enlightenment. Given the colonial agenda of civilization, the new generation of Native American scholars could get admittance in the white universities where they were convinced about the irrationality of their spiritual heritage (Deloria 71)¹³. They realized how the imposed civilization led their native people to alienation which pushed them away from their traditional beliefs. At the same time, the Christian education in the European-led-colonies was used by the Enlightenment in Europe as a tool to show the corruption of Christianity, specifically, its loss of “natural” features, which were still present in the “savage” state (Gro 7)¹⁴. All these tendencies, however, did not impede Euro-American advance because the Native Americans, even with their goodness, were still “the vestige of a surpassed era of human development” (Liebersohn 765)¹⁵. But these tendencies enlightened Native Americans as to how the whites deliberately kept propagating their agenda of civilization to enslave the reds, whom they considered to be inferior to them (Owen 4)¹⁶. The postcolonial phase also helped the indigenous writers look back to their glorious past, which was abandoned during the colonial period, to strengthen themselves against imperial ideology. Looking back to their past is, however, difficult for Native American scholars and historians because of the nature of their past, as also since it is based on the oral traditional ceremonies and is publicized through the mythical stories. Aboriginal Indian tribes believed in these mythical or spiritual rituals without any question because of their own spiritual experiences. “Many tribes practiced the *sun dance, the spirit lodge, the vision quest, the sweat lodge, use of sacred stones, and other rituals*, with slight variations in format” (Deloria xiii, emphasis added)¹⁷. Also, it is believed that “[t]he bear, wolf, eagle, buffalo, and snake lent their powers to people of many tribes” that used these powers “as *healing, making prophecies, or offering protection* against dangers (Deloria xiii, emphasis added)¹⁸.

On the other hand, Native American historiographical methods like ‘winter counts’, ‘calendar sticks,’ and ‘Walum Olum’ could not survive in positivist academics (Deloria 99)¹⁹. However, they show the Native Americans’ interest in history on the individual level. Most ledger art images revolve around warfare and continual striving for status, including scenes of battle and the capturing of horses, weapons and other goods (Low 86)²⁰. These methods follow the western concept of history but the chronology of happenings is dependent on ceremonial or cyclic time because without the ceremonial/cyclic time sequence Native American linear record loses its worth (Deloria 98)²¹. Therefore, in post-Columbian/historical time these ways of recording happenings were rejected for the achronological pattern that made them ambiguous. The objections were so severe and sound that even Native American historians admitted the ambiguity of these methods in modern times. Knowing the importance of the modern manner of textualization, Native American scholars like Deloria textualize mythical stories to preserve Native American history or historicity. Textualization of a traditional belief system as history is not an easy task in the world of science and knowledge therefore the Native American historians not only textualize Native American history but also mythistoricize – makes it credible and intelligible – it.

The mythistory of the stories and reports that explain Native American history or historicity answers the skeptics of those who call these stories myths. Contemporary scholars do not explain these stories critically and call them nonsense because they convey coincidental or delusional or trickery happenings, thus, “excuse each story or anecdote describing the exercise of spiritual powers” (Deloria xviii)²². Deloria insists that these stories be read collectively and not in isolation since the latter misleads the readers and critics and does not allow them to understand anything. On the other hand, a single story of spiritual happening can easily be criticized. In the pre-colonial period, positive research could retrieve numerous stories with credible sources but the settlers treated them in an imperial and dismissive manner (Deloria 161)²³. This attitude of the Euro-American critics and scholars in assembling the native and non-native accounts resulted in the distortion of Native American history that were inscribed in many other accounts. This discrimination to the history of ‘others’ tagged Native American stories as myths and term them “childlike,” “savage,” and “primitive” (Allen 112)²⁴. Deloria mythistoricizes old stories and reports to explore the real cause behind the marginalization of Native American stories, on one hand, and retrieves his glorious past to counter the imperial attitude, on the other. He presents the

other side of the constructed truth, by using the master's tools of criticism. Native American stories and European reports on Native American ways of being, unfolds the history in which these stories and reports were (re)produced. Deloria's cohesive presentation of the spiritual world not only figures out Native American stories but also textualizes them to preserve Native American history for the coming generations because a text is a source of passing history from one generation to the other (Montrose 24)²⁵.

Chapter 6, 'Mythical Retrieval of Native American History', answers the question: 'How do Native American literary texts (*Tracks* 1988, *Ceremony* 1977) and non-literary texts (*God is Red* 1973, *The World We Used to Live In* 2006) co-textually balance Native American history, myth and fictionality?' This chapter explains the theorization that 'the parallel study of literary texts and non-literary texts of the same period can have a better understanding of the history of the time in which these texts were produced'. This chapter explains how the co-textual study of the literary and non-literary texts of a time and place is a better way to explain the history of that time and place. Delimited literary and non-literary novels were published in the late 20th century (*Ceremony*, 1977; *Tracks*, 1988; *God Is Red*, 1973) and in the early 21st century (*The World We Used to Live In*, 2006) but culturally/historically represent the cultural history from the pre-Columbian/pre-historical time to the late 20th century.

Indian storytellers / writers / historians [re]documented the stories according to their cultural consciousness whereas the reader / critic / understands them according to his / her and the co-textualization of these stories explains a better sense of Native American history. This study does not claim to retrieve the Truth or the ultimate reality but the truths / history / historicity / social and cultural embedment of Native American tribes synchronically and diachronically. It explains the nature and role of the medicine men and women in Native American traditional communities; the oral tradition representation of magical women and cultural significance of mundane women in Indian communities; the significance of dreams and visions in Native American societies; the quests of native people to know their self and the outer world; the menace of daydreaming, the ceremonies that "establishe[d] the tribal community or [brought] it to the sacred pipes, the sacred arrows, the sacred hats" and the sacred offerings like pollen or tobacco (Deloria 195)²⁶; pow wows, the interspecies relationship of medicine clans that publicizes the significance of giving respect to everything (Herring 59)²²; the cultural inspiration

of the lands and cosmos of Anishinaabe, Pueblo, Sioux, Montana, Creeks, Chiricahua, Powamuy or Katsina, Great Plains, or Great Basin, the religious perspectives, laws, the practice of storytelling, language variation, or family system that reflected a strong emphasis on group involvement and decision making (Edwards and Edwards 80)²⁷ to define the synchronic and diachronic assimilations and differences between Native American tribal clans that have been lived on the same continent for centuries (Boon 122)²⁸. The accumulation of various stories and reports helps readers / critics understand the Native American traditional belief system that is the locus of Native American history and that cannot be grasped by a single story or two.

Hence, Native American mythical stories inscribed in Native American literary and non-literary texts are a source of Native American history or the cultural embedment that incorporates the Native American past, present and future. These stories figure out not only spontaneous integrity but also the cultural individuality of Native American social and cultural values in which they had their existence. This co-textualization of Native American literary and non-literary texts explains a wide range of Native American history including social and cultural embedment. This co-textual analysis of American Indian mythical stories explicates that Native American communities were not entirely supernatural but had their being in the natural as well as supernatural circumstances. Non-American Indians deliberately publicized the supernatural aspect to prove the natural world as the mythical. This is also to say that the pure and natural form of the Native American lands and culture made them consider the natural world also as supernatural. The Native Americans perceived everything as natural because of their strong belief system and their daily involvement in unusual practices. In addition to their own belief system, they also believed in the stories of other tribes without any question because of the complementary spiritual nature. Native American contemporary communities are the children of those “who have been stripped of their cultural traditions and forced to live a bicultural existence” (Guilmet and Whited 39)²⁹ and are hence ambivalent about the historicity of their mythical stories. This co-textual study “of these stories might demonstrate to the present and coming generations the sense of humility, the reliance of the spirits, and the immense powers that characterized [American Indians] in the old days” (Deloria xx)³⁰.

This co-textual analysis to understand Native American history also mentions the beginning of the colonial regime in the world that directly linked with the colonial regime in the

South Asian subcontinent (now containing India, Pakistan and Bangladesh) (Guha 5)³¹. In 1492 when Spanish mariners reached the American continent looking for a direct route from Europe to India, for which reason Columbus also named the native people as Red Indians (Hilder 547)³². From 1492 to 1607 the other European companies also explored the two continents and sought to occupy the land (Woodward 116)³³. European settlers or invaders settled in the big part of the discovered continent thereby raising cultural conflicts. To hegemonize native culture or its history, European intruders publicized the philosophy of ‘no writing no history’ (Guha 10)³⁴, and thus, replaced the storytelling, winter counts, calendar sticks, Walum Olum and other traditional ways of Native American historiography with their own concept of historiography. They also argued in favor of western historiography as a limit “outside which there [was] nothing to be found and ... inside which everything [was] to be found” (Aristotle 54)³⁵. The outside of the colonial-made-limit of history was canonized as the myth of different regions and tribes.

This limit of history caused the othering of religions, races, languages, and cultures that learned to identify themselves in the world. Thus, the West propagated its agenda of civilization as the ‘white man’s burden’ which obligated him to search and civilize the ‘inferior’ lands (Kipling 21)³⁶. To justify its agenda of civilization in the American continent, European intruders after 1776 – when they announced land ownership – paid historiographers to promote the philosophy “that people without writing were people without history and that people without history were inferior human beings” (Mignolo 127)³⁷.

After three hundred years, the West employed the same strategy, which it had already implemented in the American continent, in South Asia to occupy the subcontinent (presently Pakistan, Bangladesh, and India). It was propagated that Brown Indians, like Red Indians, were inferior because they had no history (Guha 7)³⁸. However, the matter in the subcontinent was different since there were great collections of literature, religious books and manuscripts of law. Thus the philosophy of ‘no writing no history’ was exchanged with ‘no state no history’ (Guha 7)³⁹. This was different ideologically but similar strategically in dismantling the subcontinental historiography. Orientalists kept propagating that the people of the subcontinent had no history because they did not have a statehood to write about (Guha 8)⁴⁰. They admired the intellectual achievements of subcontinental Indians regarding their splendid works of literature but did not qualify their history which, according to them, did not explain the past of statehood but focused

on caste systems. What they did not take into consideration was that Brown Indians with all their historiographical tactics, their reserves of literature, ancient religious books, splendid works of poetry, and ancient books of law did not have a history (Guha 13)⁴¹. The specimen of Fort William College, established by East India Company in 1800, explores this colonial mindset behind the philosophy that subcontinental Indians had no history. To prove this, William Carey, a Christian missionary and the head of this Bangla College, hired indigenous scholars to train Europeans to understand the history and language of the subcontinent.

Thus, it was difficult to tag Brown Indians, like Red Indians, as “obviously unintelligent” or “unenlightened children” distinguished only by “inferiority in all respects” (Guha 11)⁴². Therefore, in the subcontinent, the West could not grab the land as it had in the American continent because of the intellectual achievements of subcontinental Indians regarding their historicity. This is even though the indigenous history was based on mythical tales. However, the nexus of history, historiography, writing, and state persisted in the newly emergent state of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and anti-Pakistani forces propagated this colonial-made-nexus in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) Sindh, Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa to convince the provinces that they were different in their history and so should be independent and autonomous states. At the same time, the comprador scholars in Pakistan were paid to write against the state (Chopra 11)⁴³. Pakistan, in time, became politically unstable resulting in the separation of East Pakistan in 1971 (now Bangladesh) as well as continuous terrorist attacks in different parts of the country. London buses in 2017 carrying the slogan of ‘Free Baluchistan’ highlighted the new target of neo-colonial forces. In these circumstances, it becomes imperative that the state of Pakistan promote its history and provide scholars and historians a research based environment in Sindh, Balochistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Gilgit Baltistan, Kashmir and Punjab to write the cultural similarities that provide a unified history and prevent dissolution and the spread of anarchy in the region.

To promote the interdisciplinary approach in research, this study also recommends the following proposals for future researchers:

- I. Native American mythology is equally significant to the retrieval of Native American history or social and cultural embedment. Hence, there is a need to argue the status of

myths in reconstructing the history / culture of not only the oral traditional societies but also the remote aboriginal societies.

- II. the mythistory also helps examine the articulacy of Native American cultural stories. With this approach, contemporary historians can argue the credibility and intelligibility of historical / cultural stories. In Pakistani the context, the mythistory of the cultural stories of Sindh, Balochistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Gilgit Baltistan, Kashmir and Punjab may promote the cultural confederation among the provinces, hence, avert the mobocracy in the region.
- III. The co-textual approach to historical / cultural embedment of every community provides a wide range of heterogeneous practices that cannot be explained through either historical or literary texts. The need, therefore, is to combine the two and by conducting new historical studies to provide unified studies of peoples and nations throughout the world. This interdisciplinarity would make the critics and historians balance the contradictions among 'Truth, truths and myths', hence retrieves the untold tales of the world-history.
- IV. Focus also needs to be laid on conducting studies on discussing the ceremonial-linear style of Native American writers and their varied stylistic approaches. Since this is a field that is under-researched in our region there is vast potential for exploring similarities and differences between and across texts.

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Appendices:

Glossary, Acts, Treaties and Maps

Appendix I: Glossary

American Indians: According to the 1970 US census, a majority of the Indian population of 792,730 lived on reservations in five states: Oklahoma, Arizona, California, New Mexico and North Carolina. Most of the American Indians are among the nation's poorest citizens. Indians earn the lowest average family income (\$ 1500 in 1970) in the nation and suffer the highest rates of unemployment, suicide, alcoholism, school dropout and infant mortality. Indian life expectancy is considerably under the national average.

American Indian Tribes: American Indians are the descendants of Central Asian migrants who crossed Bering Strait before 10,000 B.C. At the time of Columbus, approximately two million Indians, belonging to 600 tribes, lived in North America. Tribal loyalties persist among today's Indian populace. Christopher Columbus thought that they had reached the East Indies misnamed them as Red Indians. They spoke more than 500 tongues which fell into 73 families. The first Europeans were unprepared for the variety and diversity and complexity of cultures they encountered. Tribes have been divided by scholars among eight geographic areas: Eastern Woodland; Southeast; Plains; Plateau; Northwest Coast; California; Great Basin; Southwest.

Anishinaabe: Anishinaabe is the autonym for a group of culturally related indigenous peoples in what is known today as Canada and the United States. These include the Odawa, Saukteaux, Ojibwe (including Mississaugas), Potawatomi, Oji-Cree, and Algonquin peoples. The people speak Anishinaabemowin or Anishinaabe languages that belong to the Algonquian language family. They historically lived in the Northeast Woodlands and Subarctic.

Arizona: Arizona is a state in the southwestern region of the United States. It is also part of the Western and the Mountain states. It is the sixth largest and the 14th most populous of the 50 states. Its capital and largest city is Phoenix. Arizona, one of the Four Corners states, is bordered by New Mexico to the east, Utah to the north, Nevada and California to the west, and Mexico to the south, as well as the southwestern corner of Colorado. Arizona's border with Mexico is 389 miles (626 km) long, on the northern border of the Mexican states of Sonora and Baja California.

Biloxi: Biloxi is a city and one of two county seats of Harrison County, Mississippi, United States (the other seat being the adjoining city of Gulfport). The 2010 United States Census recorded the population as 44,054, and in 2016 the estimated population was 45,975. The area was settled by French colonists.

Biographical Drawings: Biographical drawings were the historiographical ways to explain the account of life and activities of Native American individuals or family. It would include information about the person's name, place of residence, education, occupation, life and activities and other important details.

Biology: Biology is the natural science that studies life and living organisms, including their physical structure, chemical processes, molecular interactions, physiological mechanisms, development and evolution.

Blackfoot reservation: The Blackfeet Nation also known as the Blackfeet Tribe of the Blackfeet Indian Reservation is an Indian reservation. Located in Montana, its members are composed primarily of the Piegan Blackfeet (Ampskapi Piikani) band of the larger ethnic group historically described as the Blackfoot Confederacy. It is located east of Glacier National Park and borders the Canadian province of Alberta.

Blue Lake: Blue Lake of Taos Pueblo in New Mexico is an ancient pueblo belonging to a Taos-speaking (Tiwa) Native American tribe of Puebloan people. It lies about 1 mile (1.6 km) north of the modern city of Taos, New Mexico. The pueblos are considered to be one of the oldest continuously inhabited communities in the United States. This has been designated a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

Book of Hopi: *The Book of the Hopi* is written by White Bear, Native American tribal legend and Frank Waters, an American ethnographer. In this strange and wonderful book, thirty elders of the ancient Hopi tribe of Northern Arizona -- a people who regard themselves as the first inhabitants of America -- freely reveal the Hopi traditional ways of being.

Calendar Sticks: Like 'winter counts' there are other ways of Native American historiography. One of them was 'calendar sticks': this method of recording chronological proceedings usually followed by tribes like Tohono O'odhams and Pimas of Arizona. The sticks like 'winter count'

are stamped by various signs. Each sign like the images of ‘winter counts’ was a metaphor of specific happenings.

California: Although this region was the most densely populated north of Mexico – it was home to some 100 different tribes, including the Yumas and Pomos, comprising more than 350,000 people – its tribes were among the continent’s most primitive. For the most part, they lived in small, nomadic bands, gathering abundant food in the mild climate and weaving superbly finished baskets. These tribes virtually disappeared under the onslaught, first of the Spanish and then white Americans.

Central America: Central America is located on the southern tip of North America, or is sometimes defined as a subcontinent of the Americas, bordered by Mexico to the north, Colombia to the southeast, the Caribbean Sea to the east, and the Pacific Ocean to the west and south. Central America consists of seven countries: Belize, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama.

Ceremonial style: Ceremonial style of present happenings is an established system of orature or storytelling to explain rites or formal actions connected with an occasion in an achronological way.

Ceremonies: Ceremonies are the events of ritual significance, performed on a special occasion.

Chaco Canyon: Chaco Canyon was the center of a pre-Columbian civilization flourishing in the San Juan Basin of the American Southwest from the 9th to the 12th century CE. Chacoan civilization represents a singular period in the history of an ancient people now referred to as ‘Ancestral Puebloans’ given their relation to modern indigenous peoples of the Southwest whose lives are organized around Pueblos, or apartment-style communal dwellings.

Cherokee: The Cherokee are one of the indigenous people of the Southeastern Woodlands. Prior to the 18th century, they were concentrated in southwestern North Carolina, southeastern Tennessee, and the tips of western South Carolina and northeastern Georgia. The Cherokee language is part of the Iroquoian language group. In the 19th century, James Mooney, an American ethnographer, recorded one oral tradition that told of the tribe having migrated south in ancient times from the Great Lakes region, where other Iroquoian-speaking peoples lived;

however, anthropologist Thomas R. Whyte writes that the origin of the proto-Iroquoian language was likely the Appalachian region and the split between Northern and Southern Iroquoian languages began 4,000 years ago. Between 1816 and 1820 the Cherokees of eastern Tennessee and the Mississippi Choctaws were persuaded to move westward to present-day Arkansas.

Cheyenne: Cheyenne are one of the indigenous people of the Great Plains and their language is of the Algonquian language family. The Cheyenne comprise two Native American tribes, Suhtai or Sutaio and the Tsitsistas. These tribes merged in the early 19th century. Today, the Cheyenne people are split into two federally recognized Nations: the Southern Cheyenne, who are enrolled in the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes in Oklahoma, and the Northern Cheyenne, who are enrolled in the Northern Cheyenne Tribe of the Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation in Montana.

Chiricahua Apaches: Chiricahua Apaches are a band of Apache Native Americans, based in the Southern Plains and the Southwest United States. Culturally related to other Apache peoples, Chiricahua historically shared a common area, language, customs, and intertwined family relations. At the time of European contact, they had a territory of 15 million acres (61,000 km²) in Southwestern New Mexico and South-eastern Arizona in the United States and in Northern Sonora and Chihuahua in Mexico.

Collective consciousness: Collective consciousness is the set of shared beliefs, ideas, and moral attitudes which operate as a unifying force within society (*Collins Dictionary of Sociology* 93).

Columbus: Christopher Columbus was an Italian explorer, navigator, and colonist who completed four voyages across the Atlantic Ocean under the auspices of the Catholic Monarchs of Spain. He led the first European expeditions to the Caribbean, Central America, and South America, initiating the permanent European colonization of the Americas. Columbus discovered the viable sailing route to the Americas, a continent that was not then known to the Old World. While what he thought he had discovered was a route to the Far East, he is credited with the opening of the Americas for conquest and settlement by Europeans

Context: The circumstances that form the setting for an event, statement, or idea, and in terms of which it can be fully understood.

Corn Mother: First Mother or Corn Mother is the first woman in Native American creation story. The details of Corn Mother's life vary greatly from telling to telling. In different communities, Corn Mother is said to have been created by the Great Spirit, the culture hero Glooscap, or both, or simply sprung to life spontaneously from the morning dew. In some stories, Corn Mother and her husband (sometimes identified as First Father or First Penobscot, other times simply as Corn Mother's husband) were created at the same time. In other versions, First Father had already been created to help Glooscap and First Mother or Corn Mother joined him later. After giving birth to the Wabanaki nation, First Mother then sacrifices her life to feed them, turning her body into the first garden. Corn Mother also called Corn Maiden, mythological figure believed, among indigenous agricultural tribes in North America, to be responsible for the origin of corn (maize).

Cosmology: Cosmology is a branch of astronomy concerned with the studies of the origin and evolution of the universe, from the Big Bang to today and on into the future. It is the scientific study of the origin, evolution, and eventual fate of the universe. Physical cosmology is the scientific study of the universe's origin, its large-scale structures and dynamics, and its ultimate fate, as well as the laws of science that govern these areas.

Co-text: According to New Historicism the historical documents are not subordinated as contexts but are analyzed in their own right, and one should perhaps call them 'co-texts' rather than 'contexts'. The text and co-text used will be seen as expressions of the same historical 'moment' and interpreted accordingly.

Cree: Cree, one of the major Algonquian-speaking Native American tribes, whose domain included an immense area from east of Hudson and James bays to as far west as Alberta and Great Slave Lake in what is now Canada. Originally inhabiting a smaller nucleus of this area, they expanded rapidly in the 17th and 18th centuries after engaging in the fur trade and acquiring firearms; the name Cree is a truncated form of Kristineaux, a French adaptation of the self-name of the James Bay band. Wars with the Dakota Sioux and Blackfoot and severe smallpox epidemics, notably in 1784 and 1838, reduced their numbers.

Creek: The Creek tribe descended from the mound builders located in the Mississippi River valley. The people moved across the southeast and established large, organised settlements in

Georgia, Alabama, North Carolina and Florida. The Creek people were farmers growing crops of corn, beans, squash, melons, pumpkins and sweet potatoes. The most famous Creek chiefs were Red Feather and Osceola.

Dawes Severalty Act of 1887: Congress passed the Dawes Severalty Act in 1887, awarding US citizenship to Indians who renounced tribal allegiance and granting them 160 acres of reservation lands under certain conditions. Unprepared for life off the reservation, Indians leased their lands to white settlers for a few cents an acre and by 1906 about 60 percent of reservation lands were in white hands. Burke Act was passed again in 1887 to make amends for the problems of the Dawes Severalty Act and to encourage homesteading by Indians and protect their holdings, but its provisions for close supervision of Indian life were resented and soon proved self-defeating. The Burke Act was significantly amended in 1924, when all Indians were granted citizenship. The Wheeler-Howard Act was passed in 1934. It returned to tribal ownership surplus lands previously open to public sale.

Delaware: Delaware is one of the 50 states of the United States, in the Mid-Atlantic or Northeastern region. It is bordered to the south and west by Maryland, north by Pennsylvania, and east by New Jersey and the Atlantic Ocean. The state takes its name from Thomas West, 3rd Baron De La Warr, an English nobleman and Virginia's first colonial governor. Delaware occupies the northeastern portion of the Delmarva Peninsula. It's the second smallest and sixth least populous state, but the sixth most densely populated. Delaware's largest city is Wilmington. The state is divided into three counties, the lowest number of any state. From north to south, they are New Castle County, Kent County, and Sussex County. While the southern two counties have historically been predominantly agricultural, New Castle County is more industrialized.

Before its coastline was explored by Europeans in the 16th century, Delaware was inhabited by several groups of Native Americans, including the Lenape in the north and Nanticoke in the south. It was initially colonized by Dutch traders at Zwaanendael, near the present town of Lewes, in 1631. Delaware was one of the 13 colonies participating in the American Revolution. On December 7, 1787, Delaware became the first state to ratify the Constitution of the United States and has since been known as 'The First State'.

Devil's Tower in Wyoming: It is a laccolithic butte composed of igneous rock in the Bear Lodge Mountains (part of the Black Hills) near Hulett and Sundance in Crook County, northeastern Wyoming, above the Belle Fourche River. It rises 1,267 feet (386 m) above the Belle Fourche River, standing 867 feet (265 m) from the summit to base. The summit is 5,112 feet (1,559 m) above sea level.

Dialectic: Dialectic is also known as the dialectical method, is at base a discourse between two or more people holding different points of view about a subject but wishing to establish the truth through reasoned arguments. Dialectic resembles debate, but the concept excludes subjective elements such as emotional appeal and the modern pejorative sense of rhetoric. Dialectic may be contrasted with the didactic method, wherein one side of the conversation teaches the other. Dialectic is alternatively known as minor logic, as opposed to major logic or critique.

Dialogic: A cross-cultural conversation which, according to David L. Moore, “emphasizes changeability of meaning in ‘both’ participants ... by showing how they are not aligned dualistically (us/them) but rather are surrounded by influences” from multiple fields.

Ecocriticism: Ecocriticism is the study of literature and the environment from an interdisciplinary point of view, where literature scholars analyze texts that illustrate environmental concerns and examine the various ways literature treats the subject of nature.

Ecology: Ecology is the branch of biology which studies the interactions among organisms and their environment. Objects of study include interactions of organisms with each other and with abiotic components of their environment.

Enlightenment: Enlightenment denotes an intellectual movement that began in England in 17th century (Locke and deists) and developed in France in the 18th century (Bayle, Voltaire and Diderot) and also in Germany (Mendelssohn and Lessing). Kant said that enlightenment is the ‘emergence of man from his self-imposed infancy. Infancy is the inability to use one’s own reason without the guidance of another’. The central principle is to have the courage to use one’s own reason.

Flora: Flora is the plant life occurring in a particular region or time, generally the naturally occurring or indigenous – native plant life.

Fort William College: The college was an academy and learning center of Oriental studies established by Lord Wellesley, then Governor-General of British India. The law to establish its foundation was passed on 4 May 1800, to commemorate the first anniversary of the victory over Tipu Sultan at Seringapatam. It was founded on 10 July 1800, within the Fort William complex in Calcutta. Thousands of books were translated from Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Bengali, Hindi, and Urdu into English at this institution.

Genocide: Genocide is intentional action to destroy the people (usually defined as an ethnic, national, racial, or religious group) in whole or in part. The United Nations Genocide Convention, which was established in 1948, defines genocide as “acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group”.

Great Spirit: Great Spirit or Wakan Tanka is the chief deity in the religion of many North American Indian tribes. According to Lakota myth, before creation, Wakan Tanka existed in a great emptiness called Han (darkness). Feeling lonely, he decided to create companions for himself. First, the Great Spirit focused his energy into a powerful force to form Inyan (rock), the first god. Next, he used Inyan to create Maka (earth) and then mated with that god to produce Skan (sky). Skan brought forth Wi (the sun) from Inyan, Maka, and himself. These four gods were separate and powerful, but they were all part of Wakan Tanka.

Hallucination: Hallucination is a perception in the absence of an external stimulus that has qualities of real perception. Hallucinations are where someone sees, hears, smells, tastes or feels things that don't exist outside their mind. They're common in people with schizophrenia and are usually experienced as hearing voices. Hallucinations can be frightening, but there's usually an identifiable cause.

Herodotus: Herodotus was an ancient Greek historian who was born in Halicarnassus in the Persian Empire (modern-day Bodrum, Turkey). He is known for having written the book *The Histories*, a detailed record of his ‘inquiry’ on the origins of the Greco-Persian Wars. He is widely considered to have been the first writer to have treated historical subjects using a method

of systematic investigation—specifically, by collecting his materials and then critically arranging them into a historiographic narrative. On account of this, he is often referred to as “The Father of History”, a title first conferred on him by the first-century BC Roman orator Cicero.

Historicality: Historicality as a specific determinant of human existence in contrast to everything that is simply there (Existence) must be distinguished from the historicity of an event or situation in the sense of its having been authenticated as an assured historical fact.

Historicity: Historicity is the historical actuality of persons and events, meaning the quality of being part of history as opposed to being a historical myth, legend, or fiction. Historicity focuses on the true value of knowledge to claim the truth. Louis Montrose argues that the historicity of texts means the cultural specificity, the social embedment, of all modes of writing in which they were produced and in which we study them (24).

History: History is the study of the past as it is described in written documents. Events occurring before written record are considered prehistory. It is an umbrella term that relates to past events as well as the memory, discovery, collection, organization, presentation, and interpretation of information about these events.

Interdisciplinary Approach: Interdisciplinary approach refers to the blending of different or contradictory discursive domains, e.g. combination of a historical and fictional way of telling a story.

Iroquois: Iroquois or Haudenosaunee (People of the Longhouse) are a historically powerful northeast Native American confederacy. They were known during the colonial years to the French as the Iroquois League, and later as the Iroquois Confederacy, and to the English as the Five Nations, comprising the Mohawk, Onondaga, Oneida, Cayuga, and Seneca. After 1722, they accepted the Tuscarora people from the Southeast into their confederacy and became known as the Six Nations.

The Islamic Republic of Pakistan: the Islamic Republic of Pakistan is a country in South Asia. It is the world’s sixth-most populous country with a population exceeding 212,742,631 people. In the area, it is the 33rd-largest country, spanning 881,913 square kilometers (340,509 square miles). Pakistan has a 1,046-kilometre (650-mile) coastline along the Arabian Sea and the Gulf

of Oman in the south and is bordered by India to the east, Afghanistan to the west, Iran to the southwest, and China in the far northeast. It is separated narrowly from Tajikistan by Afghanistan's Wakhan Corridor in the northwest and also shares a maritime border with Oman.

Kiowa: Kiowa is a Native American tribe of the Great Plains. The people of the tribe migrated southward from western Montana into the Rocky Mountains in Colorado in the 17th and 18th centuries, and finally into the Southern Plains by the early 19th century. In 1867, the Kiowa were moved to a reservation in southwestern Oklahoma.

Laguna Pueblo: Laguna Pueblo is a federally recognized tribe of Native American Pueblo people in west-central New Mexico, USA. The name, Laguna, is Spanish (meaning "small lake") and derives from the lake located on their reservation. Originally, this body of water was the only lake in what is now the state of New Mexico and was formed by an ancient dam that was constructed by the Laguna people. After the Pueblo Revolt of 1680-1696, the Mission San José de la Laguna was erected by the Spanish at the old pueblo (now Old Laguna) and finished around July 4, 1699.

Lakota: A Native American tribe known as the Teton Sioux, it is one of the three Sioux tribes of Plains. Their current lands are in North and South Dakota. They speak Lakǰótiyapi—the Lakota language, the westernmost of three closely related languages that belong to the Siouan language family.

Magical Realism: Magical Realism, magic realism, or marvelous realism is a style of fiction that paints a realistic view of the modern world while also adding magical elements. It is sometimes called fabulism, about the conventions of fables, myths, and allegory.

Major Indian Tribes: According to the 1970 US census, a majority of the nations lived on the reservations in the following five states: North Carolina, New Mexico, California, Arizona and Oklahoma. The Cherokees, Sioux, Lumbees, Chippewas, Apaches and Navahos are the six most populous Native tribes comprising almost forty percent of the Indian population. The Apaches were tenacious defenders of their arid Southwest. Only six thousand in number, they were divided into many bands but they never yielded. They fought a guerilla war against the Spaniards for 250 years and learned from them the strategies of mutilation and torture. Mangas Colorado

signed a treaty with the US but he was disillusioned with the influx of the White soldiers and miners.

The migrants from central Asia who crossed Bering Strait before 10000 B.C had developed into an approximate population of two million comprising 600 tribes in North America. They have been divided into 8 geographic regions: Eastern Woodland; southeast; Plains; Plateau; North West Ghosts; California; Great Basi; South West (Weisberger 548). The 600 tribes spoke about 500 languages. The Europeans did not expect such a vast culture panorama. They believed in from one to many goods and lined in established towns on hunting, fishing, agriculture and trade.

Mount Shasta: Mount Shasta in California is a city in Siskiyou County, California, at about 3,600 feet (1,100 m) above sea level on the flanks of Mount Shasta, a prominent northern California landmark. The city is less than 9 miles (14 km) southwest of the summit of its namesake volcano. As of the 2010 Census, the city had a population of 3,394, down from 3,624 at the 2000 census.

Mountain Turtle Reservation: Mountain Turtle reservation is an Indian Reservation located primarily in northern North Dakota, United States. It is the land base for the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians (part of the large family of Ojibwe peoples).

Myth: Myth is a folklore genre consisting of narratives that play a fundamental role in society, such as foundational tales. The main characters in myths are usually gods, demigods or supernatural humans. Myths are often endorsed by rulers and priests and are closely linked to religion or spirituality. Many societies group their myths, legends and history together, considering myths to be true accounts of their remote past

Mythistory: According to William McNeill when historians bend their minds as critically and carefully as they can to the task of making their account of public affairs credible as well as intelligible to an audience that shares enough of their particular outlook and assumptions to accept what they say. The result might best be called mythistory perhaps, for the same words that constitute truth for some are, and always will be, myth for others who inherit or embrace different assumptions and organizing concepts about the world (8-9).

National Congress of American Indians (NCAI): NCAI is an American Indian and Alaska Native indigenous rights organization. It was founded in 1944 to represent the tribes and resist federal government pressure for the termination of tribal rights and assimilation of their people. These were in contradiction of their treaty rights and status as sovereign entities. The organization continues to be an association of federally recognized and state-recognized American Indian tribes.

Native American Acculturation: In working with Native Americans, individuals need to understand the culture and traditions of the students they are working with. There are similarities in certain aspects of their traditions/customs, yet there are differences that help to distinguish one tribe from another. There are social, economic, and educational factors that influence each individual which in turn determines the degree of acculturation. There are varying degrees of acculturation of Native Americans. Characteristics of a traditional Native American could be used for the understanding of varying degrees of acculturation. At the opposite end would be an individual who is assimilated and who knows the English language but does not speak his Native language. In between a traditional and assimilated individual would be the varying degrees of acculturation. There may be some overlapping in the areas of language, education, spirituality, and social/religious activities, but it is not limited to these areas.

Native American Literature: Native American literature, also called Indian literature or American Indian literature, is the traditional oral and written literature of the indigenous peoples of the Americas. These include ancient hieroglyphic and pictographic writings of Middle America as well as an extensive set of folktales, myths, and oral histories that were transmitted for centuries by storytellers and that live on in the language works of many contemporary American Indian writers.

Navajos: Navajos are Native American people of the Southwestern United States. The Navajo people are politically divided between two federally recognized tribes, the Navajo Nation and the Colorado River Indian Tribes.

Neo-Colonialism: Neo-colonialism is the practice of using capitalism, globalization and cultural imperialism to influence a developing country instead of indirect political control (hegemony).

New Historicism: New Historicism is a literary theory based on the idea that literature should be studied and interpreted within the context of both the history of the author and the history of the critic. Based on the literary criticism of Stephen Greenblatt and influenced by the philosophy of Michel Foucault, New Historicism acknowledges not only that a work of literature is influenced by its author's times and circumstances, but that the critic's response to that work is also influenced by his environment, beliefs, and prejudices.

A New Historicist looks at literature in a wider historical context, examining both how the writer's times affected the work and how the work reflects the writer's times, in turn recognizing that current cultural contexts color that critic's conclusions. For example, when studying Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*, one always comes to the question of whether the play shows Shakespeare to be anti-Semitic. The New Historicist recognizes that this isn't a simple yes-or-no answer that can be teased out by studying the text. This work must be judged in the context in which it was written; in turn, cultural history can be revealed by studying the work — especially, say New Historicists, by studying the use and dispersion of power and the marginalization of social classes within the work. Studying history reveals more about the text; studying the text reveals more about the history.

The New Historicist also acknowledges that his examination of literature is "tainted" by his own culture and environment. The very fact that we ask whether Shakespeare was anti-Semitic — a question that wouldn't have been considered important a century ago — reveals how our study of Shakespeare is affected by our civilization.

New Historicism, then, underscores the impermanence of literary criticism. Current literary criticism is affected by and reveals the beliefs of our times in the same way that literature reflects and is reflected by its own historical contexts. New Historicism acknowledges and embraces the idea that, as times change, so will our understanding of great literature.

North America: North America is a continent entirely within the Northern Hemisphere and almost all within the Western Hemisphere; it is also considered by some to be a northern subcontinent of America. It is bordered to the north by the Arctic Ocean, to the east by the Atlantic Ocean, to the west and south by the Pacific Ocean, and to the southeast by South America and the Caribbean Sea.

North Dakota: North Dakota is a U.S. state in the Midwestern and northern regions of the United States. It is the nineteenth largest in area, the fourth smallest by population, and the fourth most sparsely populated of the 50 states. North Dakota was admitted to the Union on November 2, 1889, along with its neighboring state, South Dakota. Its capital is Bismarck, and its largest city is Fargo.

In the 21st century, North Dakota's natural resources have played a major role in its economic performance, particularly with the oil extraction from the Bakken formation, which lies beneath the north-western part of the state. Such development has led to population growth and reduced unemployment.

Ojibwa, Chippewa, or Saulteaux: Ojibwa, Chippewa, or Saulteaux are the Anishinaabe people of Canada and the United States. They are one of the most numerous indigenous peoples north of the Rio Grande. In Canada, they are the second-largest First Nations population, surpassed only by the Cree. In the United States, they have the fifth-largest population among Native American peoples, surpassed in number only by the Navajo, Cherokee, Choctaw and Sioux.

Oklahoma: Oklahoma is a state in the South-Central region of the United States, bordered by Kansas on the north, Missouri on the northeast, Arkansas on the east, Texas on the south, New Mexico on the west, and Colorado on the northwest. It is the 20th-most extensive and the 28th-most populous of the fifty United States. The state's name is derived from the Choctaw words *okla* and *humma*, meaning "red people". It is also known informally by its nickname, 'The Sooner State', about the non-Native settlers who staked their claims on land before the official opening date of lands in the western Oklahoma Territory or before the Indian Appropriations Act of 1889, which dramatically increased European-American settlement in the eastern Indian Territory. Oklahoma Territory and Indian Territory were merged into the State of Oklahoma when it became the 46th state to enter the union on November 16, 1907. Its residents are known as Oklahomans (or colloquially, "Okies"), and its capital and largest city is Oklahoma City.

Oral tradition: Oral tradition, or oral lore, is a form of human communication wherein knowledge, art, ideas and cultural material is received, preserved and transmitted orally from one generation to another. The transmission is through speech or song and may include folktales, ballads, chants, prose or verses. In this way, a society can transmit oral history, oral literature,

oral law and other knowledge across generations without a writing system, or in parallel to a writing system.

Orature: Post-colonial studies have led to a general reevaluation of the importance of orality and oral cultures and a recognition that the dominance of the written in the construction of ideas of civilization is itself a partial view of more complex cultural practices. Recent post-colonial studies have stressed the fact that oral and literary cultures in colonial and post-colonial societies existed with unified social situations and were mutually interactive. Rather than being restricted to the past and therefore inferior to the written, oral forms in Native American and African societies, for instance, have a continuing and equal relationship with the written. This, therefore, challenges the simplistic and culture-specific assumption of post-structuralist critics such as Derrida that the written has precedence over the oral (logo-centrism). This stance favors the Native American cultures' right to uphold their oral tradition with pride to preserve their identity against so-called western onslaught of civilization.

Orientalists: Orientalist is a term used by art historians and literary and cultural studies scholars for the imitation or depiction of aspects in the Eastern world. These depictions are usually done by writers, designers, and artists from the West.

Poetic-prose: Poetic-prose style is poetry written in prose instead of using verse but preserving poetic qualities such as heightened imagery, parataxis and emotional effects.

Positivism: Positivism is a philosophical theory stating that certain (positive) knowledge is based on natural phenomena and their properties and relations. Thus, information derived from sensory experience, interpreted through reason and logic, forms the exclusive source of all certain knowledge.

Post-Columbian era: The period refers to the cultures of the American continent after the European influence, specifically to the era after the continent was visited by Christopher Columbus in 1492.

Regalia and Native American Clothing: In general, American Indians use the word regalia for traditional clothes which are used for ceremonial occasions. In most tribes, Native American men wore breechclouts or breechcloths (a long rectangular piece of hiding or cloth tucked over a

belt, so that the flaps fell down in front and behind), sometimes with leather leggings attached in colder climates. In some tribes, Indian clothing for men was short kilt or fur trousers instead of a breechcloth. Most American Indian men did not use shirts, but Plains Indian warriors did wear special buckskin war shirts decorated with ermine tails, hair, and intricate quillwork and beadwork. Native American clothing for women usually consisted of skirts and leggings, though the length, design, and material of the skirts varied from tribe to tribe. In some cultures, Indian women's shirts were optional and were treated more like coats. In others, Native American women always wore tunics or mantles in public. And in some tribes, women usually wore one-piece American Indian dresses instead, like this Cheyenne buckskin dress. Nearly all Native Americans had some form of moccasin (a sturdy leather shoe) or mukluk (heavier boot), with the styles of footwear differing from tribe to tribe. Most tribes used cloaks in colder weather, but some of the northern tribes wore Inuit-style fur parkas instead. The most variable of all was headgear and formal clothing, which were different in nearly every tribe. Here's a page illustrating traditional hairstyles from several different tribes.

Reservations: Removal Act empowered the US forcibly to relocate tribes onto Indian reserves. Western tribes were last to be driven onto reservations. The Bureau of Indian Affairs now administers 200 reservations in 34 states. Indians are among the nation's poorest citizens. Early reservation life was nightmarish. Almost every realm of Indian life was disturbed. Tribal religions were barred, and the children were sent to far-off schools to learn white ways. The land was often unfertile, there was little or no game, and annuities and supplies were frequently insufficient. Indians suffered a temporary setback during the Dwight D. Eisenhower administration when the government sought unsuccessfully to 'terminate' the reservations before their occupants were adequately prepared for life off the reservation.

Sioux: Sioux are groups of Native American tribes and First Nations peoples in North America. The term can refer to any ethnic group within the Great Sioux Nation or to any of the nation's many language dialects. The modern Sioux consist of two major divisions based on language divisions: the Dakota and Lakota.

South Asia: South Asia or Southern Asia is a term used to represent the southern region of the Asian continent, which comprises the sub-Himalayan SAARC countries and, for some

authorities, adjoining countries to the west and east. Topographically, it is dominated by the Indian Plate, which rises above sea level as Nepal and northern parts of India situated south of the Himalayas and the Hindu Kush. South Asia is bounded on the south by the Indian Ocean and on land (clockwise, from the west) by West Asia, Central Asia, East Asia, and Southeast Asia.

South Dakota: South Dakota is an American state in the Midwestern region of the United States. It is named after the Lakota and Dakota Sioux Native American tribes, who compose a large portion of the population and historically dominated the territory. South Dakota is the seventeenth largest by area, but the fifth smallest by population and the 5th least densely populated of the 50 United States. As the southern part of the former Dakota Territory, South Dakota became a state on November 2, 1889, simultaneously with North Dakota. Pierre is the state capital and Sioux Falls, with a population of about 183,200, is South Dakota's largest city.

Spiderwoman: Spider Woman appears in the mythology of several Native American tribes, including the Navajo, Keresan, and Hopi. In most cases, she is associated with the emergence of life on earth. She helps humans by teaching them survival skills. Spider Woman also teaches the Navajos the art of weaving. Before weavers sit down at the loom, they often rub their hands in spider webs to absorb the wisdom and skill of Spider Woman.

In the Navajo creation story, Spider Woman (Na'ashjéii asdzáá) helps the warrior twins Monster Slayer and Child of Water find their father, the Sun. The Keresan say that Spider Woman gave the corn goddess Iyatiku a basket of seeds to plant.

According to the Hopi, at the beginning of time Spider Woman controlled the underworld, the home of the gods, while the sun god Tawa ruled the sky. Using only their thoughts, they created the earth between the two other worlds. Spider Woman molded animals from clay, but they remained lifeless. So she and Tawa spread a soft white blanket over them, said some magic words, and the creatures began to move. Spider Woman then molded people from clay. To bring them to life, she clutched them to her breast and, together with Tawa, sang a song that made them into living beings. She divided the animals and people into the groups that inhabit the earth today. She also gave men and women specific roles: Women were to watch over the home and men to pray and make offerings to the gods.

Another Hopi myth says that Tawa created insect like beings and placed them in the First World. Dissatisfied with these creatures, Tawa sent Spider Woman to lead them, first to the Second World and then to the Third World, where they turned into people. Spider Woman taught the people how to plant, weave, and make pottery. A hummingbird gave them fire to help them warm themselves and cook their food. However, when sorcerers brought evil to the Third World, Spider Woman told the people to leave for the Fourth World. They planted trees to climb up to the Fourth World, but none grew tall enough. Finally, Spider Woman told them to sing to a bamboo plant so that it would grow very tall. She led the people up the bamboo stalk to the Fourth World, the one in which the Hopi currently live.

Standing Rock Reservation: Standing Rock Reservation is located in North Dakota and South Dakota in the United States and is inhabited by ethnic Hunkpapa Lakota, Sicasu Lakota and Yanktonai Dakota. The sixth-largest Native American reservation in land area in the US, Standing Rock includes all of Sioux County, North Dakota, and all of Corson County, South Dakota, plus slivers of northern Dewey and Ziebach counties in South Dakota, along their northern county lines at Highway 20. The reservation has a land area of 9,251.2 square kilometers (3,571.9 sq km) and a population of 8,217 as of the 2010 census. The largest communities on the reservation are Fort Yates, Cannon Ball and McLaughlin.

Statism: Statism, according to Ranajit Guha, is the colonial view of the historicity

Storytelling: Storytelling describes the social and cultural activity of sharing stories, sometimes with improvisation, theatrics, or embellishment. Every culture has its own stories or narratives, which are shared as a means of entertainment, education, cultural preservation or instilling moral values. Crucial elements of stories and storytelling include plot, characters and narrative point of view.

Subcontinent: Subcontinent is a large distinguishable part of a continent, such as North America or the part of Asia containing India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh.

Subjective Consciousness: Subjective Consciousness is a state of consciousness in which a person is constantly aware of his or her self as well as outside factors.

Subjectivity: A generic term widely used in critical theory to designate what used to be termed the individual or the self. The shift in language is intended to signal the fact that in the face of the arguments by critical theory, Marxism and psychoanalysis, the idea of an autonomous individual able to think and act wholly according to their own reason is insupportable. On the one hand, as psychoanalysis shows, the fact of the unconsciousness means that no agent is fully conscious of their acts, while on the other hand, Marxism shows that no agent is capable of determining the course of history. The central implication of this, which is central to Cultural Studies, is that the subject is the product of the conjunction of history and the unconscious, and not a naturally occurring or ready-made entity.

Texas: Texas is the second largest state in the United States by both area and population. Geographically located in the South Central region of the country, Texas shares borders with the U.S. states of Louisiana to the east, Arkansas to the northeast, Oklahoma to the north, New Mexico to the west, and the Mexican states of Chihuahua, Coahuila, Nuevo León, and Tamaulipas to the southwest, while the Gulf of Mexico is to the southeast.

The Chinooks: The tribe that lived near the Columbia River. Since the Chinook lived near the Columbia River and the ocean, they were especially skilled at things that dealt with water. They were superb canoe builders, navigators, and fishermen. The river was a rich source of salmon, which was the basis of the region's economy, and the Chinook had plenty of the dried fish to use for trade and as a type of currency. They were also famous as traders, using the waterways to make routes and to make contact with many other Indian tribes. Not only did the Chinook trade dried fish, they also traded slaves, canoes, and ornamental shells.

The Great Basin: This dry, barren region – lying between the Rockies and the Sierra Nevadas and extending across Utah and Nevada – provided a meager existence for small, scattered bands of Shoshonis and Paiutes who lived there. Sheltered by brush lean-tos and dependent in part on dug-up roots for survival, they were scornfully called digger Indians by the first white men they encountered: explorer Jedediah Smith called them “the most miserable objects in creation.” The apparent simplicity of their lives masked a complex social and cultural structure, noted for its extraordinary folklore.

The Hopi Tribe: The tribe is a sovereign nation located in north-eastern Arizona. The reservation occupies part of Coconino and Navajo counties, encompasses more than 1.5 million acres, and is made up of 12 villages on three mesas. Since time immemorial the Hopi people have lived in Hopitutskwa and have maintained their sacred covenant with Maasaw, the ancient caretaker of the earth, to live as peaceful and humble farmers respectful of the land and its resources. Over the centuries they have survived as a tribe, and to this day have managed to retain their culture, language and religion despite influences from the outside world.

The Native American Renaissance: The term originally coined by critic Kenneth Lincoln in the 1983 book *Native American Renaissance* to categorize the significant increase in production of literary works by Native Americans in the United States in the late 1960s and onwards.

The Northwest Coast: The tribes living between the Cascade Mountains and the Pacific shore north of California – including the Hupas, Skokomishes, Nootkas, Kwakiutls and Tlingits – based their status-conscious societies on the rich abundance of fish in the coastal waters. They went to sea in handsomely carved fishing ships, raided one another constantly and kept slaves captured from other tribes. The Chinooks, another Northwest Coast tribe, acted as entering middlemen, supervising trade between the Coastal peoples and the Plateau tribes.

The Great Plains: Stretching from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains, and from Central Saskatchewan to Texas, this vast region supported two great Indian cultures during the modern historical period. In the fertile, grass-covered plains toward the east, tribal culture was a rich blend of Eastern Woodland and Southeastern tribal life. Those who made their homes here included the Osages, Kansas, Otos, Iowas, Mandans, Hidatsas, Pawnees and Eastern Dakotas (part of the Sioux nation) – all of whom lived in semi-permanent villages and supported themselves by farming and hunting. In the high plains, by contrast, roamed small nomadic bands of Blackfeet, Assiniboines, Crows, Western Dakotas (another Sioux group) Cheyennes, Arapahos, Comanches and Kiowas, living in skin tepees and hunting the great buffalo (bison) herds.

The Pre-Columbian Era: The period incorporates all period subdivisions in the history and prehistory of the Americas before the appearance of significant European influences on the

American continent, spanning the time of the original settlement in the Upper Paleolithic period to European colonization during the Early Modern period.

The Southwest: The numerous tribes that lived in this hot, arid area may be divided into two groups: those who lived in Pueblos and those who did not. For more than 1800 years the Zunis and Hopis lived in apartment like cliff dwellings along the Colorado plateau. Inheritors of an ancient culture, they watered their crops with North America's earliest-known irrigation system. Of the many non-Pueblo peoples, the best known are the Navhos and the Apaches. Originally, both were semi-nomadic and fond of warfare, and the Navahos early adopted the Spanish and Mexican practices of sheepherding and silversmithing. The Apaches, however, remained true to their fierce traditions, raiding both sides of the Mexican border until the 1880s.

Thucydides: Thucydides was an Athenian historian who recounts the fifth-century BC war between Sparta and Athens until the year 411 BC. Thucydides has been dubbed the father of "scientific history" by those who accept his claims to have applied strict standards of impartiality and evidence-gathering and analysis of cause and effect, without reference to intervention by the deities, as outlined in his introduction to his work.

Tohono O'odhams and Pimas: They are Native American people of the Sonoran Desert, residing primarily in the U.S. state of Arizona and the Mexican state of Sonora. Tohono O'odham means "Desert People". The federally recognized tribe is known as the Tohono O'odham Nation.

Trickster God: In mythology, folklore and religion, a trickster is a god, goddess, spirit, man, woman, or anthropomorphic animal who exhibits a great degree of intellect or secret knowledge and uses it to play tricks to disobey conventional rules and behavior sometimes maliciously but usually with ultimately positive effects though the trickster's initial intentions may be positive or negative. In many Native American and First Nations mythologies, the Coyote (Southwestern United States) or raven (Pacific Northwest and Russian Far East), like Prometheus in Greek mythology, stole fire from the gods (stars, moon, and/or sun).

Ute: The Ute tribe were nomadic hunter gatherers who inhabited lands occupied by the Great Basin cultural group but then migrated to the Plains. The Ute tribe resisted the white encroachment of their lands and came into a particular conflict with the Mormons.

Walum Olum: The Walam Olum or Walum Olum, usually translated as ‘Red Record’ or ‘Red Score’, is purportedly a historical narrative of the Lenape (Delaware) Native American tribe.

Winter Counts: Winter Counts are pictorial calendars or histories in which tribal records and events were recorded by Native Americans in North America. The Blackfeet, Mandan, Kiowa, Lakota, and other Plains tribes used winter counts extensively. There are approximately one hundred winter counts in existence, but many of these are duplicates

Zunis: The Zuni was one of the Pueblo tribes who lived on the Colorado plateau and by the Rio Grande. The ancestors of the Zuni tribe were the ancient Cliff Dwellers. The Zuni tribe are peaceful people famous for their religious traditions that encompassed the Kivas, Kachinas and many ancient ceremonial dances and rituals.

Appendix II: Judicial and Constitutional Acts

U.S. Supreme Court

Johnson & Graham's Lessee v. McIntosh, 21 U.S. 8 Wheat. 543 543 (1823)

Johnson & Graham's Lessee v. McIntosh

21 U.S. (8 Wheat.) 543

Facts of the case

In 1775, Thomas Johnson and other British citizens purchased land in Virginia from members of the Piankeshaw Indian tribe under a 1763 proclamation by the King of England. When he died, Thomas Johnson left this land to his heirs. In 1818, William M'Intosh purchased from Congress 11,000 acres of the land originally purchased by Johnson. Johnson's heirs sued M'Intosh in the United States District Court to recover the land. Ruling that the Piankeshaw tribe did not have the right to convey the land, the federal district court held that Johnson's initial purchase and the chain of title stemming from it were invalid.

Question

Can a Native American tribe convey land to individuals?

Conclusion

In a unanimous decision, the Court held M'Intosh's claim superior to Johnson's, affirming the district court. Chief Justice John Marshall established that the federal government had the sole right of negotiation with the Native American nations. The Indians themselves did not have the right to sell the property to individuals. M'Intosh's claim, which was derived from Congress, was superior to Johnson's claim, which was derived from the non-existent right of Indians to sell their land.

The Impact

Citation to Johnson has been a staple of federal and state cases related to Native American land title for 200 years. Like Johnson, nearly all of those cases involve land disputes between two non-Native parties, typically one with a chain of title tracing to a federal or state

government and the other with a chain of title predating US sovereignty. A similar trend can be seen in the early case law of Australia, Canada, and New Zealand. The first land dispute involving an indigenous party to reach the Supreme Court was *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831). (Justia US Supreme court <https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/21/543/> retrieved on 22-11-2019).

30 U.S. 1 (____)

5 Pet. 1

THE CHEROKEE NATION

vs.

THE STATE OF GEORGIA.

Supreme Court of United States.

Facts of the Case

In 1802, the U.S. federal government promised Cherokee lands to Georgian settlers. The Cherokee people had historically occupied the lands in Georgia and been promised ownership through a series of treaties, including the Treaty of Holston in 1791. Between 1802 and 1828, land-hungry settlers and politicians attempted to negotiate with the Cherokee people to claim the land for themselves.

In 1828, tired of resistance and emboldened by the election of Andrew Jackson (a president in favor of removal of the Native Americans), members of the Georgia state legislature passed a series of laws meant to strip the Cherokee people of their rights to the land. In defense of the Cherokee people, Chief John Ross and attorney William Wirt asked the court to grant an injunction to prevent the laws from going into effect.

Key Questions

Does the Supreme Court have jurisdiction to grant an injunction against Georgia laws that would harm the Cherokee people under Article III of the U.S. Constitution, which gives the Court jurisdiction over cases "between a State or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects?" Do the Cherokee people constitute a foreign state?

Ruling

The Supreme Court ruled that it did not have jurisdiction to hear the case because the Cherokee Nation is not a "foreign State" but rather a "domestic foreign state," as defined by Article III of the Constitution.

The Impact

The Supreme Court's refusal to acknowledge jurisdiction in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* meant that the Cherokee Nation did not have legal recourse against Georgia laws that sought to force them off their land.

The Cherokee Nation did not give up and attempted to sue again in *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832). This time, the Court found in favor of the Cherokee people. According to the Supreme Court in *Worcester v. Georgia*, the Cherokee nation was a foreign state and could not be subject to Georgia laws.

President Andrew Jackson, who had pushed Congress to approve the Indian Removal Act in 1830, ignored the ruling and sent in the National Guard. The Cherokee people were forced to move from their lands to a designated area west of the Mississippi on a brutal journey that would later become known as the Trail of Tears. It is unknown exactly how many Cherokees died on the trail, but estimates place the number at between three and four thousand. (Justia US Supreme Court: <https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/30/1/> retrieved on 22-11-2019)

31 U.S. 515 (____)

6 Pet. 515

SAMUEL A. WORCESTER, PLAINTIFF IN ERROR

v.

THE STATE OF GEORGIA.

Supreme Court of United States.

Facts of the case

In September 1831, Samuel A. Worcester and others, all non-Native Americans, were indicted in the supreme court for the county of Gwinnett in the state of Georgia for "residing within the limits of the Cherokee nation without a license" and "without having taken the oath to support and defend the constitution and laws of the state of Georgia." They were indicted under an 1830 act of the Georgia legislature entitled "an act to prevent the exercise of assumed and arbitrary power by all persons, under the pretext of authority from the Cherokee Indians." Among other things, Worcester argued that the state could not maintain the prosecution because the statute violated the Constitution, treaties between the United States and the Cherokee nation, and an act of Congress entitled "an act to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes." Worcester was convicted and sentenced to "hard labour in the penitentiary for four years." The U.S. Supreme Court received the case on a writ of error.

Question

Does the state of Georgia have the authority to regulate the intercourse between citizens of its state and members of the Cherokee Nation?

Conclusion

No. In an opinion delivered by Chief Justice John Marshall, the Court held that the Georgia act, under which Worcester was prosecuted, violated the Constitution, treaties, and laws of the United States. Noting that the "treaties and laws of the United States contemplate the Indian territory as completely separated from that of the states; and provide that all intercourse with them shall be carried on exclusively by the government of the union," Chief Justice Marshall argued, "The Cherokee nation, then, is a distinct community occupying its own territory in which the laws of Georgia can have no force. The whole intercourse between the United States and this nation, is, by our constitution and laws, vested in the government of the United States." The Georgia act thus interfered with the federal government's authority and was unconstitutional. Justice Henry Baldwin dissented for procedural reasons and on the merits.

The Impact

The impact of the Worcester v Georgia case was the oppression of the Native Americans by the federal government. The state of Georgia had set laws to protect the territory of the Cherokee tribes, but the verdict of the court case didn't allow them. The court case regarded the interaction with the tribe as a foreign affair. The result of this case was the prevention of the Native American tribes from partaking in the privileges that the foreign powers held. The Supreme Court's verdict prohibited the state of Georgia from setting laws for foreign powers to hold land and set the rights of citizens as a priority. In the court, it was ruled that the federal government were the only ones allowed to The involvement of Native Americans decreased, the amount of power they held decreased as they were constantly moved away in an attempt to rid of them from American land. This contributed to the oppression of foreigners, making them minorities, set regulations on Indian land, not the states. (<https://caselaw.findlaw.com/us-supreme-court/31/515.html> retrieved on 22-11-2019)

118 U.S. 375 (1886)

UNITED STATES

v.

KAGAMA & Another, Indians.

Supreme Court of United States.

Argued March 2, 1886.

Decided May 10, 1886.

Facts of the case

In response to the Court's ruling in *Ex Parte Crowe Dog* (1883), Congress passed the Major Crimes Act as part of the Indian Appropriations Act of 1885, which granted the federal courts jurisdiction over certain major crimes committed by one Native American against another. In June 1885, Kagama, a Native American, was tried for the murder of Iyouse, another Native American, on the Hoopa Valley reservation in California. At trial, Kagama challenged the court's jurisdiction over the matter, arguing that the relevant section of the Indian Appropriations Act

was unconstitutional. On appeal, Kagama received a division of opinion from the Circuit Court of the United States for the District of California.

Question

Does any part of the Constitution grant Congress the power over the jurisdiction of crimes committed by one Native American against another?

Conclusion

Yes. In a unanimous opinion authored by Justice Samuel F. Miller, the Court acknowledged, "The Constitution of the United States is almost silent in regard to the relations of the government which was established by it to the numerous tribes of Indians within its borders." Nonetheless, the Court reasoned that, because the tribal governments "owe all their powers to the statutes of the United States conferring on them the powers which they exercise, and which are liable to be withdrawn, modified, or repealed at any time by Congress," the legislature could therefore control jurisdiction of crimes committed within reservations. Describing Native Americans as "wards of the nation," the Court concluded, "From their very weakness and helplessness, so largely due to the course of dealing of the Federal Government with them and the treaties in which it has been promised, there arises the duty of protection, and with it the power."

The Impact

The ruling in this case was that it tested the constitutionality of the Act and confirmed Congress' authority over Indian affairs. Plenary power over Indian tribes, supposedly granted to the U.S. Congress by the Commerce Clause of the Constitution, was not deemed necessary to support the Supreme Court in this decision; instead, the Court found the power in the tribes' status as dependent domestic nations. This allowed Congress to pass the Dawes Act the following year. The case has been criticized by legal scholars as drawing on powers that are not granted to Congress by the Constitution. (Justia US Supreme Court: <https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/118/375/> retrieved on 22-11-2019)

187 U.S. 553 (1903)

LONE WOLF

v.

HITCHCOCK.

No. 275.

Supreme Court of United States.

Argued October 23, 1902.

Decided January 5, 1903.

Facts of the case

Lone Wolf was a Kiowa Indian chief, living in the Indian Territory created by the Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867. A provision in the treaty required that three-fourths of the adult males in each of the Kiowa, Apache, and Comanche tribes agree to subsequent changes to the terms of the treaty. In 1892, Congress attempted to alter the reservation lands granted to the tribes. In enacting the relevant legislation, Congress substantively changed the terms of the treaty and opened 2 million acres of reservation lands to settlement by non-Indians. Lone Wolf filed a complaint on behalf of the three tribes in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, alleging that Congress' change violated the 1867 treaty. That court dismissed the case. The United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit affirmed the decision. Lone Wolf and the tribes appealed to the Supreme Court.

Question

Can treaties between the United States and American Indian tribes be broken unilaterally by Congress under its plenary power?

Conclusion

In a unanimous decision, the Court affirmed the Court of Appeals and upheld the Congressional action. The Court rejected the Indians' argument that Congress' action was a taking under the Due Process Clause of the Fifth Amendment. Justice Edward D. White reasoned that matters involving Indian lands were the sole jurisdiction of Congress. Congress therefore

had the power to "abrogate the provisions of an Indian treaty," including the two-million acre change. Justice John M. Harlan concurred in the judgment.

The Impact

This U.S. Supreme Court decision (187 U.S. 553, 1903) culminated a century-long push to detribalize American Indians, keeping law in the forefront of the assimilation thrust of American society. Following the American Civil War, southwestern Oklahoma became home for thirteen tribes forced onto reservations there. Reservation confinement led the attempt to force change upon the tribes.

Wheeler-Howard Act, June 18, 1934

(The Indian Reorganization Act)

533 U.S. 353 (2001)

NEVADA et al.

v.

HICKS et al.

No. 99-1994.

United States Supreme Court.

Argued March 21, 2001.

Decided June 25, 2001.

Facts of the case

Floyd Hicks is a member of the Fallon Paiute-Shoshone Tribes of Western Nevada. After tribal police observed that Hicks was in possession of two California bighorn sheep heads, state game wardens obtained search warrants from state court and from the tribal court. After the warrants were executed, Hicks filed suit in Tribal Court, alleging trespass to land and chattels, abuse of process, and violation of civil rights, specifically denial of equal protection, denial of due process, and unreasonable search and seizure. The Tribal Court held that it had jurisdiction over the claims and the Tribal Appeals Court affirmed. Agreeing, the District Court held that the wardens would have to exhaust their qualified immunity claims in Tribal Court. In affirming, the Court of Appeals concluded that the fact that Hicks's home is on tribe-owned reservation land is

sufficient to support tribal jurisdiction over civil claims against nonmembers arising from their activities on that land.

Question

May a tribal court assert jurisdiction over civil claims against state officials who entered tribal land to execute a search warrant against a tribe member suspected of having violated state law outside the reservation?

Conclusion

No. In an opinion delivered by Justice Antonin Scalia, a unanimous Court held that "[b]ecause the Fallon Paiute-Shoshone Tribes lacked legislative authority to restrict, condition, or otherwise regulate the ability of state officials to investigate off-reservation violations of state law, they also lacked adjudicative authority to hear respondent's claim that those officials violated tribal law in the performance of their duties. "[S]ince the lack of authority is clear," continued Scalia, "there is no need to exhaust the jurisdictional dispute in tribal court. State officials operating on a reservation to investigate off-reservation violations of state law are properly held accountable for tortious conduct and civil rights violations in either state or federal court, but not in tribal court."

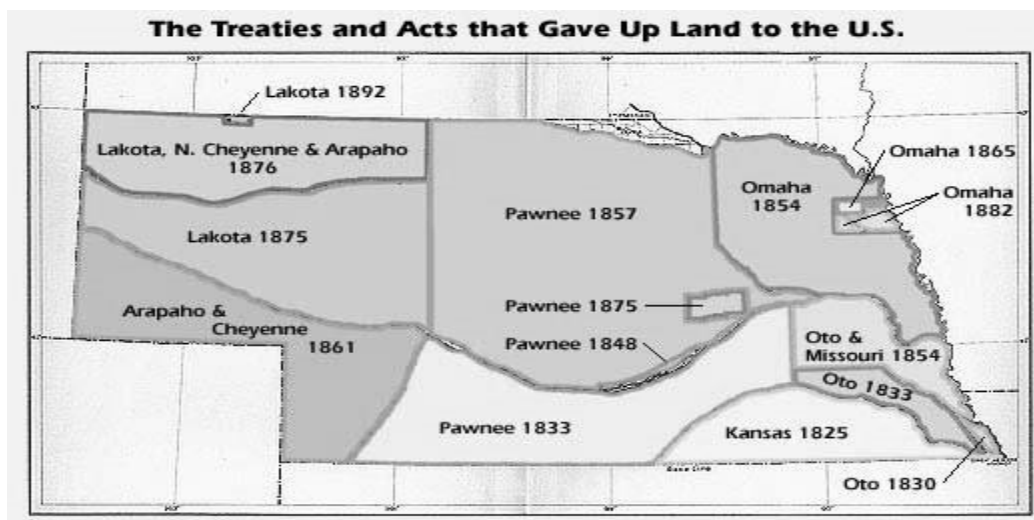
The Impact

In the unanimous decision of the Court, Justice Scalia held that the tribal courts did not have the authority over the Wardens' allegedly tortious acts that weakened the tribal structure. (JUSTIA US Supreme Court: <https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/533/353/> retrieved on 22-11-2019)

Appendix III: Treaties

Treaties and History of Treaties

From 1778 to 1871, the U.S. federal government tried to resolve its relationship with the various native tribes by negotiating treaties. In each of hundreds of treaties that were negotiated, these were formal agreements between two sovereign nations. So Native American people were citizens of their tribe, living within the boundaries of the U.S. The treaties were negotiated by the executive branch on behalf of the president and ratified by the U.S. Senate. The native tribes would give up their rights to hunt and live on huge parcels of land that they had inhabited in exchange for trade goods, yearly cash annuity payments, and assurances that no further demands would be made on them. Most often, part of the land would be "reserved" exclusively for the tribe's use.



Map of Native American land cessions via treaties in what became Nebraska.

The obvious effect of the treaty process was to speed the transfer of Indian land to white settlers. As early as 1803, Thomas Jefferson recognized that the American people wanted land and that it might be difficult to get the land needed as long as native people continued their current lifestyles. In confidential Jefferson's letter to Congress asking for funds to explore the new territory, he wrote:

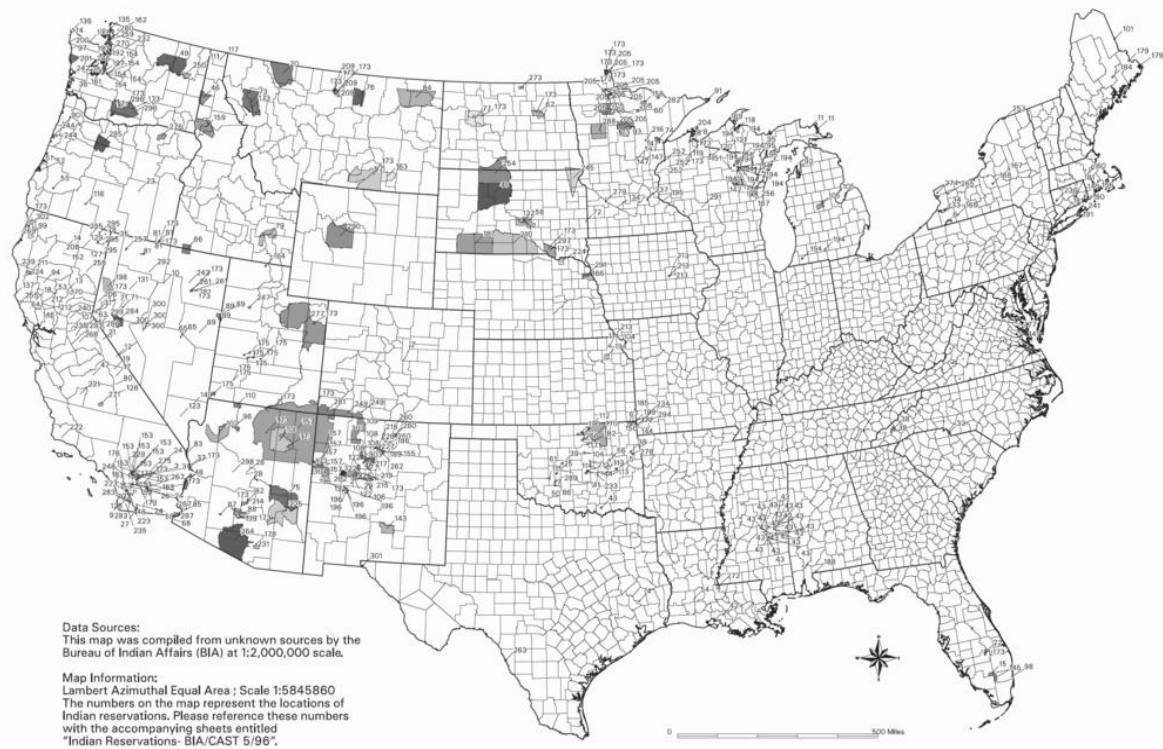
"The Indian tribes residing within the limits of the U.S. have for a considerable time been growing more & more uneasy at the constant diminution of the territory they occupy,

altho' effected by their own voluntary sales... In order peaceably to counteract this policy of theirs, and to provide an extension of territory which the rapid increase of our numbers will call for, two measures are deemed expedient. First, to encourage them to abandon hunting, to apply to the raising stock, to agriculture and domestic manufacture, and thereby prove to themselves that less land & labor will maintain them in this, better than in their former mode of living. The extensive forests necessary in the hunting life will then become useless, & they will see advantage in exchanging them for the means of improving their farms, & of increasing their domestic comforts. Secondly to multiply trading houses among them & place within their reach those things which will contribute more to their domestic comfort than the profession of extensive, but uncultivated wilds, experience & reflection will develop to them the wisdom of exchanging what they can spare & we want, for what we can spare and they want."

The treaties helped set the stage for a later and more dramatic policy of Indian removal. Indians who resisted attempts by the whites to obtain Indian land via treaty arrangements found themselves facing "removal" further westward. The white settlers created Indian territories in Oklahoma and the western half of present-day South Dakota where the Indians would be out of the way of westward expansion. In 1830, President Jackson convinced the U.S. Congress to pass the Indian Removal Act that appropriated funds for relocation — by force if necessary — of Native Americans. Federal officials were sent to negotiate removal treaties with the southern tribes, many of whom reluctantly signed.

However, the Cherokees in the state of Georgia, fought their removal in the federal Supreme Court. They thought they had won when Chief Justice John Marshall ruled that the Cherokees were a "domestic dependent nation" that could not be forced by the state of Georgia to give up its land against its will. Unfortunately, President Jackson and the state of Georgia ignored the decision and moved the Native Americans to Indian Territory in Oklahoma. The Cherokees refer to their trip as "The Trail of Tears."

Indian Reservations in the Continental United States



Treaty with the Delawares: 1778

In 1778, during the American Revolution, the Continental Congress sent representatives to negotiate a treaty with the Lenape (Delaware), who resided in the Ohio Country. British forces had spent the first several years of the war making their own treaties with the Ohio Country's American Indian peoples, hoping to secure the area west of the Appalachian Mountains for Great Britain.

Of all of the American Indians in the Ohio Country, the Lenape were considered to be among the friendliest towards white Americans. To maintain the Lenape support, the Congress agreed to a Treaty with the Delawares on September 17, 1778. Under this treaty the Americans in revolt and the Lenape agreed to assist each other against the British. The Congress also agreed to erect a fort on the Lenape's land to protect them from potential British attack. Named Fort Laurens, after the president of the Continental Congress, Henry Laurens of South Carolina, the Americans completed the structure by early December 1778.

Despite the Treaty with the Lenape, peaceable relations between Revolutionary America and the American Indian peoples of the Ohio Country did not last. In March 1782, Pennsylvania militiamen killed approximately ninety-six defenseless "Christian Lenape" at Gnadenhutten. The militiamen incorrectly believed that these Lenape, who had returned from a new Moravian settlement further west to gather crops, were responsible for attacks against whites in Pennsylvania. This event became known as the Gnadenhutten Massacre. The event helped convince the Ohio Country's American Indian population to support the British. (Yale Law School https://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/del1778.asp retrieved on 22-11-2019)

Treaty of Medicine Creek, 1854

The Treaty of Medicine Creek was an 1854 treaty between the United States, and nine tribes and bands of Indians, occupying the lands lying around the head of Puget Sound, Washington, and the adjacent inlets. The tribes listed on the Treaty of Medicine Creek are Nisqually, [defgfgpeople [Puyallup]], Steilacoom, Squawskin (Squaxin Island), S'Homamish, Stehchass, T'Peeksin, Squi-aitl, and Sa-heh-wamish. The treaty was signed on December 26, 1854, by Isaac I. Stevens, governor and superintendent of Indian Affairs of the territory at the time of the signing, along with the chiefs, head-men and delegates of the stated tribes.

The treaty granted 2.24 million acres (9,060;km²) of land to the United States in exchange for establishment of three reservations, cash payments over a period of twenty years, and recognition of traditional native fishing and hunting rights.

The original Nisqually reservation was in rocky terrain and unacceptable to the Nisqually, who were a riverside fishing people. They went to war in 1855. An unfortunate outcome of a year of skirmishes that followed was that Nisqually Chief Leschi was hanged for murder. (He was exonerated in 2004.) (—Mark Hirsch, National Museum of the American Indian, <https://blog.nmai.si.edu/main/2017/03/treaty-of-medicine-creek-1854.html> retrieved on 22-11-2019)

Appendix IV: Maps

Native American Social Order



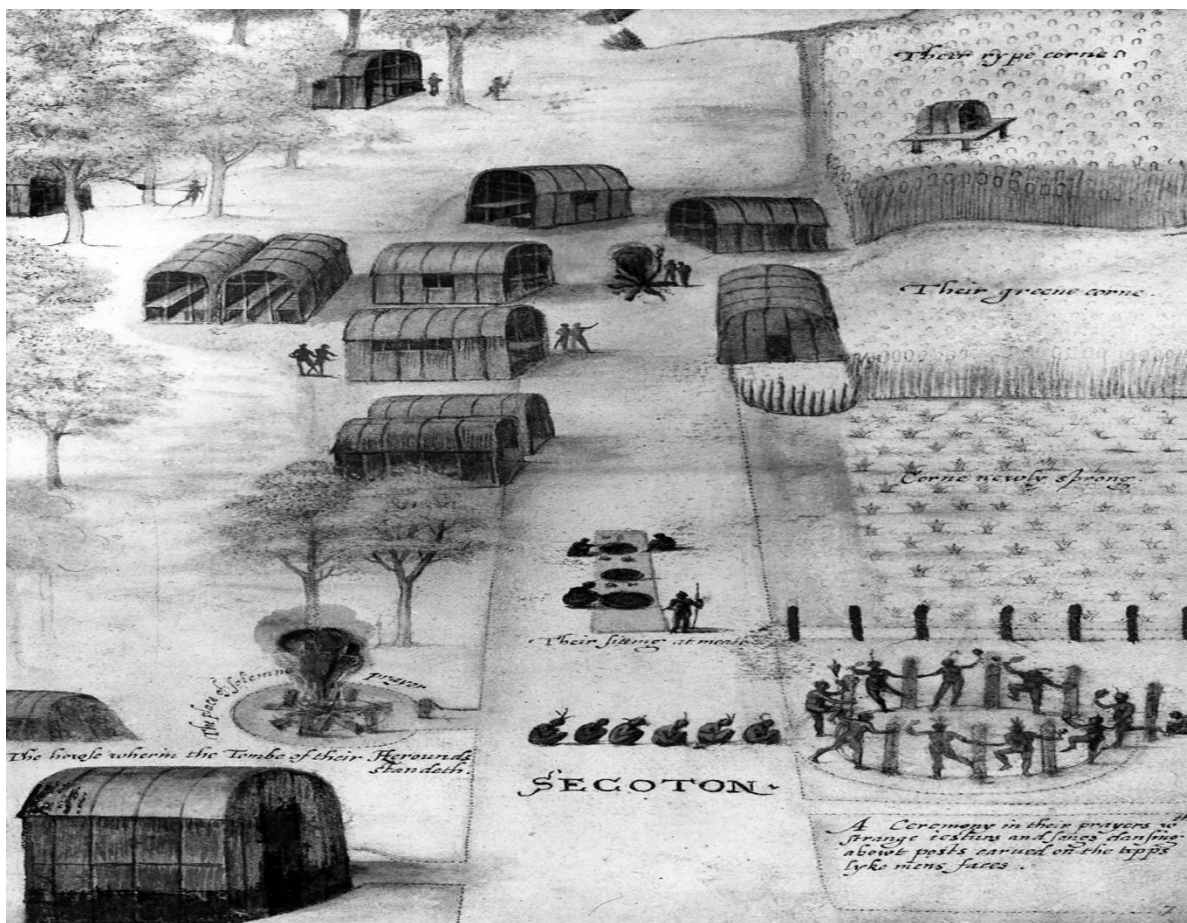
Sun Dance by George Catlin, Plate 97



Native American council by George Catlin, Plate 97



Funeral of Black feet of Montana

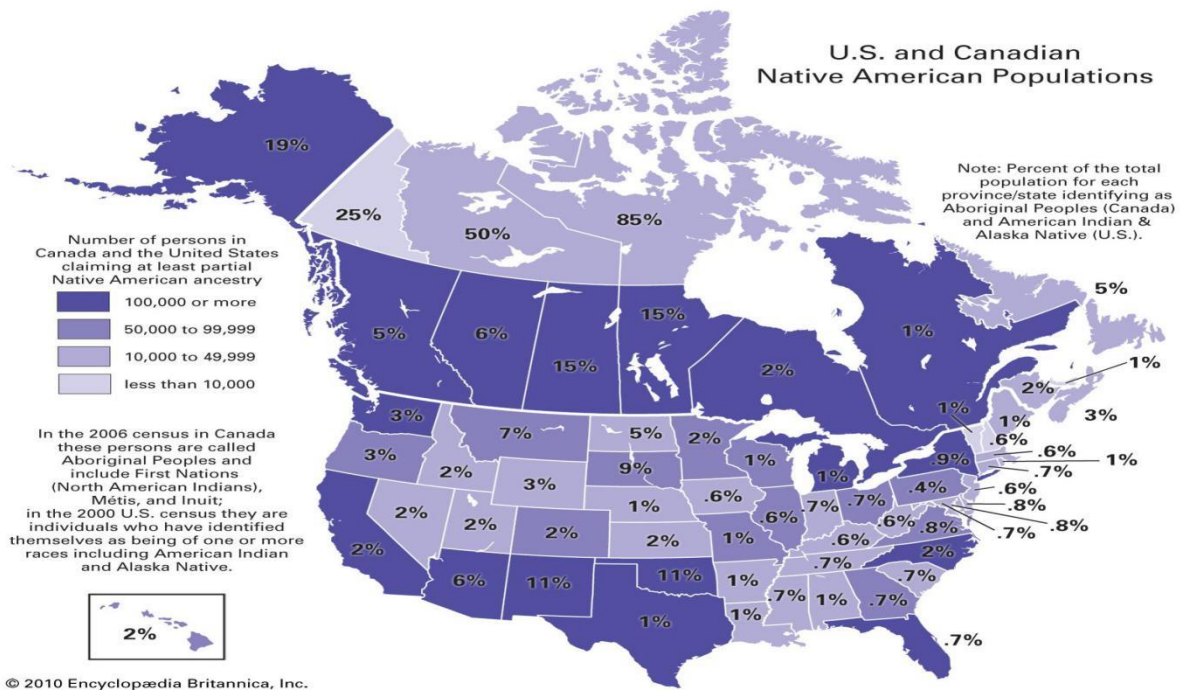


Secoton, a Powhatan Village, water colour drawing by John White, c. 1587; in the British Museum, London.



Powwow dancers wearing jingle dance regalia, Blackfeet Indian Reservation, Montana.

Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc.



Native American population density in the United States and Canada.

Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc.

Native American Historiography

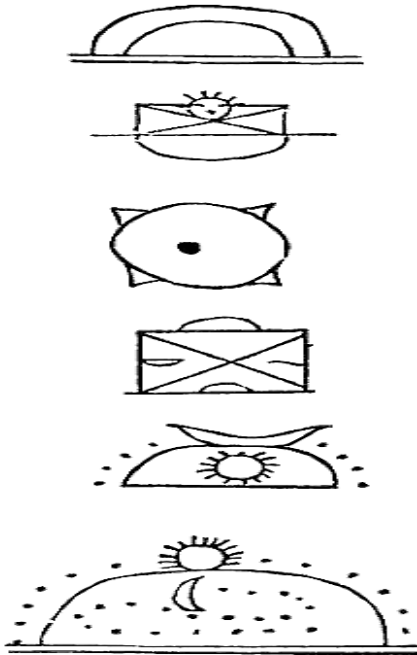


3. The Lone Dog winter count painted on cowhide. It has the same figures as other versions of the Lone Dog count illustrated here, but appears to have been drawn by a different hand. Courtesy National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution (NMAI 21/8701).

Winter Count: National Museum of American Indians



Calendar Sticks: National Museum of American Indians



1. Sayewi talli wemiguma wok-getaki,
2. Hackung kwelik owanaku wak yutali Kitanitowit-essop.
3. Sayewis hallemiwis nolemiwi elemamik Kitanitowit-essop.
4. Sohalawak kwelik hakik owak¹ awasagamak.
5. Sohalawak gishuk nipahum alankwak.
6. Wemi-sohalawak yulik yuch-aan.

Walum Olum

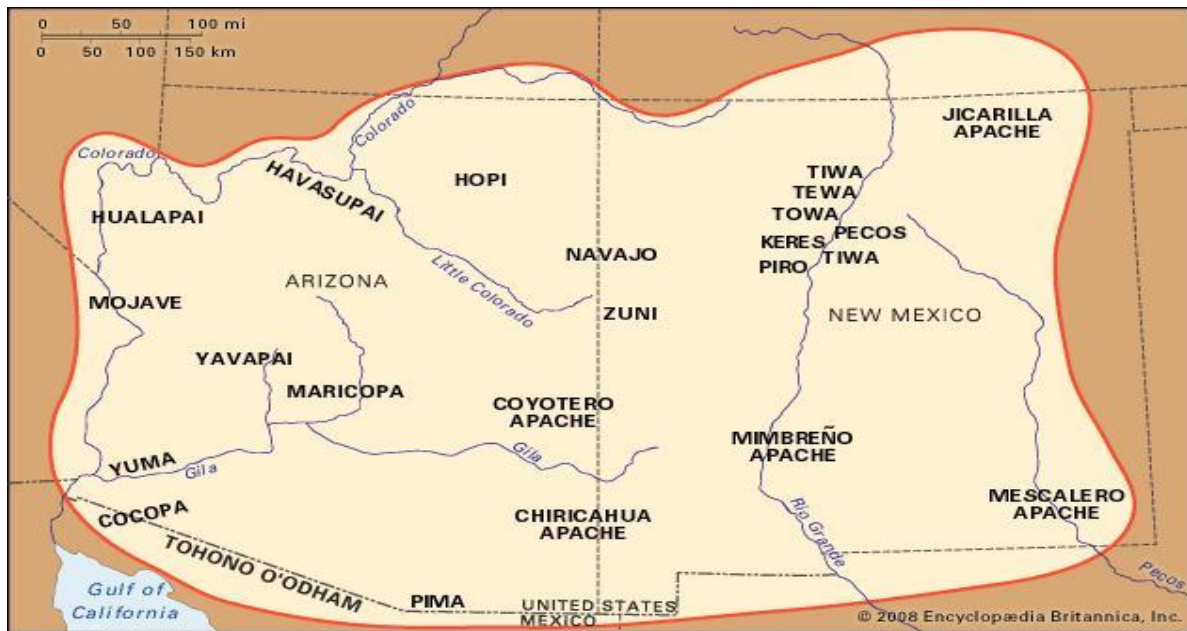
Native American Geography



Location of Major Indian Tribes

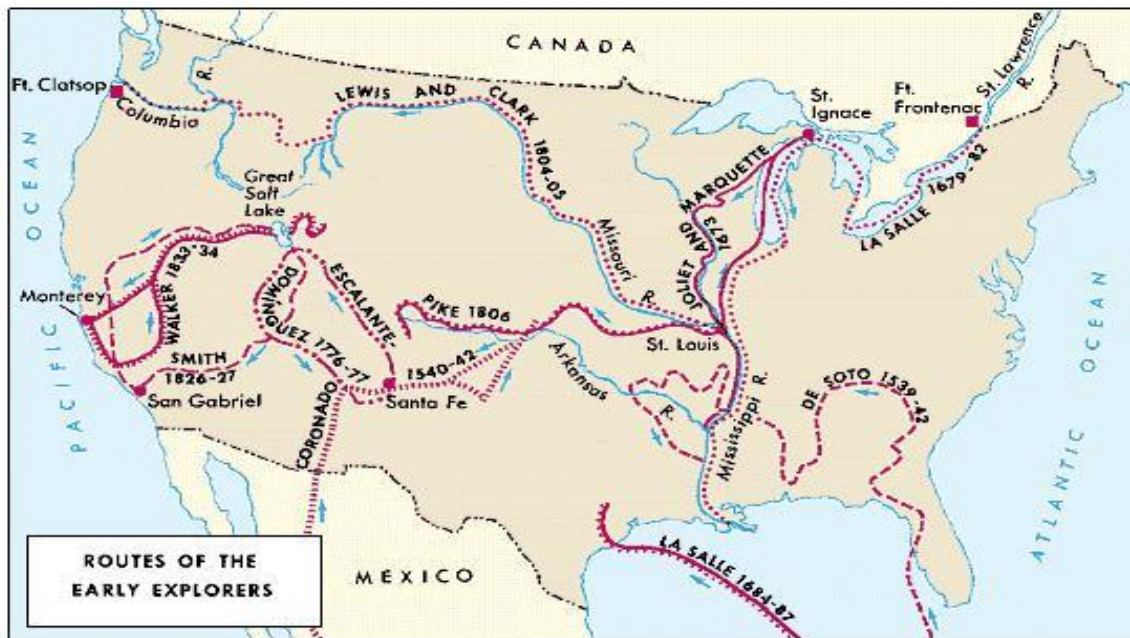


Cultural areas: North American Indians (*Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc.*)

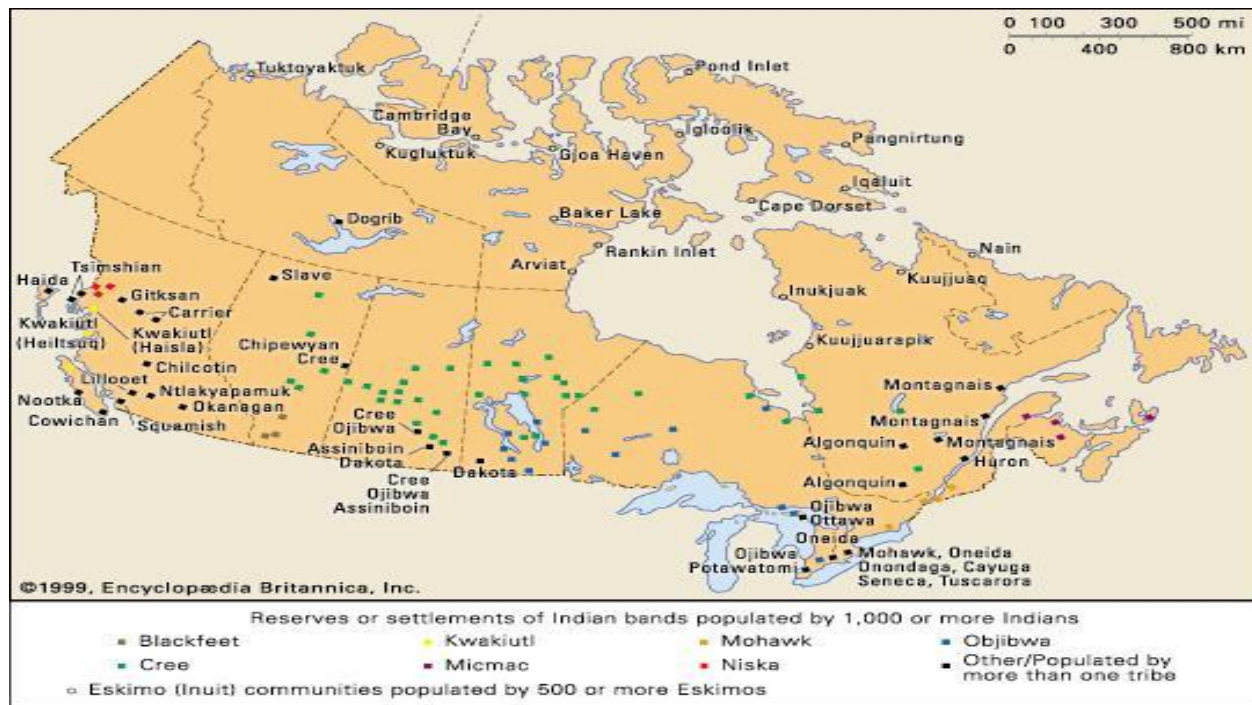


Distribution of Southwest Indians and their reservations and lands.

Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc

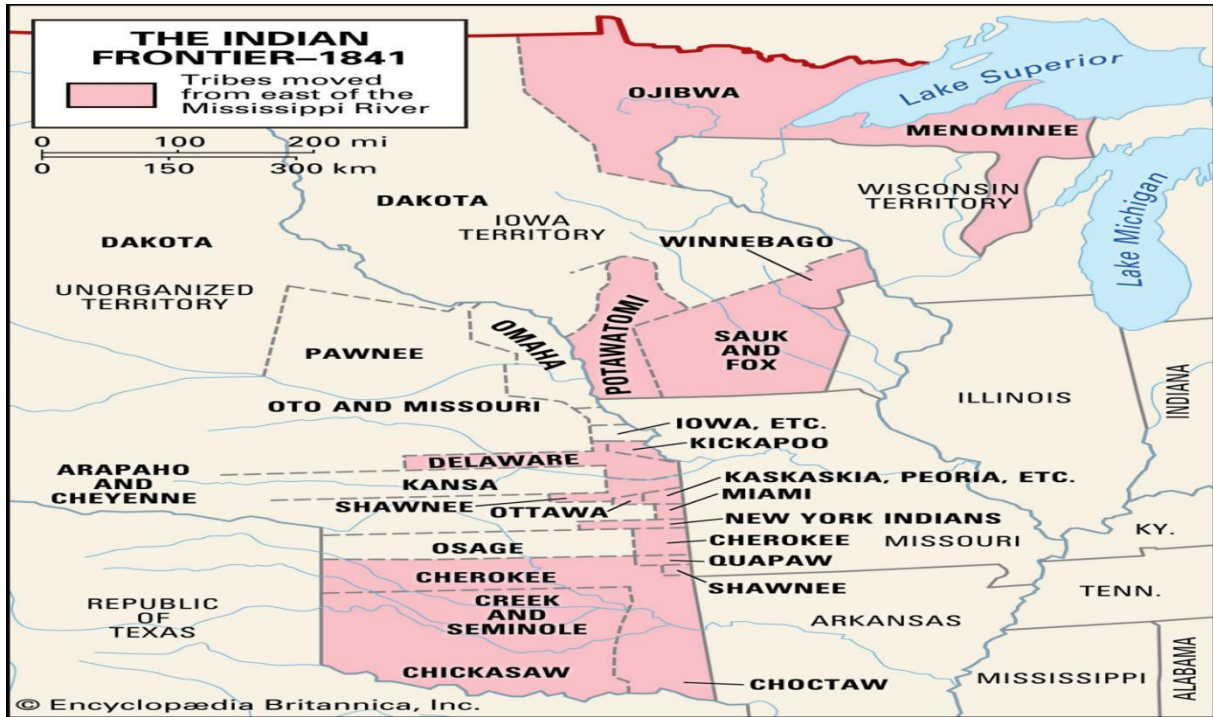


Colonial exploration routes within the United States.
Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc.



(Top) Indigenous communities in Canada and (bottom) reservations in the United States.

Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc.



Map showing the movement of some 100,000 Native Americans forcibly relocated to the trans-Mississippi West under the terms of the U.S. Indian Removal Act (1830)

Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc.