

The background of the cover is a photograph of a person in a canoe on a river. The person is seen from behind, wearing a plaid shirt, and is using a paddle. The river is surrounded by tall, dry reeds on both sides. The sky is blue with some white clouds. The water is dark blue with ripples.

IK:

Volume 2, December 2016

A publication of The Interinstitutional Center
for Indigenous Knowledge at Penn State

ISSN: 2377-3413

IK: Other Ways of Knowing

A publication of The Interinstitutional Center for Indigenous Knowledge at The Pennsylvania State University Libraries

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From the Editors

Welcome to the 2016 single-issue volume of *IK: Other Ways of Knowing*. With this issue our journal is moving to a new publication cycle. Starting in 2017, issues will be published in June and December of each year.

This issue includes both peer reviewed and board reviewed articles. Our Reviews and Resources section includes two book reviews and a list of recent publications related to indigenous knowledge. Our News and Notes section has a listing of recent ICIK seminars (with links to the online archive where they can be viewed), and a listing of the winners of the 2016 Whiting Student Indigenous Knowledge Research Awards. It also includes highlights of a number of conferences with indigenous themes.

We would like to thank contributing editor Pasang Sherpa for her help in gathering some of the articles in this issue that explore “being indigenous today.” The running theme of this issue is contemporary issues facing indigenous persons and peoples.

We have three peer reviewed articles in this issue. The first is “Scientific Language in an African Indigenous Knowledge System” by Alexis Bekayne Tengan. Integrating Dagara linguistic structure and speech analysis, cosmology and mythic narrative, as well as cultural practices of hoe-farming, Tengan argues that art exists as an appropriate “scientific language” and jargon in the field of medicine and healing, while religion — including ritual — constitutes its practice and praxis. Indigenous knowledge in art, religion, and medicine functions to ensure the cyclical transmission and transfer of life within and across different life-forms or species, leading to the development of thinking frames as models by which the Dagara people continue to develop their indigenous knowledge system.

Our second article, “The Black Day: Yarsagunbu, the State, and the Struggle for Justice” by Tashi Tewa Dolpo, contends that modern states deny justice to indigenous peoples through a combination of direct and structural violence. The author argues that the “black day” of January 4, 2014 reflects these injustices through marginalization and exclusion of Dolpo farmers, pastoralists, and traders from Nepali government policies and decisions. When Dolpo protested use of “communal” lands, the government’s armed intervention resulted in violence. An investigative committee was formed outside the Dolpo area to examine the event

but failed to consult or interview victims or their families. Historically, government laws appropriated “communal” lands by replacing indigenous management with state control, leading to their designation as “inactive” and their diversion to other government economic pursuits. Even access to government services marginalizes Dolpo residents since they must walk for two to five days to the district headquarters in order to obtain and submit papers to get access to the services. The isolation of the Dolpo community also results in the government mandating activities at the local level without consent of the local population. Using the case of the Dolpo in Nepal as an example, the author maintains that both physical violence and exclusion by a state’s discriminatory structure are used against indigenous peoples to preserve existing state power hierarchies.

Our third peer reviewed article, “Landscapes’ Lessons: Native American Cultural Geography in the Nineteenth-Century Oregon and Washington” by Mathias Bergmann, highlights how indigenous peoples’ perception of the environment differs from that of Western cultures. Many Native American cultures depended on the oral transmission of information concerning the environment and subsistence, as well as cultural traditions and the ancestors. To support this transmission of knowledge, indigenous people draped geographical and topographical features with cultural meaning, creating a cognitive and moral landscape in which mythical characters (such as coyote), ancestors, and daily life interacted. This landscape could be read as a “text,” providing material support for orally transmitted knowledge. The article by Dr. Bergmann demonstrates this process in the landscapes of the indigenous peoples in the states of Washington and Oregon. “Lessons” from these cultural landscapes reinforced proper kin ties and obligations, reminded people of proper moral behavior, provided histories of cultural groups, as well as related stories of creation. The importance of these landscapes is seen also in their loss due to forced removal from native lands, placement on reservations, and cultural assimilation; as the tie between traditional lands and indigenous groups dissolved, many of the “texts” disappeared.

The Board Reviewed section in this issue contains five articles. Two of the articles, both by Pennsylvania State University undergraduate students, focus on Nepal. “Traditional Pottery of Bhaktapur” by Elizabeth Anne Rothenberger reports on her fieldwork among potter families in Nepal where both traditional and modern pottery techniques are used. The next article, “Preserving Cultural Heritage and Creating Economic Stability after the Nepal Earthquake,” Kylie Rose Doran reflects on her visit to Nepal soon after the 2015 earthquake and her proposal to

help rebuild the monastery and community center of Gatlang Village. In another article, “Decolonization and Life History Research: The Life of a Native Woman,” Jyl M. Wheaton-Abraham focuses on the early years of her mother, an elder of the Kootenai Tribe of Idaho. In the article she explores decolonizing research and its use in life history inquiry.

In closing this section we reprint “Remarks: Regional Constructions of Cultural Identity Forum” by Puanani Burgess. Her remarks were originally published in *Hapai Na Leo* (2010), edited by Bill Teter. Puanani begins her remarks with a poem called “Choosing My Name.” Puanani’s mother gave her daughter the name of Chrisatabelle Yoshie Puanani Sonoda. She chose Puanani, her Hawaiian *piko* (umbilical cord) name. In her remarks, Puanani illustrates the role of poetry and storytelling in finding meaning in the face of power. She also acknowledges that her Japanese father recognized her personal reality as a Hawaiian, and, in choosing her *piko* name, enabled his daughter to retrieve her Hawaiian history.

We close out this issue with a new resources list, a review of recent ICIK activities, and a quick roundup of news items.

The editors would like to thank Maria Landschoot, the 2015/16 Bednar intern, for all her help this past year as copy editor. We wish her well as she graduates from Penn State and begins her career. Our 2015/16 graduate assistant Christian Mann also left us after the spring semester. We wish him well on his continued studies. And, after a brief hiatus, we also welcome back Lori Thompson as our news section editor. We also welcome new members of our team. Mark Mattson, Penn State’s new Global Partnerships and Outreach Librarian, and the journal’s new Managing Editor. Abigail Houston joins us as Associate Editor. Rachel Nill and Teodora Hasegan join us as Assistant Editors. This issue would not have been possible without the hard work of this team.

We hope you enjoy Volume 2 of *IK: Other Ways of Knowing*.

Scientific Language and Thought in an African Indigenous Knowledge System: About Dagara Cultic Institutions and Frames of Thought

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Abstract: The African indigenous knowledge system, like any academic discipline, has its own specific language and jargon as a created symbolic system, which it uses both to see and understand the reality that is the focus of its study and subsequently to document, communicate, and further increase its knowledge content. However, it is generally the case that “scientific colonialism,” as Galtung puts it (Galtung 1967), in African indigenous knowledge as a science has led to a distortion of the language and culture used to understand African knowledge generally and, by extension, a distortion of the theoretical and philosophical underpinnings of thought. This article takes the view that scholars of African indigenous knowledge and science need to tackle the issue of scientific decolonization in order to generate and understand the scientific lexicon through which this knowledge system has come into existence. This article focuses on the ethnographic description and analysis of cultic institutions among the Dagara of northwest Ghana, within which knowledge paradigms and thought frames are embedded.

Keywords: Scientific Language; Dagara People; Thought Frames; Scientific Colonialism; Indigenous Knowledge

doi:10.18113/P8ik259807

Scientific Language and Thought in an African Indigenous Knowledge System: About Dagara Cultic Institutions and Frames of Thought

Introduction: The Language of Indigenous Knowledge

The correlation between the development of language and the culture of science, both in terms of methodology and theory and cultural practice, is difficult to understand. Is the culture of science a distinct human endeavour separate from the

development of language as a codification of human creativity? Is scientific culture embedded in language and lodged in the human mind or thought faculties and responsible for reasoned order? (Sahlins 1976). Or, on the other hand, is language simply a structure and structuring mode via which the human mind makes things intelligible (Lévi-Strauss 1953); or, is it just the generating capacity of the various linguistic competences that come with human nature?

Beyond the existence of language as speech, every knowledge system has its peculiar language and jargon created as a symbolic order, which it uses to see and understand the reality that it chooses as a focus of understanding. Whereas knowledge of self and environmental awareness¹, mainly through perception, starts within infancy and prior to the acquisition of language as a way of knowing, scientific knowledge is initiated and developed as part of human language and culture—the innate generating ability to learn to speak and create meaningful signs, symbols, and gestures and to understand them. According to the linguists, and as we can observe from the variety of human languages and types, the innate quality of the generative scheme of language does not lead to or dictate a common system of signs and symbols for all human societies and cultures. Instead, it leads to the development of unique language systems based on the arbitrary selection of signs and symbols and a unique but consistent construction of grammatical rules and syntactic structures peculiar to each language. This is notwithstanding the fact that, in terms of speech, all human voices are limited to a common phonetic alphabet, permitting us to learn languages and to code-switch in the use of these languages. Based on this understanding, the growth of knowledge in every society and culture begins with a certain indigenous understanding of science as peculiar knowledge awareness. In other words, the term “indigenous knowledge,” as used here, refers to that scientific knowledge proper to a unique language and culture as it develops its own arbitrarily selected signs and symbols based on the physical and social environment from which language has emerged and developed. Indeed, I will define indigenous knowledge in general as knowledge that is innate to a social group and comes with the group’s development of speech as the foundation of their linguistic competence to symbolize and further systematize their thoughts and ideas about themselves and their living environment into a body of knowledge.

In as much as it is important to establish the theoretical basis for my subject of study—namely, language use in the study of African (Dagara) art, religion, and medicine as one common discipline within an indigenous knowledge system—this cannot be done within the context of an article. I have therefore opted to give a detailed presentation of the ethnographic material constituting the subject, since the

theoretical and philosophical reflection of this peculiar knowledge system seems to be embedded in cultural practice. Moreover, it is also the case that “scientific colonialism,” as Galtung puts it (Galtung 1967), of African indigenous knowledge as science has led to a distortion of the language and culture used to understand African knowledge generally and, by extension, the distortion of the theoretical and philosophical thoughts underpinning them. The distortion is most prevalent in the very three knowledge areas that are the focus of my current study, namely indigenous medicine, religion, and art. Hence, it is not uncommon to read such ill-defined terms as herbal, divinatory, and therapeutic practices as canons for the study of indigenous medicine, or for one to encounter such negative terms as sorcery, witchcraft, satanic, and magical in the literature on African religion and art.

This article takes the view that scholars of African indigenous knowledge and science, as areas of study, have hardly begun to tackle the issue of scientific decolonization in these fields, much less to generate and understand the scientific lexicon through which this knowledge system has come into existence. Hence, it is important, first, to deal properly with the events that have led to the colonial distortions before attempting to decolonize and reroute the mode of access to indigenous knowledge. Two forms of distortions that need to be tackled include the old missionary practice of wanting to replace African religion with Christianity through negative representation and the old colonial educational pedagogy of presenting Western science as an intrinsically objective and universal knowledge system unmediated by any cultural tradition; these issues continue to impede the development of any African scientific language. It is my belief that a re-examination of ethnographic material within a culture-specific paradigm would open new perspectives to deal properly with indigenous science. Hence, throughout the article, ethnographic data from the Dagara people of northern Ghana will be used to draw attention to the fact that African (Dagara) religion and art contains the basic lexicon which needs to be developed as a scientific language for any proper study of the Dagara medical knowledge system. The ethnographic material comes from my many years of research into Dagara religion, art, medicine, and their culture of hoe-farming (Tengan 2000, 2006, 2012).

The supporting data is basically a cultural study of four knowledge-based institutions in Dagara culture, often presented as cultic institutions within anthropological literature. They consist of the cult of the ancestors (*kpîîn*) and the cult of reasoned order (*bagr*), both commonly found in each Dagara homestead; the cult of primitive being of past order (*kɔntɔn*); and the cult of the universal

living structure of the cosmos (*tibr*). The last of these, the cult of the cosmic structure, has two other associates attached to it, namely the earth cult (*téngan-tiε*) and the rain cult (*sà-dug*). The correlation of these six institutions is best visualized as four concentric circles that map out the worldview of each individual and the community at large. It is beyond the scope of this article to map out these correlations and analyze in detail each institution. I shall, however, focus on the first institution, the cult of the ancestors, as part of my ethnographic illustration. The case of indigenous thought and knowledge has a peculiar history of its own. As such, let me first deal with the position of indigenous knowledge within the history of science in Africa generally before focusing my attention on the Dagara knowledge of religion, art, and medicine.

African Indigenous Knowledge and the History of Science in Africa

There is a long history regarding the study of African indigenous knowledge systems, even though the term might appear to be recent. This long history has always been intimately linked to the way foreign minds have come into contact with the African mind and system of thought. The two most significant foreign contacts with indigenous Africa are the Arabic culture, which is linked to the Islamic religion, and the European culture, which came along with Christianity. I shall not dwell in detail here on the impact these contacts have had on the growth of indigenous knowledge in Africa, but I will mention that they both had a common perception about black Africa and its populations, which impacts enormously the way indigenous knowledge is perceived and studied even today. In both traditions, prior to contact with Africa, there had already developed the notion that the canons of knowledge, especially scientific knowledge, were divinely revealed as written text and recorded in a holy book, such as the Bible, the Torah, and the Quran. Each known human race and population, as perceived at that time, had its own “holy book,” indicating the path to human civilization. Written language became the mark of rational reasoning and the two, writing and rationality, became the main distinctive features of scientific thinking and cultural progress. It will be beside the point for me to attempt to trace here the historical effect that the evolution of these ideas has had on the pursuit of scientific knowledge and the impact it has had on indigenous knowledge in general. My focused attempt to outline the frames of thought within which indigenous knowledge has been developing in Africa—using ethnographic data from the Dagara/Lobi peoples in West Africa—will better explicate these issues.

Anthropology, African Studies, and Indigenous Knowledge

Having said the above, it is still essential that I put the approach to scientific knowledge in Africa in perspective. Fifty years ago, the first modern African Studies institute was established at the University of Ghana, Accra. It is heartening to note that the founders of this institute spelled out very achievable goals within a focused area and discipline, namely to “study the history, culture and institutions, languages and arts of Ghana and of Africa in new African centred ways” and to “reassess and assert the glories and achievements of our African past and inspire our generation, and succeeding generations, with a vision of a better future” (Nkrumah 1963). For the past fifty years, the institute, and indeed most other similar institutes that followed, stuck to these goals and a lot has been achieved, mainly in the fields of African historical reconstruction, cultural aesthetics, and African contemporary socio-political institutions and practices—at least we have gone beyond the conception that African political systems are all about kinship. Though the method and conceptual frameworks have largely followed Western academic norms, the studies made in these fields have shaped a new and positive understanding of the African experiences in these domains. This, however, cannot be said of such major areas of African indigenous knowledge as art, religion, medicine, and the scientific language used for their study. For the rest of this article, I first outline the impediments that have hindered progress in these knowledge areas. Secondly, I discuss briefly the nature and character of African knowledge frameworks and how the distinct separation between religion, art, and medicine as unique knowledge disciplines leads to their mischaracterization and the false understanding that they are true scientific knowledge. Lastly, as a case study, I give an ethnographic outline of the thought frames and thinking processes among the Dagara people in West Africa.

Negativity and Narrow Minded Views

In the first year of my anthropological studies in Leuven, a distinguished African professor of linguistics jokingly reproached me for studying a discipline that is not really scientific. In his words, anthropology limits its discourses, fields of research, and study to specific substrata of human beings and their cultures. He made me feel that by opting to become an anthropologist, I was selling out my own continent and people. Since anthropology allows mainly Europeans to pose their gaze at mainly Africans and their culture but will not do the same to their own society, it is insulting to pose my own gaze at my own people as if I was not one of them. A few months after my encounter with the African professor of linguistics, a

well-known European professor of anthropology jokingly remarked that anthropology was no longer an interesting discipline because Africans have started to specialize in it. This was after he learned that I was studying anthropology. I was able to deal with the two remarks by reminding myself that I had chosen to study anthropology out of my own interest and motivation, and any time one or two persons made similar remarks I would retort with the common saying that there are as many anthropologies as there are anthropologists.

As a discipline, anthropology, starting as ethnology, has throughout the decades thrived by appealing to European thinking consciousness that native cultures are “exotic,” very different from their own, and, perhaps, bizarre and incompatible with Western technological and scientific culture. Native cultures, by being exotic, do not constitute components of the real world and have no scientific truth or value. At the same time, via the discourse of enlightenment and modernity, Europeans were given the impression that they have lost the memory of their “primitive” times, and to understand their own primitive culture, which was in existence at one time, they have to study African culture. Once this consciousness was created, ethnology then gave itself the task of documenting “exotic” cultures and analysing “primitivism,” first to satisfy European curiosity about the exotic and second to inform them about their own past, a past which belongs equally to the realm of unreality. The fear that primitive cultures were being destroyed, in a similar manner as the European past, by modern civilization and the fact that, as oral cultures, they had no writing systems to effectively record their own traditions, made the work of ethnography most urgent (Tengan 2000).

An Anthropological Perspective on African Scientific Knowledge

For a long time and still today, many scholars of African studies, intellectuals, and politicians, have viewed engagement in the study of anthropology as openly agreeing with the premises upon which anthropology has thrived and as tacitly accepting the promotion of the ideals lying behind the premises. They unconsciously felt that anthropology, through its method of reductionism and ethnographic analysis, was consciously and systematically demystifying the core cultural components around which the African life-world has been built and, by the improper use of negative language, destroying the scientific value embedded in those components constituting the African worldview. In other words, the anthropological analysis, by itself, threatens to destroy native cultures through the analytical practice of gaze and disclosure, and through negative representation. As a result, and in order to preserve themselves and their societies from extinction,

African intellectuals and politicians would, in theory, vehemently dismiss the conceptual notions, mode of practice, and analytical powers associated with the discipline of anthropology. In practice, however, because they are trapped in the colonial educational paradigm, some would aggressively promote very few selected ideals constitutive to the world of the foreign anthropologist as a way of saving their own societies. Some of these ideals are not necessarily the most lucid or the most appropriate for the reconstitution of native societies. Most African intellectuals would, for example and in theory, try to argue that their cultures and societies are not primitive and backward, but, in practice, they would make it impossible for all those still hanging on to their native cultures to participate fully in modern civilization as a process of remodelling the society.

Broadly, there are two factors that have led to this situation. First, the old missionary practice of wanting to replace African traditional religion with Christianity through negative advertising of African religion and culture has presented African traditional religion as belief in spirits and the worship of ancestors; secondly, the old educational pedagogy, still very much in use, views Western science as intrinsically objective universal knowledge unmediated by any mythological tradition of thought and symbolization. According to Johan Galtung, Kwame Nkrumah, as president of Ghana, understood that Africa was not just colonized economically, but also culturally and scientifically. Hence, describing the struggle as depicted by a large painting, Galtung wrote:

The painting was enormous, and the main figure was Nkrumah himself, fighting, wrestling with the last chains of colonialism. The chains are yielding, there is thunder and lightning in the air, the earth is shaking. Out of all this, three small figures are fleeing, white men, pallid. One of them is the capitalist, he carries a briefcase. Another is the priest or missionary, he carries the Bible. The third, a lesser figure, carries a book entitled African Political System: he is the anthropologist, or social scientist in general. (Galtung 1967, 13)

For many years the decolonization process has focused on the political and the economic aspects and neglected the cultural and the scientific nature of colonization. Indeed, it is now extremely difficult to appropriately learn the language via which African indigenous religious and scientific knowledge, especially medical scientific knowledge, was initiated and developed. This is mainly so because, for African indigenous knowledge, art, religion, and cosmology did not exist as unique disciplines separate from the sciences of medicine or

healing, but acted as the symbolic and abstract language via which one views and understands the world of matter and living elements. The scholar of African science no longer has the cultural paradigm of his own that is required to view and understand the indigenous knowledge system. Indeed, for the contemporary western educated African, the western scientific paradigm that he has acquired through education has become, as Bourdieu (1977) will describe, his reasoning and practical “habitus” with which he tries to understand and communicate his own indigenous knowledge. It is clear that the western scientific paradigm has become a big impediment. This impediment is reinforced by his false belief and notion that “true” scientific knowledge, particularly the science of nature and our environment, must follow the same scientific method and approach and that this method and approach is a naturally given rational method independent from any cultural construction. He is blinded by the centuries of western science propaganda which teach that its scientific method and approach are naturally given rational that are constructed from pure reason, without resorting to any religious and cosmological abstractions and specific cultural symbolization. I was a victim of this blindness until I started to involve myself positively with African indigenous scientists and to learn their language of abstraction and symbolization, particularly through the combination of religion, art, and medicine as a single discipline.

Hence the African conceptions of art, religion, and medicine, as outlined by such scholars as Mbiti (1969), Mulago (1973), and Kagame (1969, 1976), paradoxically reflect Christian conceptions about nature and often contrast the natural with the supernatural. These conceptions are most clearly expressed by studies in the ill-defined fields of “African Traditional Religion” and “African Cultural Studies.” Similarly, features used to outline the fields of study in both disciplines are often ill-defined. Studies in African traditional religion sometimes report that natural features such as hills, mountains, rivers, forests, etc. are conceived by Africans as sacred locations because of their relationships with the supernatural. The supernatural itself is considered to be a vast sacred realm, somewhere outside the domain of the natural, and populated by a myriad of ghosts, spirits, deities, nature spirits, ancestor spirits, and the like. Mythical, spiritual, and imaginary relations are then established between living beings of this world and these other beings through religious practice. In some cases, scholars report a proliferation of “spirits” of nature in almost every location and try to find in each exceptional natural object or location a corresponding spirit from the supernatural order.

By bringing up this issue, it is certainly my intention to protest against the canons established in these fields of study. Indeed, I would like to state that, so far, the studies made in these fields have little bearing on my ethnographic approach to the analysis of religion, art, and medicines among the Dagara. Robin Horton (1993, 161-193) has shown how much the Christian cosmological model and Christian faith have patterned the study of African systems of thought. According to Horton:

For much of the past fifty years, the study of the indigenous religious heritage of Africa has been dominated by social or cultural anthropologists of Western origin and agnostic or atheistic religious views. In recent years, however, the dominance of this set has been challenged by new wave of scholars, some Western and others African, who repudiate the established approach to the field and advocate a radically different one. Some of these scholars, such as Evans-Pritchard and Victor Turner, have been anthropologists by formal professional affiliation. Others, like Idowu, Mbiti, Gaba and Harold Turner, have been affiliated to such disciplines as theology and comparative religion. Yet others, such as Winch, have been philosophers. They are united, however, by a methodological and theological framework which has been strongly influenced, first and foremost by their own Christian faith, but also by the long tradition of comparative studies of religion carried out by Christian theologians. (Horton 1993, 161)

Horton shows how the above mentioned scholars have used Judeo-Christian religious concepts to interpret African thought and asserts that notions such as God (Supreme Being), spirits, souls, spirits of the wild, and so on, are meaningful only to people who have spent years studying and practicing Judeo-Christian religions and to people who wish to have a translated version of African thought in Western Christianity. This, as Horton points out, is the scope of the work of John Mbiti (1969), but also of Vincent Mulago (1973) and Alexis Kagame (1969, 1976), who are not mentioned by Horton.

In my particular case, I have observed that the Dagara, within a short period of time, massively converted to Christianity. However, these conversions have not led to a complete Christianization of their cosmology. On the contrary, selected elements of Western Christian cosmology are continually being integrated into Dagara traditional cosmology as a way of dealing with current sociocultural changes. Christianity and modernization have not led the society away from their traditional methods of hoe-farming nor from their outlook on the cosmos as hoe-

farmers. Interviews conducted and activities observed both among Christians and non-converts indicate the existence of a common cosmology based on the same concepts of space and time. In other words, the cosmological order that ties in with the concepts of space and time is common to all Dagara. They view the ordering of the cosmos as a concrete process of ordering the environment in terms of locations, including farms, homesteads, village stead, the bush, hills, rivers etc., and of dealing concretely with atmospheric conditions as personified agencies. Through the process of personification, Dagara view both the physical and metaphysical dimensions of the environmental locations and atmospheric conditions by considering them figures and personified beings, with whom they share a common space. The figures and beings evoke human thought and are also seen as the metaphoric and alphabetic themes used in the development of scientific and cultural language. The common space in question is the constituted Dagara world, which they always visualize as a concrete, non-transcendental world. As Kwasi Wiredu (1996, 87) argues, “....a people can be highly metaphysical without employing transcendental concepts in their thinking, for not all meta-physics is transcendental metaphysics.” In other words, metaphysical concepts are usually embedded in such institutions and practices as the personified Earth (Téng) or Rain (Sàà)², without necessarily conceptualizing them as transcendental, supernatural beings.

Need of an Indigenous Language and Thought Paradigm

It would be wrong to argue that anthropology and other scientific disciplines have not been genuinely concerned with discovering indigenous modes of thought as demonstrated by local cultures. In spite of the blockades outlined above, certain genuine questions have been posed over the years and certain paths have been taken that led to certain results. For my purposes, I will focus my attention on two writers for two different reasons. The first is Claude Lévi-Strauss, and the second is Jack Goody. First, Lévi-Strauss appeared to me to have posed precisely the legitimate questions that are at the heart of the matter, namely, does the “primitive/savage” mind exist in a uniquely different way from the “scientific” mind, and what are its frames of thought? He also focused on the science of mythology, which I also happen to encounter a lot in my ethnographic field, as the gateway to discovering indigenous frames of thought within their own logic. In the second instance, Jack Goody and I share a common ethnographic field, the Dagara and their neighbors living in the border regions of three West African countries: Ghana, Burkina Faso, and La Côte d’Ivoire. Jack Goody does not only provide a very critical review of the works of Lévi-Strauss, but used the ethnographic data

from Dagara culture to do so. In addition to the critical review, he has proposed through comparative analysis that the distinction between the primitive mind and that of the scientific mind is very much linked to differences in the means and tools of communication. It is the development of writing and the shift from oral culture to literate culture which is responsible for the development of the scientific mind. Let me briefly state my understanding of these two positions and explain how they have helped me deal with knowledge and thinking frames within indigenous cultures.³

As stated above, in anthropology, it was Lévi-Strauss (1962, 1966), to my knowledge, who first focused our attention on “primitive” models of thinking and developed a theoretical and a methodological paradigm to deal with human thought prior to what many will call the development of modern scientific thought. Lévi-Strauss began to develop his theory of structuralism in anthropology by questioning the universal historical and evolutionary concept of culture and human progress and stated through the analysis of kinship systems (Lévi-Strauss 1947), contrary to the dominant discourse of his time, that there are multiplicities of human cultures, each with its own encoded logic. This opening statement allowed him to shift the basis of culture theory from the size of the brain to mental operations as encoded logic (Lévi-Strauss 1947, 1958), and, finally, he developed the theory of structuralism as an alternative to that of cultural evolutionism. In essence, Lévi-Strauss argued that the human mind is constantly manipulating abstractions in thought forms in order to create conditions and practices. The abstractions finally settle in the mind as pre-figured or pre-coded mental structures. These figurations or codes show themselves concretely in different processes, like writing, classification, encoding, or other logical operations. The different processes, in turn, create structures as outlines of human conditions and practices. It is these structural outlines that appear as culture and account for cultural and racial differences. A structural study and analysis of culture concerns these structural outlines. Lévi-Strauss presented kinship structure as well as mythology as the perfect examples and models through which we can observe processes of abstractions and the creation of outlines. He also used the study of kinship and myths to show how structures differ from culture to culture.

To explain why these differences should exist and how it has come about that some cultures are more advanced or more scientific than others, Lévi-Strauss (1967) introduced other key concepts, such as the “bricoleur,” the “savage,” the “undomesticated mind,”⁴ and “primitive thinking.” The “bricoleur” has to make do with limited and heterogeneous materials and tools to create and do his work. It is

with respect to this limitation that we can talk about the relative differences between the culturally “undomesticated mind” and the “domesticated mind.” Using the language of kinship and myths, Lévi-Strauss shows that the “undomesticated mind” applies a rather limited combinatory set of binary opposition, original to the process of abstraction and thinking, in a number of related and unsophisticated fields, like kinship, totemism, initiation, and healing, and what comes out as a complex structure is only a manipulation of the same limited concepts and fields. From an indirect implication, this is not the same as the “domesticated mind.” The “domesticated mind” is creating ever more complex new “tools” to embrace larger entities, to include a greater variety of data, and to integrate wider differences and interrelations. This is done according to the multiple logics of oppositions, homology, and congruence and in terms of space and time. The relationship between the two is summarized in Lévi-Strauss' (1966, 22) distinction between mythical and scientific thoughts. Thus, he writes that the:

....characteristic feature of mythical thought, as “bricolage” on the practical plane, is that it builds up structured sets, not directly with other structured sets but by using the remains and debris of events: in French “des debris et de morceaux” or odds and ends in English, fossilized evidence of the history of an individual or a society. The relation between the diachronic and the synchronic is therefore in a sense reversed. Mythical thought, that “bricoleur” builds up structures by fitting together events, or rather the remains of events, while science “in operation” simply by virtue of coming into being, creates its means and results in the form of events, thanks to the structures which it is constantly elaborating and which are its hypotheses and theories. (Lévi-Strauss 1966, 22)

Lévi-Strauss posited that all human pre-scientific thought in all cultures, and in the modern sense, developed at the same speed throughout human history up to and beyond the Neolithic Era when it stalled. Lévi-Strauss called this type of human mental structure, or frame, *La Pensée Sauvage* (The Savage Mind) and described its processing, to put it in simplistic terms, as a sort of “bricolage,” derived mainly from mythical reproduction and the unconscious mind.

In response to Lévi-Strauss, Jack Goody (1977) first insists that one must take a distance from the binary and ethnocentric forms of categorizations “rooted in a we/they division” of mental frames and thought. He then asserts that there is an evolutionary path in the development of technology necessary for the creation of advanced cultures. The most essential technology for the creation of rational and

scientific thought, in his view, has been alphabetic writing as a tool of communication. Goody's material is heavy on global historical evidence and comparative literary analysis, much to the expense of the field material he collected from the Dagara people. The main issue that Goody focuses on was not so much on the indigenous frames of thought, but the differences between the devices of communication employed by the primitive mind and the scientific one; he calls this the "technology of the intellect." In this light, Goody asserts that in the order of the evolution and development of human thought "after language the next most important advance in this field lay in the reduction of speech to graphic forms, in the development of writing" (Goody 1977, 10). Accordingly, the development of writing does not only lead to a single significant leap but to a series of changes that will eventually lead to social and cultural revolutions in scientific thought, including the field of mathematics. Citing the Babylonian mathematics as a case in point, Goody asserts that the development of mathematics also depends on the prior development of a graphic system, though not necessarily an alphabetic one. Goody enumerates some of his practical experiences with the Dagara of northern Ghana to illustrate the relationship between writing and mathematics and the role graphic systems play in thought and to support his assertion that it is the lack of the graphic system which prevents the primitive or oral mind from thinking scientifically and mathematically. Hence, Goody states:

In 1970 I spent a short time revisiting the LoDagaa of Northern Ghana, whose main contact with literacy began with the opening of a primary school in Birifu in 1949. In investigating their mathematical operations, I found that while non-school boys were experts in counting a large number of cowries (shell money), a task they often performed more quickly and more accurately than I, they had little skill at multiplication. The idea of multiplication was not entirely lacking; they did think of four piles of five cowries as equalling twenty. But they had no ready-made table in their minds by which they could calculate more complex sums. The reason was simple, for the 'table' is essentially a written aid to 'oral' arithmetic. The contrast was even more true of subtraction and division; the former can be worked by oral means (though literates would certainly take to pencil and paper for more complex sums), the latter is basically a literate technique. (Goody 1977, 12)

I am not seeking in this article to demonstrate the validity of anthropological methods and theories developed in the past. I am only seeking to understand, through the study of the ethnographic material I have collected, the subject matter

that this material is addressing, namely indigenous language of thought within the domains of religion, art, and medicine. My reference to these particular writings at this moment is to help me develop the path leading to the discovery of how thought frames and thinking processes developed by an indigenous society are produced and used. In that sense, the work of Lévi-Strauss is helpful to me only as far as it draws my attention to the possible existence of the “savage/undomesticated mind” and the “scientific/domesticated mind.” However, his evidence does not teach me that the two mental frames cannot co-exist at the same time within the individual brain and thinking faculties and within the socio-cultural level of the collective conscious and unconscious thoughts of a society or culture. There is just no evidence to even suggest that some individuals or societies and cultures are entirely living on the “bricolage” level of practical thought, while some others have acceded to a “scientific” level of creative thought. Goody’s critique and further suggestion, including many others who have over years made significant modifications to the ideas, makes it imperative for me to look beyond structural anthropology in order to further develop the science of indigenous thought beyond “bricolage.”

I take seriously the assertions made by Goody concerning this subject matter, the most significant of which is the focus on the devices of communication within thought, or, to use the appropriate term, “technology of the intellect,” the main one which makes the difference being the graphic system of writing, especially alphabetic writing. What I take from Goody’s work is that it is not just sufficient for the individual and the society to perfect the ways they know things through the use of language, reason, emotion, memory, etc. For this knowledge to develop to the scientific level, there is a need to put into place a graphic system via which thought can be captured as a body of knowledge and further documented into a systematic order and structure. This allows the individual author to distance himself or herself from the text, allowing the author and others to critically review it. In other words, the differences in knowledge and thought frames can be narrowed down to the scientific distinction between the oral cultures having no graphic systems as aids and the literate cultures, which have the written text or other graphic systems as scientific aids.

For the past twenty years, I have spent much time viewing the Dagara/Lobi culture and their systems of thought, particularly relating to their hoe farming system (Tengan 2000) and their *bagr* mythical narratives in the ritual context (Tengan 1999, 2006, 2012). From these studies, it is evident to me that graphic systems are very essential and remain the most efficient aids in the creation of a body of

knowledge for the individual and the society, and might as well be the most efficient technology of the intellect for rapid social and cultural transformations for any civilization. That said, it seems I will be jumping to the conclusion that there is an absence of any type of graphic system in Dagara society without first trying hard to find one, and without looking at cultural systems with an open scientific mind in order to understand the intellectual technologies that the culture has developed as aids to general mathematical manipulations and as devices to be used for memory documentation and recall. I find the unspoken implication that, if no writing system that is capturing speech as language can be found in a society, that society does not have any other graphic system as technology of the intellect that will enable the creative mind to capture thoughts onto an external system in such a way that one can examine those thoughts from a distance to be unjustified. For the rest of the article, I shall use ethnographic material from Dagara religion, art, and medicine as a common area of knowledge to illustrate how the culture constructs and develops scientific language and thought into a body of knowledge.

Knowledge Frames, Graphic Models, and Thinking Processes: The Case of the Dagara

The Dagara view and approach to both indigenous and scientific knowledge, particularly knowledge of health and healing, takes a holistic perspective against reductionism and analysis. It is based on the hypothesis that, first, the meaning and knowledge content of any object or element is multi-generic and specifically identifiable with the ecological and environmental context within which the object is located for observation and, secondly, that the knower or scientist, much as he or she might want to take a scientific distance from the object and the environment, is intimidated by the object and the location and is then absorbed into the meaningful context that he is trying to understand. In other words, the meaning given to the object and the environment includes his or her own understanding of the syntactic relationships between the object, the environment, and his own experience as a learner or a scientist. The basic thinking or knowledge framework via which he is aware of and is experiencing the immediate data before him is structured and colored by a specific cultural frame that was socially developed in the distant past, which he has inherited both consciously and unconsciously.

At this point, let me hasten to emphasize that the knowledge or thinking framework I am referring to here cannot be perceived as a static, hardwired frame that is successively transmitted over generations of users. Also, with regard to

content and data, there is no divine received text or narrative that is being kept in memory and faithfully transmitted via trained experts through memorization and recall. African indigenous, and by extension scientific, knowledge, as I will argue and demonstrate, is characterized by generative and dynamic processing of data within an ever changing environment and context. In this article, I will focus on the notion of healing as a specimen of study within African science and contend that it is best observed when it is linked to other notions within religion and art. Indeed, my thesis is that, whereas African art exists as the appropriate scientific language and jargon in the field of healing religion, including ritual, constitutes its practice and praxes. In the rest of the article, I will discuss, through ethnographic description, the issue of art as language of scientific healing. I will then describe and outline how much religion becomes practice and praxes of healing and proceed to discuss the misuse of language and its resultant effect of scientific colonization within contemporary African society.

Dagara People and Society

The people calling themselves Dagara today and whose family settlements are distributed in the northwest and southwest corners of northern Ghana and southern Burkina Faso are culturally very much akin to the people often referred to in literature as the “true Lobi” and are equally similar to the Dagaaba, with whom they traditionally share a close linguistic similarity. Beyond my earlier identification of these peoples in my former works, I will only stress here the similarities in cultural practices and reproductions that exist between these people in order to underscore why, for this study and in terms of ethnographic understanding, I am looking at them as one common social group. Indeed, the Dagara dialect is equally well understood by many of the “true Lobi” living in the Gaoua region, whose dialect is much more akin to Pwa. In the course of my research, I have used this dialect to communicate with the majority of the population, including members of the family settlement of Bindute Da, near Gaoua.

As itinerant hoe-farmers, the Dagara have been migrating and creating settlements in many parts of northern and southern Ghana, as well as in other areas in Burkina Faso and Côte d’Ivoire, and I have made it a point to get into contact with these people living both in the home region and in the Diaspora. My contacts with the different groups of Dagara and Lobi hoe-farmers, both in the Diaspora and the home regions, suggest to me that, beyond the linguistic variations, these groups, especially with respect to their art, religion, and medicine are relating to a common

cosmological worldview and common forms of cultural practices. That being said, I do recognize that the nature of social change has not been uniform throughout the region.

The Dagara/Lobi people living in settlements around the urban center of Wa, as a group, have continued to resist the cultural infiltration of first Islam, and later colonialism, Christianity, and modernity for a long time. However, from time to time, individual families or a section of the extended family, for one reason or another, do decide to convert to Catholicism. Since the mass conversion of the Dagara populations living further north of Wa and stretching into southern Burkina Faso in the early 1930s, there has been greater pressure on the Dagara/Lobi living further south to convert as well. This pressure increased substantially in the 1970s when many Dagara families from the Nandom area of the then Lawra district who had already converted to Catholicism began to immigrate in large numbers into this area and the number of Dagara local clergy increased substantially to enable the church to send local priests with a much better understanding of Dagara language and culture to this region, thus making evangelization more effective. The increase in Catholic ritual activities and the rapid developmental processes taking place as a result of the missionary activities have continued to seduce even the Dagara Traditional Religious Leaders, some of whom have hitherto stuck to their healing cults, to want to convert to Catholicism. For the conversion and integration process of these leaders, the church puts on a show by conducting special rituals dedicated to the dismantling of the cultic institution and the removal of all the material objects associated with it.

In the past, the collected items were publicly set on fire and their burning was a sign that they did not have any spiritual power, as their original owners claimed. Some of the beautiful art objects were, however, sometimes retained by the missionaries and, with the coming of the local clergy, there is an ambivalent attitude toward setting these objects on fire. There is a greater tendency to store them away in an abandoned location within the parish house. This was the case with the two sets of archives that serve as the main ethnographic data of focus for my current study. Indeed, I first came to know of their existence through Fr. Linus Zan, who had served as the parish priest in the parish from which the artifacts had been collected. It was actually he who conducted the public Catholic ceremony to dismantle the cultic institution and to further conduct the rites integrating the then new convert into Catholicism. These items, after further study and investigation, do belong to two of the knowledge institutions alluded to above and were found in every Dagara homestead before the arrival of the missionaries. They are

categorized as sacred objects (*tibε*) belonging to the ancestral and *bagr* cultic institutions of fertility, life transmission and sustenance, and socio-cultural relations. The aim of this article is not to focus on such items as part of thinking frames and knowledge models but to deal with the general issues regarding scientific knowledge and thinking processes.

Religion: Nature, Being, and Life

Dagara religion and philosophy take root from their mythical reflections and historical experiences as migrating hoe-farmers. In essence, its centre of gravity is on the thought and perception that nature is the supreme divine entity, existing both as the concrete world of living beings and elements and as the transcendental supernatural realm of awe, fascination, and wonder. For generations, and in terms of religious practices, they have relied on four cultic institutions for knowledge and cultural production. These include the ancestral cult (*kpĩĩn*), the *kɔntɔn* cult, the *tibε* cult, and the *bagr* cult (Tengan 1999, 2000, 2006, 2012), including their mythical narratives, orations, and sacred rituals. Each of these cults exists separately within the family and house community and is specifically located in the house structure. According to the Dagara myth of origin, nature itself is auto-generic, consisting of two extending spatial domains, namely the space-above (*saa-zu*) and the space-below (*teng-zu*). The space-above, in human language, is figuratively and metaphorically described as an undivided, single extending entity and perceived to be one common house space society of beings and elements. The Rain, as a father figure, is the manifestation of the life-force embodied in the space-above and is in constant relationship with the Moon and the Sun as personified characters (Tengan 2000, 76-84). In contrast with the space-above, the space-below, consisting of the earth and its atmospheric surroundings, is further segmented into six proto-typical domains that are replicated into fragments and located randomly to cover the whole of the earth space. These include the arboreal/plant space, the hill space, the rock space, the atmospheric space of the wind, the sea/water space, and the atmospheric space of fire.

This mythical structure of the cosmic realm appears as the main socio-cultural syntax for understanding Dagara society and culture. In the first place, the society is a house-based social structure supported by a mythical ideology of kinship relations. As a non-centralized and non-hierarchical society, each house community is a de facto centre of gravity for socio-cultural activities, specifically relating to a particular institutional order. This is so because, by assigning a generic name to each house group and community through tracing patrilineal descent lines

and by associating a generic institutional foundation and practice also to each of the house communities, the system focuses on ensuring an egalitarian and distinctly individualized co-relationship among different communities and individuals on the basis of their common origination and specific institutional custodianship.

Society and Culture: The House and House Community

The notions of the old house (*yir-kura*), also sometimes defined as the big house (*yir-kpee*), from which all individuals emigrate to constitute newer houses (*yir-paala*) or smaller houses (*yir-bili*), will at all times remain the centre of Dagara socio-cultural, religious, and political activities. The constitution of the old house or big house, and, for that matter, any of the sub-category of houses, is destined to put into place the most effective known processes that will ensure the survival, prosperity, and good health of each individual and the house community at large. As hoe-farmers who are in a very close relationship with nature and their constructed cosmic realm, it is important for each one and the community as whole, in order to stay in good health and to ensure survival and prosperity, to know the type of socio-cultural relationships they must have with nature, including all elements within nature and within each element, the life ingredients peculiar to that element. As all scholars studying Dagara society and culture have confirmed, the six most significant cultural and knowledge institutions via which the Dagara recreate and transmit their survival memory and tool-kit for reproduction of society, as alluded to above, remain the institutions of the ancestors (*kpiin*) and that of *bagr*, which are often grouped together; the institution of nature beings (*kɔntɔn*); and the institution of the cosmic beings (*gmwin-tibr*), including the two englobing institutions of earth (*téngan*) and the rain (*sàà*) shrines. In very general terms, we can distinguish between these four institutions by the way they deal with life. Hence, the *sã-kpiin* and the *bagr* are focusing on life transmission through fertility and fertilization (*dɔglu*), the *kɔntɔn* focuses on knowledge of life sustenance, *bagr* focuses on knowledge of life aesthetics and public health, and *gmwin-tibr* focuses on the knowledge of individual life as substantive essence at the existential level. For all these institutions, the house building and community located as homesteads remain the central focus for all socio-cultural and material reproduction and practices, including the scientific reproduction of knowledge. Hence, for each house location, the founding male and female ancestors tend to

compose four categories of cultic shrine institutions in different locations of the house in order to ensure the proper understanding and management of life transmission processes, life sustenance processes, life aesthetics, and life substantive essence.

In the homestead, each of these shrines may be located in a separate specific domain, except if the owner is a professional healer. Hence, the main ancestral shrine is located in a special room known as the “ancestral room” (*kpiin diê*), whereas that of *bagr* will be located on the terrace near to the neck of the main granary (Goody 1972; Tengan 2006). The *kɔntɔmɛ* are very diverse and can be located at several places in and outside of the homestead. The *tibr* shrine is the most sacred and is located in a specially chosen room that is consecrated and dedicated to it. All these categories of shrines and the purpose for which they have been set up tend to make the Dagara house a cultic temple, as well as a library and a museum for scientific research, experimentation, and learning, as well as an existing health center to cater for the total well-being of its members and the society at large. It is not possible in a single article to give a detailed study and analysis of the six areas of knowledge institutions just stated. Let me focus my attention on elaborating on the Dagara frames of thought as specific models within indigenous knowledge.

Thinking Frames from the Bagr Myth

I shall base my elaboration on Dagara knowledge frames and thinking models on my many years of study of Dagara cosmology, mythology, and mythical narratives in *bagr* rites of initiation and their systems of thought regarding religion, art, and medicine. I also draw inspiration from their linguistic structure, speech analysis, and cultural practice of hoe-farming. Taking all these together and studying carefully their approach to ways of acquiring and transmitting knowledge, I have come to identify three knowledge frames and thinking models that together constitute their mode and method of reasoning. I have named these as: (1) framing the cosmos and house and thinking spatially, (2) framing gender and understanding objectified bodies, and (3) framing life and dealing with conscious awareness. It will not be possible for me here to give a detailed study on the theories and practices of these knowledge frames since that is not the main objective of study at this moment. I shall only generally table the symbolic and cultural phonemics used to construct the knowledge frames and broadly demonstrate their use as a scientific linguistic system.

Framing the Cosmos via the House and Thinking Spatially

The material used to build the house does not only have architectural properties, but, more importantly, it has art objects designed to evoke thought and meaning. Two of the rooms that are commonly found in any completed house are of particular significance for this. They include the long common room (*chaara*⁵), other smaller rooms similar to it, and the hut (*kampil*). The construction of the long common room consists of first erecting rectangular mud structures, secondly, inserting a wooden structure as a roof support, and thirdly, throwing gravelly mud on the top of the wooden structure as a roof and to create a terrace as a living space. The final stage is plastering all the walls and the floors, including the roof terrace, with gravel soil prepared with cow dung, the shells of the daw-daw fruit, and pounded stem of the okra plant. The erection of the wooden structure consists of selecting⁶ a particular number of thick fork supporting beams (six to eighteen support beams) and half the number of equal thickness as crossing beams. Medium size crossing beams, a specific number corresponding to the number being used as main supporting beams, are then selected according to length and used to create the first layer of the roof and terrace. Small crossing beams are then used to cover the small spaces created by the crisscrossing of the different beams.

The thinking frame used in the construction of the long common room follows a vertical and horizontal scheme of reasoning. This is very much outlined in detail as part of the ritual narration of *bagr*. This detailed structure cannot be fully dealt with here, but let me point out the general process. The main part of the house is the wooden structure, which is constructed in such a way as to create the two cosmic realms, namely the space-above (*saazu*) and the space-below (*tengzu*), and to ensure vertical movements and interactions between them. The mud structure delimits the terraces and the rooms into irregular shapes and sizes and makes it possible for one to effect horizontal movements within the two realms. In all, the wooden and mud structures create vertical and horizontal spatial trajectories for the circulatory movement of living beings, including humans, and for the proper placement of handmade items and wares and the storage and preservation of household produce and goods.

The round hut is a room that often stands alone, either on the terrace of the long common room or near to the front yard or the backyard. Fork supporting beams should never be used as part of its architecture. Indeed, the round wall has no supporting wooden structure that is staked into the ground. The mud structure is built by tracing a circle onto the ground as a foundation and laying nine to twelve

rimed mud walls on top of each other in a sequence of one rim per day until the last rim. The circular shape of the mud structure is significant in that the most common form of boundary limitations for all socio-cultural gatherings taking place in all open spaces has to be circular. This circular building is roofed with red savannah grass that is woven together. In putting up the thatched room, a selected number of wooden poles, appropriate in size and equal in thickness and in length, are used. These are first woven together on the erected mud-structure before layers of the woven grass thatch are put over it.

I shall further examine the thinking frames embedded in processes of building these two rooms and the uses of the spaces they provide.

Framing Gender and Thinking through Numbers and Shapes

The use of gender as a frame of thought is common in all cultures, particularly in African cultures. Part of the *bagr* narration broadly outlines the way gender is viewed and framed. I shall start with this citation from the *bagr* narration. I shall then proceed to outline the whole frame and illustrate its mode of construction as a syntax coded with numbers and shapes.

<i>“Buvno ir fu?”</i>	“What made you?”
<i>“A ηmin ir mε.”</i>	“Reasoning made me.” He answered. ⁷
<i>“Buvno o ko fu?”</i>	“What has it given you?” He asked again.
<i>“O bε ko mε bom wε.</i>	“It gave me nothing.
<i>Lerkpé ηma</i>	Except a blunt axe
<i>Lεb ηmānlé.</i>	And a calabash.
<i>Fu bε nyε tam,</i>	Here is also a bow,
<i>Langi zan,</i>	And the wrist guard,
<i>Lagni pélé,</i>	And the basket,
<i>Lagni laa,</i>	And the bowl,
<i>Lagni ηmān,</i>	And the calabash,
<i>Lagni yuor,</i>	And the water pot,
<i>Alε na o ko mε.”</i>	That is all.”
<i>Knt]nblé</i>	The young Konton
<i>Lεb yél ko ya:</i>	Then instructed him saying:
<i>“Fu na nyε zan</i>	“The wrist guard
<i>Lagni tam,</i>	And the bow,
<i>Lagni ler,</i>	And the axe,

<i>Lagni suo;</i>	And the machete;
<i>Fu woa na?</i>	Have you heard?
<i>Dēb bomé na.</i>	Are masculine items.
<i>Ziduglé</i>	But the pot
<i>Lagn pélé,</i>	And the basket,
<i>Lagni laa,</i>	And the bowl,
<i>Lagni your;</i>	And the water jar;
<i>Pɔy bomé na.”</i>	They are feminine items.”
<i>Dé a aṇa</i>	So he handed over the male items
<i>Lēb ko dēb;</i>	To the man;
<i>Dé a aṇa</i>	And then gave the female items
<i>Mi ko p]π.”</i>	To the woman.”
<i>A aṇa so doo</i>	And this is the way
<i>A tiim mi bāng.</i>	We learn these things.

Whereas the spatial structuring of the house and the cosmos via the house building reflects a spatial frame of thought, the manner in which different beings and elements place objects and use the space is calibrated via gender frames of thought and number codes. The *bagr* narrative, part of which is cited above, explicitly outlines this frame and goes ahead to explicate its meaningful usage. Gender here is not framed as homology of oppositions and mediations but as, to put it in metaphoric terms, the needle (masculine gender) and thread (feminine gender) that are used to link iconic and symbolic items following cultural and linguistic rules and norms in order to create syntax of cultural thought. The notion of gender itself becomes clearly distinct from any of the objects, elements, or beings that are being syntactically linked.

Hence, using the gender frame, the culture will, for example, structure the proper use of space and locations in terms of placement of objects and living beings, including their movements, and also will properly define ways of identifying and describing these items in context via gender. In other words, the vertical and horizontal wooden and mud structures of the long common room, as described above, consist of cultural syntaxes linked together via gendering concepts. The most commonly used of these concepts have either numeric or shape/figure properties. Thus, according to Dagara cultural syntax, verticality, horizontality, and the number three have masculine gender properties and condition, whereas the round and circular shapes and the number four all have feminine gender properties

and conditions. It is important to stress here that items are being classified and categorized into cultural types and domains through thought of the concrete.

Framing Nature and Insightful Thinking through Riddles, Proverbs, and Descriptive Narratives

In the *bagr* narration, the notion of the unborn being (*Bil*) tends to play a key role in the way life is framed and conceptualized. It is considered as the progenitor of all life forms and linked to the word seed (*bir*), the element in any life form allowing it to regenerate its own kind. The story of the unborn outlines a graduating order of life experiences as he is conceived, born, and grows in the home location and migrates away from the house into other locations, only to return as a grown up man that is bitten with all kinds of ills. The frame of thought outlined here is reflective and intuitive through focusing on both the transparent and hidden conditions and properties of selected environmental sites. These include the room location, the compost heap environment, the dry pond environment, the tree environment, the river environment, and the hill environment.

Table 1: Knowledge and Thinking Frames from Nature

Location	Request Made	Response	Reaction	Ending
Room	Do you have anything, so that when you die, it will be offered to you?	She finishes unpacking, and takes the smoked rat, and holds on to it. Then, she gives it to Unborn.	He [Unborn] eats hurriedly	
The Compost Heap	Have you any food? What can you do?"	The lady's leaves [panties] He strips them and Gives them to Unborn.	"Is that the only thing, That upon your death It will be offered to you?	He unearths a tadpole, and gives it to Unborn; And he eats it hurriedly.

Location	Request Made	Response	Reaction	Ending
The Pond	You have built a house; What do you even have Which upon your death Will be offered to you?"	Pond composes himself And takes the dry toad, And gives it to Unborn.	He eats it hurriedly	
The Shea Tree	Do you still owe anything? The pond is junior; But has some food."	Here is the shea fruit; She plucks that; And throws it to Unborn.	"Is that the only thing that you even have; Which, upon your death, it will be offered to you?"	The hanging rot, she plucks that and gives it to Unborn. He eats hurriedly.
The River	"Is that you, river? What an expanse! Under the elder tree. There is food. Besides your size; You are an elder; Yet I am seeing nothing."	The fish without fins, [River] takes only that To give to Unborn. [Fish] fights to be free And slips away at once.	"Do you see? Oh river! Is that the only thing You have on you That upon your death Will be offered to you? Consider carefully!"	The top water level, At its mystery level, At the sea mystery level, At the rain mystery level, To extract their oil And gives it to Unborn.
The Hill	Have you all considered? [Hill!] You are the senior And river is the junior; But it [river] has food.	Here! The python's horn, He decides to take that; For the sake of disorder, Reverses it back to front,	Is this the only thing That you even have?	He [hill] arises unwillingly And takes the bitter scorpion He gives it to Unborn.

Location	Request Made	Response	Reaction	Ending
	So he approaches [hill].	And approaches Unborn.		

The thought frame itself consists first in framing and asking the appropriate questions at the different sites and ensuring that both the speaker and the interlocutor understand each other. The questions outline abstract thought frames and structures constructed using symbolic images, with the aim of giving reasons for human life and actions. The meaning of the term “reason,” as used here, includes statements about facts, real or alleged, employed to justify or condemn some act (social, cultural, and religious), prove or disprove, and approve or disapprove some assertion, idea, or belief⁸. There are different types of questions and responses associated with different stages of maturity and reasoning. Hence, the first level is associated with games of riddles linked to childhood reasoning. This type of reasoning is also associated with the personal and the collective unconscious and entails a specific correct answer to a particular question. Thus, the knowledge comes from the nest of the home, and the house community is represented here via the conversation between the unborn and the room environment (feminine gender) and the pond environment (male gender). I labeled this earlier as the “primordial mode of thought and reasoning” (Tengan 2006, 53). The second level of questions and responses are labelled as proverbial, which are more elaborate, both in terms of posing and answering the questions, and require a good deal of background cultural knowledge for the interpretation and understanding of the thinking behind the dialogue. Hence, in the narrative, the compost heap (male gender) situated in the front of the house, where male elders will often assemble to exchange ideas in the form of proverbs, and the shade of the Shea tree (female gender), where women go to gather fruits and nuts, figure as graphic frames of proverbial thought and captured speech. The third level, which I label as the descriptive thought frame, is associated with the river (female) and hill (male) locations and tend to configure observed facts and experiential conditions. The literary context comes in the form of the tale, the story and the narratives in ritual context, including myth, recitations, prayers, etc. It is not possible within the limits of an article to give a detailed study of these various levels of thought frames.

Conclusion

The developmental progress of African indigenous knowledge, whatever that might mean, has been trapped for a long time within the process of fragmentary disciplinary methods and theories on scientific knowledge and within a Judeo-Christian cultural frame of thought⁹. The historical conditions leading to the emergence of a particular paradigm of reductionism that underpins formal education and academic learning about African knowledge systems have further made it impossible to understand the knowledge, content, and practices of African sciences within their socio-cultural context. It has been the contention of this paper that it is not possible to study such seminal knowledge areas as religion, art, and medicine as if they were distinct and separate knowledge systems that accidentally cross each other in the minds of specialists without first understanding the cultural frames of thought within which they were constructed. Indeed, reading much of the literature on these three knowledge areas since the inception of Anthropology and African Studies as disciplines, the things they seem to have in common are the negative and derogatory terminologies that have been applied to them; religion, art, and medicine are considered to have no place in Judeo-Christian and Euro-American societies and cultures and have been thrown onto the African academic scene as a focus of study.

This paper has first tried to look beyond the negative and derogatory language used in regards to African knowledge systems and practices, particularly with regard to religion, art, and medicine. Secondly, it has argued that knowledge in art, religion, and medicine have a common objective, namely to ensure the proper understanding of the cyclical transmission and transfer of life within and across different life-forms or species. Different life-forms manifest themselves either as non-moving material objects/elements or moving embodied beings/elements. Using ethnographic material from the Lobi/Dagara people of northern Ghana, the paper demonstrates how the development of art in all its forms (material and performance) is also the development of a peculiar scientific language that is first used to intelligently reflect on and talk about the universe as observed and subsequently understand the meaning of its structure and purpose. This understanding leads to the development of thinking frames as models via which the Dagara people continue to further develop their indigenous knowledge systems.



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Endnotes

¹ For most African societies and cultures, self and environmental awareness begins well before the birth of the infant both in the cosmic environment as the origin and source of life and the mother's womb where the physical formation of the individual takes place (See such notions as the Dagara concept of the Unborn (*Bil*) in Tengan 1999, 2006; Yoruba concept of Abiku (Ben Okri 1991). I shall explore this issue further when I come to focus of religion and art.

² Terms used as personal names for personified beings are not in italics. On the contrary, and throughout the text, I use capitals for their first letters to mark that they are proper names.

³ My references to the works Levi-Strauss and Good are very selective and limited to my perception of the problem. The amount of work and the depth to which these two authors have treated the topics I refer to here are enormous and sometimes beyond my comprehension. I do not therefore claim to represent fully their views on these issues.

⁴ The term 'primitive', meaning the original mode of mental operation is probably a better translation of what Lévi-Strauss is saying. Unfortunately, the term has become obnoxious and misleading in anthropological discourses and I should not use it. Undomesticated mind here refers to the basic and non-reflective mode of abstraction and thinking.

⁵ The orthography of Dagara language, like many African languages, do not as yet have a common convention. The term 'kyaara' is sometimes used by Dagara linguists for what I have rendered here as 'chaara'. The correct phonetic pronunciation is very important to me and 'chaara' does not leave that in doubt.

⁶ The criteria for the selection of any building material include the cultural classification and categorization of items according to gender and color codes. Hence, there are specific number of trees and animals which as classified as black while the rest are considered white and all tools and household objects are either masculine or feminine in gender (see Tengan 2000)

⁷ The suggested meaning is that human being developed the tools listed below out of his own reasoning. Their classification, however, according to gender, is attributed to the intervention of Kɔntɔn.

⁸ I have dealt with this frame as it specifically relates to the Black Bagr narration (see Tengan 2006:51ff). I will only give a brief outline of what it entails.

⁹ I have not included Islam in this discussion because the Dagara people have roundly rejected Islam throughout the years and it will not be justified to draw a similar conclusion about Islam as I have made on the impact Judeo-Christian thought frames. There is also a school of thought out there which thinks that Islam has been cohabiting and adapting to Africa Traditional Religion in a way that Judeo-Christianity has not (see J. Kirby 1993).

The Black Day: Yarsagunbu, the State, and the Struggle for Justice

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Abstract: The emergence of the unified Nepal with its centralized structure has put indigenous peoples in danger. Exclusion has been a primary medium to negate the indigenous peoples and their knowledge. Violence has become a new weapon to silence these peoples. The state is still reluctant to accept indigenous peoples' demands though the peoples' aspiration of justice reflects their own socio-cultural and political context, affected by the state led exclusion and violence. The interrelation of this hidden structural violence and continued historical exclusion by the state has led to continuing direct violence and injustice on the indigenous peoples of Nepal.

Keywords: Indigenous Peoples; Dolpo; Centralized Structure; Violence; Yarsagunbu, Nepal

doi:10.18113/P8ik259806

The Black Day: Yarsagunbu, the State, and the Struggle for Justice

Wednesday, June 4, 2014, was not a usual day in Dho-Tarap. Violence ensued after a dispute between government officials and the local villagers over *yarsagunbu* harvesting on communal land in Dolpo. Security officials fired several rounds of bullets, both into the air and at the villagers. Two locals were left dead and many were injured. The victims and their families remember this day as the Black Day, symbolically representing the darkness of the event. Almost two years later, the victims have yet to receive any form of justice.

With this backdrop, this paper examines the events that led up to the violence on the Black Day and discusses the relationship of the Dolpo people with the state, focusing on their continued marginalization and exclusion. It concludes by highlighting the Dolpo people's quest for justice. This paper is informed by six months of data collection through primary and secondary sources, participant

observation of public events and protests, and semi-structured interviews with locals. Materials published through personal blogs and national dailies also served as important sources of information for this paper.

Dolpo: People and Place

The Dolpo region lies in the Dolpa District in northern Nepal, bordering China. Dolpo is comprised of seven Village Development Committees (VDCs): Vije, Saldang, Shey, Chharka, Mukot, Dho, and Tingyu. A Village Development Committee is the local administrative unit of the Nepali government. This region lies above 3,500 meters and is home to some of the highest villages on earth. Rough terrain, including high altitude passes, separates each VDC, making the living conditions difficult. The total population of this region is around ten thousand. It is one of the least populated areas of Nepal.

The people from this region, also known as the Dolpo, are one of the fifty-nine indigenous communities that are recognized by the government of Nepal. They speak their own Dolpo language. The Dolpo region was originally part of the kingdom of Zhangzhung. The kingdom of Zhangzhung was located in western Tibet as a separate province and was connected with the Bon religion (Dolpo 2014). It was only conquered and incorporated into the expanding Tibetan Empire in the seventh century CE (Takeuchi and Nishida 2009). Later, during the fourteenth century, the Dolpo region became part of the Lo Kingdom (the present day Mustang in central Nepal) and later became part of the Jumla Kingdom (in West Nepal). However, even though Dolpo was connected with these kingdoms, it remained a relatively independent region.

Agriculture remains the primary source of livelihood for the Dolpo people. They grow potatoes, barley, and millet. The growing season, however, is limited to only three months due to the rough terrain, high altitude, and longer winter months, when snow covers the whole region. Most of the VDCs lack irrigation facilities further limiting their productivity. The Dolpo people are also involved in animal husbandry; they keep yaks, sheep, and horses. Besides agriculture and pastoralism, they engage in trans-Himalayan trading with their neighbors in the north. Yarsagunbu, a valuable natural resource previously treated as a common natural item found in the pasturelands, has become a popular trade item in recent years. The Dolpo people trade yarsagunbu in two places: Mahango and Kyato in Tibet, China. In these places, markets open twice a year, once in May and once in

September. Thus, Dolpo people have come to rely heavily on the yarsagunbu harvest as a major source of income.

The Yarsagunbu Economy

Yarsagunbu —also known as the Chinese caterpillar fungus—is popularly described as the Himalayan Viagra and is locally considered to be a *Bu* (a worm). The word “yarsagunbu” comes from the Dolpo language, a Tibeto Burman language: *Yar* (summer) *Cha* (plant) *Gyun* (winter) *Bu* (worm). Locally, it is understood to be a plant in the summer and a worm in the winter. But, scholars say that it is neither a worm nor a grass. Instead, it is a parasitic complex formed by the relationship between the fungus *Ophiocordyceps sinensis* and the larva of the ghost moth (Shrestha and Bawa 2013). It is found in alpine and sub-alpine pastures above the tree line, higher than thirty-five hundred meters. Like the neighboring Himalayan and Trans-Himalayan communities, Dolpos traditionally use yarsagunbu for its medicinal value. After the 1990s, however, the price of yarsagunbu continued to skyrocket, making it a valuable commercial product. In Nepal, yarsagunbu collection is most common in the Dolpo region. The end of the Nepali government’s ban on harvesting and selling this herb in 2001 has made the country the second largest supplier of yarsagunbu in the global market, after Tibet.

The Black Day: What Happened?

The Black Day conflict began when locals asked non-Dolpo yarsagunbu collectors in Lang, a locally protected area, to stop collecting there. Tension had erupted over the revenue collection from yarsagunbu collectors before they entered Lang.

Citing the national park rules, but without prior consultation with the locals, government officials collected Rs. 500 (~US \$5) per person from the people living in the Nyasamba Buffer Zone User Committee (NBZUC) of the Dho VDC; Rs. 2,000 (~\$20) from people living outside the NBZUC in the Dolpa and Mugu Districts, where Shey Phoksundo National Park boundaries extend; and Rs. 3,000 (~\$30) from anyone outside the region. Fees thus collected also allowed access to Kalang and Lulang, common grazing areas for the locals, where locals discourage yarsagunbu collection.

On the other hand, local youths from the Dho VDC issued separate receipts for Rs. 2,000 to access the collection grounds with clear instruction to avoid Kalang and Lulang. On the first day alone, they were able to collect Rs. 756,000 (~US \$ 7,560). They said that this money would be used for the welfare of the community, whereas the government revenue is rarely invested in the Dolpo region. They further argued that they were practicing their customary law and were in line with the clauses of the International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention 169.

As tension erupted on the Black Day, the national park and buffer zone fees collection team members seized the money from the Dho youths. The team members did not listen to the requests of the locals to stop. Then, the locals, including youths, of Dho protested. They threw stones at each other. The Armed Police Force (APF) charged the locals with batons, launched aerial firing, and severely beat men and women. Twelve Dolpo individuals were criminally charged and were taken into custody. These individuals were strategically arrested to negate the local protests. The locals claimed that they suffered torture while in custody. They were beaten with batons and boots throughout the night. Tsering Phurwa, a local from the village, was later found dead. The locals believe that Tsering Phurwa died from the police beating. Nonetheless, the locals were forced to sign a paper stating that he died a natural death after falling off of a cliff while cutting grass. Post-mortem investigation did not follow. Instead, he received a rushed funeral without proper death rituals.

Dhondup Lama, fifty, from Dho was seriously injured by the beating while in custody. A few days later, he died while receiving medical treatment in Kathmandu. A crying, eighty-three-year old grandmother in a monastery said that when she was young, there was no rice to eat but that pain did not even come close to the cruelty that she witnessed on the Black Day.

Dolpo Joint Struggle Committee (DJSC)

Immediately after the Black Day, local people—including their organizations in Dho and Kathmandu—formed the Dolpo Joint Struggle Committee (DJSC) to ensure proper investigation of the conflict and proper compensation for the victims and their families. The DJSC presented their list of demands to the Nepali government during a press conference in Kathmandu and through delegation meetings with the Ministry of Home Affairs.

Their demands included: 1) stern action against the culprits; 2) a ban on yarsagunbu collection by people from outside the seven VDCs of Dolpo; 3) implementation of the ILO Convention 169 for the management and conservation of highland pasture and meadows in the Dolpo region; 4) education of the security and district officials, who are largely high caste, Hindu elites from the mid-hills in Nepal and are unaware of the richness of the Dolpo culture, religion, and language; and 5) inclusive representation in the buffer zone management committee. Lawyers' Association for Human Rights of Nepalese Indigenous Peoples (LAHURNIP) also raised their concerns during a UN Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in Geneva on July 8, 2014.

Days after the DJSC meeting with the minister of Soil and Forest Conservation, a regional level investigation committee was formed in Surkhet, outside Dolpo. The committee did not consult with the DJSC members. They carried out their investigation in Dunai, the district headquarters, not in the villages where the conflict took place. They talked to the security officials in Dunai but failed to include the victims and their families.

The DJSC then organized a press conference on the premises of the Federation of Nepalese Indigenous Nationalities Journalists (FONIJ) to further pressure the government to address their demands, which now included an inclusive and fair investigation committee. After the second press conference in Kathmandu, locals went on hunger strike for nine days, to no avail. The locals, increasingly frustrated, continued to protest. On July 21 2014, a peace march with a candlelight vigil was organized to mourn for the departed souls. Nearly one hundred people participated in this march.

Bamdev Gautam, the Home Minister of Nepal, agreed to meet the DJSC delegation after they tried for two months to get an appointment. In the meeting, Gautam, unaware of their demands, instead asked the DJSC to be more sympathetic to the security officials. The minister remained silent over the regional investigation committee's report.

Ninety-one days after the violence, on September 4, 2014, frustrated by the government's lack of action or attention, the DJSC protested with more than one hundred local youths. Their anger and pain had not been felt so strongly since the violence of the Black Day.

Discussion

The Black Day and the subsequent formation of the DJSC, as well as the inaction and apathy of the Nepali government towards the Dolpo people, reveal the persistent marginalization of indigenous peoples, contested ownership rights over communal indigenous lands, and the exclusionary practices of the state towards indigenous peoples. Ironically, Nepal was the first Asian country to ratify the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) in 2007 and has ratified the International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention 169. A discussion of how indigenous citizenship and communal land rights are regarded in Nepal sheds light on the Dolpo people's relationship with the state and the dismissive position of the government towards them.

Dunai is the headquarters of the Dolpa district. District level government offices, including the District Development Center (DDC), the Local Development Office (LDO), the District Education Office (DEO), the District Court, the District Police Office (DEO), and the District Forest Office (DFO), are located here. These district level government offices offer services such as providing citizenship cards, social security payments, and certificates of marriage, birth, death, and private property. Therefore, Dolpo people have to walk between two and five days from their villages to Dunai if they need to get any legal documents. There is not a single Dolpo representative in these government offices. Consequently, it has become a lot easier for the government to mandate any activity without the consent of the locals.

Citizenship

For a Dolpo person, acquiring a citizenship card is a difficult process. They have to walk to Dunai. A Dolpo would then need to get a recommendation letter from the VDC secretary and four local witnesses to prove that he or she is indeed a Nepali person. This does not, however, guarantee that the citizenship card will be issued on time. In 2014, when I visited the Dolpo region, the villagers shared their personal experiences of the needing to offer bribes and be able to speak and write in proper Nepali language to receive attention from the officials. They also told me that the officials regularly misinterpreted or mistook the names of the parents for those of the children. These mistaken names were then recorded in the district archive book and on birth certificates of those born before the 1990s.

Communal Land

The Dolpo people's claim over their communal land, such as Lang and Kalang, and how the government officials perceive that claim was the primary reason for the Black Day conflict. For the people, these pasturelands remain a source of livelihood. Before the yarsagunbu economy, the pasturelands were largely used for grass for the livestock and managed through customary governance by the village headmen, known as the *gapu*. The *gapu* system is pivotal in resolving conflicts, feuds, marriages, divorces, and deciding on times for cropping and harvesting (Bauer 2004).

The Birta Abolition Act of 1959, followed by the promulgation of the Civil Code in 1963 and the Land Administration Act of 1967, replaced the indigenous system of land administration that had existed for generations. The communal lands were brought under state jurisdiction when the state administrative units, such as the Village Development Committees (VDCs) and the District Development Committees (DDCs) in Dolpa and the seven VDCs, were strengthened. The communal cultural lands were termed "inactive" and diverted for other economic purposes. The establishment of the district level Land Revenue Offices further exaggerated the separation between indigenous peoples and their communal land.

Conclusion

The violence led by the state was a continuation of the historical violence and exclusion that has been long practiced against indigenous communities, such as the Dolpo. The inactive intervention of the state became direct on the Black Day. Historically, the Dolpo's communal land has been devastated by state policies that focus on economic development vis-à-vis local administrative units. The absence of the Dolpo locals as decision makers in these developmental programs further affects the Dolpo region. Little by little, the locals have been made powerless. The Black Day was only a renewal of the state led exclusion and violence. Nonetheless, the post-Black Day events clearly indicate that the Dolpo locals are not voiceless. They clearly came together with their demands as they questioned the state's reluctance to deliver any form of justice to them. What will happen now if a similar form of violence is again repeated in Dolpo?

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Landscapes' Lessons: Native American Cultural Geography in Nineteenth-Century Oregon and Washington

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Abstract: The depth and complexity of the cultural significance of physical geographic spaces to Native Americans is often underappreciated or misunderstood. For Pacific Northwest indigenous groups, landscapes contained lessons by which to live and histories of their people and their neighbors. The stories embedded in the landscapes not only augmented the oral tradition but were also crucial to the maintenance of socio-cultural values of native communities. The stories the landscape produced served as cultural reminders, but their efficacy depended upon continued contact with those locales. Knowing this helps us better understand the upheaval wrought by the US removal policy, which relocated Indians away from familiar landscapes and the lessons they imparted to remote and too often mute reservation lands.

Keywords: Indian Stories; Cultural Geography; Nineteenth Century; Indian Removal

doi:10.18113/P8ik259710

* There are many who have contributed valuable feedback on this article. I thank Clifford Trafzer and co-participants at the 2011 Author's Workshop hosted by the Mellon Foundation's First Peoples Initiative who critiqued a very early version of the project. I want to thank Mary Braun and Oregon State University Press who invited me to the workshop and made that valuable exchange possible. Members of the Fall Line Early Americanists (FLEA) reading group, especially Doug Winiarski but also Woody Holton, Brent Tarter, Terri Halperin, and Mark Valeri, contributed greatly to the soundness of the piece. Ted Andrews offered highly useful feedback and pointed me in directions I hadn't pursued. Lastly, I would like to thank the Rashkind Family Foundation and the William Walters Craigie Grant Foundation that helped to make the researching and writing of this possible.

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Fig. 1. The Home Guard—On the Columbia

The native peoples of Oregon and Washington were extensive readers well before contact with Euro-Americans. They read stories to their children and grandchildren, stories entertaining and frightening, which communicated proper values and behavior. They read to themselves and for the enrichment of others. They read the histories of their people and their neighbors. They read law. They read of the power of their God and of their, and the world's, creation. Like any important text, these stories were read over and over. Every facet of life, from natural occurrences and preternatural events to trade and human emotions, was relayed through texts and conveyed and augmented by each generation. Their lives abounded in texts, and they were literally surrounded by them. The texts resided—and still reside—in the landscapes upon which or in the shadow of which they lived and in the spaces and places they crossed, or didn't cross, inhabited, or avoided in their diurnal and seasonal movements.

What is underappreciated and often misunderstood by non-natives, today and in the past, is the depth and complexity of the cultural significance of landscapes in Native Americans' lives. Non-native readers may be surprised by the extensive roles landscapes and geological and topographical features played in the lives of indigenous groups. As historian Clifford Trafzer (1998) writes of the Columbia Plateau peoples' attachment to their land, "[T]he stories draw people into this

special place [the Columbian Plateau] of enchantment and beauty, a unique place where mountains, rivers, and winds tell their own stories. This place is blessed by the blood and bones of Plateau Indians, and every part of it elicits stories.” These landscape stories reinforced the oral traditions passed down to every generation and effectively transmit knowledge and values. Legends in the landscapes “are always easy to remember,” Yakama storyteller Virginia Beavert explains. “In fact, legends connected with landmarks are often more easily remembered and more widely known than other legends” (Trafzer 1998, 23; Beavert 1974, 179).¹ These landscapes did not merely augment the oral tradition; they were crucial to the maintenance of social and cultural values of native communities that relied on oral transmission of values and knowledge. The vivid stories or laws enlivened the landscapes and connected the present, future, and past (Trafzer 1998, 2).²

Studies that provide a more nuanced appreciation of the geographic influences of specific native peoples are few and far between³; of course, leaders of native communities have long strived to protect such geographic sites. In 2002, James Taylor Carson (2002, 783) challenged historians to “see the native landscape as both a cultural and a moral space, a place where mythical beings, ancestral spirits, daily life” intersected—an interactive place where “geopolitical concerns coexisted and interplayed.” This study takes up Carson’s challenge by analyzing the cultural geography of representative Pacific Northwest native peoples, primarily as it existed during the second half of the nineteenth century. Focusing on the bands and tribes of modern-day Oregon and Washington (or the “Northwest” for the purposes of this essay), it sheds light on those Natives’ relationships with their local environments and how physical geographic features and phenomena intervened continuously in their lives. The traditional lands were important to native peoples not solely because they were components of their spiritual world and the lands of their fathers and mothers. The physical features in their landscapes also provided invaluable cultural and social lessons, notably relaying culturally-specific and significant mores, laws, and taboos to younger generations. The cosmography and stories the landscape features reproduced served as cultural reminders, but their efficacy depended upon continued contact with those locales. A better grasp of this concept helps us to more fully understand the extreme disruption and upheaval wrought by removals after 1850, the coerced migrations of the Northwest Natives from those familiar landscapes, and the lessons they conveyed to the new, too often silent, landscapes of reservations.

For Northwest Natives in the pre-reservation era, the significance of stories grafted onto the terrain took several forms and served a number of purposes. In tune with widespread animistic beliefs, native peoples often perceived certain geographic sites as the homes of potentially harmful or deceitful spirits, laying await for unwary Natives. A wise person would avoid provoking these spirits and usually, if possible, avoid these sites. Several versions of the evil water spirit *Seatco*, for example, terrorized native communities from the Southern Oregon Coast to the Columbia River. Some sites were too spiritually powerful or sacred for humans to lay eyes on, let alone set foot on, such as the place where the Bridge of the Gods once spanned the Columbia River. Meanwhile, other sites were inhabited by benevolent spirits, some of which bestowed guardian spirits or spiritual power (*tamahnous*⁴) on the properly trained and spiritually readied. Spirit Mountain in the western Willamette Valley of Oregon, where Northern Kalapuyans sought spiritual assistance, is a clear example of these sites and is only one of numerous sites found in the Northwest. The significance of such sites is better known and, while equally important, such sites are only briefly addressed below. The primary focus here is the lessons grafted onto the features in the terrain that were central to the Native Americans' cultural resiliency. In the minds of community members, these lessons reinforced the proper kin relationships and obligations, the proper morality (more generally "laws") by which to live, the history of their people, and their stories of creation. Prior to the reservation period, Northwest native peoples did not rely solely on oral communication to maintain these vital traditions; after removal, especially for the communities denied access to their traditional spaces, they would often have to.

Oregon and Washington's native peoples, naturally, did not have the *same* connections to the geography as other groups in other parts of North America, but the significance of the landscape to them is representative of the complex interaction Native Americans had with their environment and geographic spaces. Evidence is scarce, since during the nineteenth century Euro-Americans often perceived their stories as, in Washington Territory Governor Isaac Steven's words, "trifling" or "incoherent tales" and did not bother to record them (Office of Indian Affairs 1855, 228). In other cases, missionaries operating in the Northwest suppressed the stories, which they perceived to be pagan influences. However, there are enough stories and fragments of others remaining to offer a sketch of the cultural geography of the region. Fortunately, native peoples have since recorded their stories in print and continue to do so, which significantly augments the available stories. When each story came into being is unknown—and perhaps unknowable—in Western terms, and how the stories changed—including the new

stories created after removal and grafted onto reservation landscapes—will have to be the subjects of additional studies. Nineteenth century ethnographers assumed a static indigenous culture, but readers should not make the same mistake, and they should not take the following stories as set in stone, so to speak.



*Fig. 2. Major rivers, mountains, and landmarks in Oregon and Washington upon which indigenous peoples grafted stories and lessons. Reproduced from Ruby and Brown, *Indians of the Pacific Northwest*, 25. ©1988 University of Oklahoma Press*

Landscapes and Sexual Morality

Rock formations, specific inlets, whirlpools in the river, or any number of other identifiable geographic features were heavily laden with lessons and stories conveying culturally-specific information and expectations to native inhabitants. Those formations located in or near villages and near or along routes to seasonal hunting/fishing, gathering, and trading sites served as reminders of human and pre-human actions that one should either emulate or avoid and were often intricately associated with creation stories and were often retold during gathering and trade times. Frequently, rock formations were literally individuals solidified as stone. When passing these formations, generations of Natives relayed the stories so frequently that the mere sight of the formation or site immediately recalled the lesson or story to the passerby.⁵ *Speel-ya*⁶ (Coyote), the great transformer who

ushered in the human world, often took center stage in these Northwestern stories, especially creation stories. Often his actions were farcical and self-deprecating—after all, he was also a trickster—but he taught the native peoples how they should behave, brought order, protected them during the transformation stage from the era of Animal People⁷ to that of humans, and ensured that the region's plants and animals would sustain them. What he set in motion were laws to follow.

Coyote, then, served as the central “law-giver” for many Oregon and Washington Natives when it came to social customs and behavior, and he often illustrated what they should *not* do through examples. All of his lessons were in the oral histories each band or tribe handed down,⁸ but a good number of lessons were also reinforced in the landscape. Speel-ya's Wall is one such place and lesson. This is what the Wishram Natives (Upper Chinookan) called a rocky ledge along the Columbia River Gorge near Mosier, Oregon. While on a long journey up the Columbia River during the transformation of the world, Coyote became famished, and it was here that Speel-ya stopped to find sustenance. However, after satiating his hunger, Coyote committed some unspeakable act (other recorded versions, e.g., a Clackamas one, do not mention the hunger and instead specify an obscene sexual act he committed). Once finished, Speel-ya built a wall to conceal the evidence of his actions (the Clackamas version has him buried under rocks during it), but “news” of his transgression kept breaking it down. He repeatedly rebuilt the wall, but to no avail, and he discovered he could not build a wall high and strong enough to prevent news of his behavior from breaching it and spreading. Finally giving up, Speel-ya remorsefully continued his journey, heading toward the Klickitat villages (that is, the pre-human antecedents of those people) to find shelter for the night. To his chagrin, at the first Klickitat house he heard its residents discussing the news of what he had done; ashamed, he continued eastwardly, only to find everyone talking about him at the Wishram villages as well, since “news” travelled faster than he could. For Natives along the Columbia, the sight of the remnants of Speel-ya's Wall recalled the moral lesson from Speel-ya's actions: avoid violating taboos because one can never hide the violation completely. News will find a way to get out (Kuykendall 1889, 69; Jacobs 1958, 95–96).⁹ Moreover, Speel-ya's Wall links the actions of individuals to the greater social-economic networks that connected individuals and families across linguistic lines and among the numerous villages along major rivers like the Columbia. The same network that sustained and ordered their lives would rapidly transmit indiscretions far and wide, as community members demonstrated in the shaming of Coyote.

For Chinookan speakers, the shared space and lesson also reflect the indigenous methods of controlling undesirable social behavior through chastisement via mockery and shaming. Similarly reflective was an Okanagan lesson against incest. For the Okanagan, a rock in the middle of the Fraser River, which is attached to the story of Coyote marrying his daughter (or niece), relays that law. Coyote, having fallen in love with his daughter/niece, hatched a plot that involved Coyote telling his daughter/niece to marry his good friend from “Upper Kutenai” should he die, Coyote’s subsequent fake death, and his return in the guise of his “friend.” Obeying Coyote, she married him, finding out later from mocking villagers that she had been deceived. As Boas recorded the story from James Teit, “Coyote’s daughter was ashamed. She ran out of lodge and jumped into the middle of the river. She was transformed into a rock, which retains the shape that she had when she fell into the water. ‘Henceforth women,’ Coyote decreed, ‘when ashamed, will commit suicide’” (Boas 1917, 72–74). Not only does the rock convey this message, but it also conveys the message that incest is shameful and taboo.

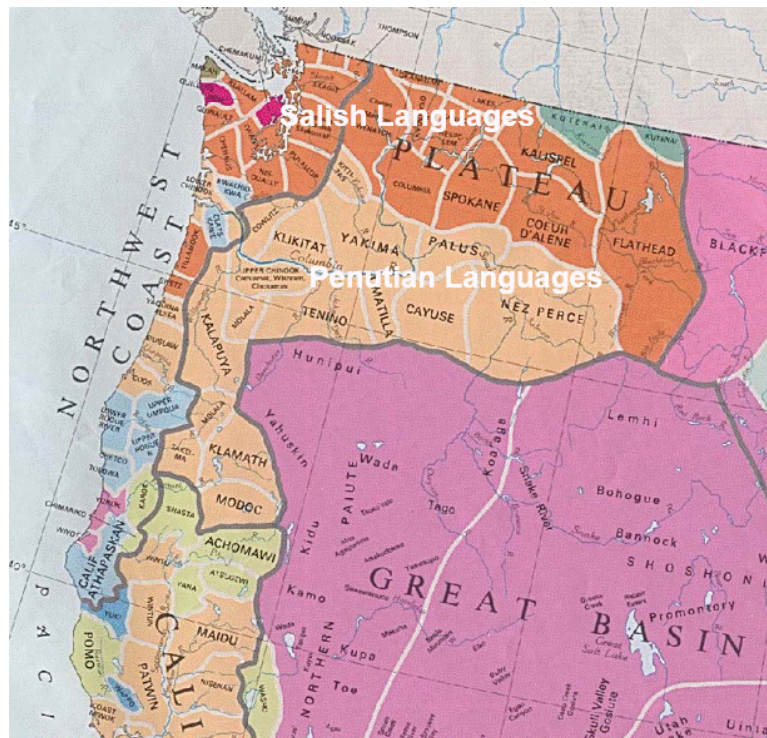


Fig. 3. Approximate Cultural, Linguistic, and Tribal or Band Boundaries c.1800. The two language stocks for this study are Penutian and Salishan, which each had numerous divisions and subdivisions, as well as different dialects for nearly each band. For example, the Sahaptin, Chinookan, and Kalapuyan languages are all Penutian but distinct languages. Each also has language groups, such as Northern or Central Kalapuyan and Lower and Upper Chinookan.

A number of lessons were gender specific and, not surprisingly, incorporated the typical stages of life—e.g., single adulthood, marriage, and widowhood. Virtually all members of society learned from the landscape. Wasco-Wishram (the Upper Chinookan speakers whose villages resided on the north and south side, respectively, of the Columbia River near The Dalles) women learned to live by the message of what whites labeled Eagle Rock, located near the modern-day Hood River, Oregon. During the transformation period, Coyote had transformed one of his “daughters” to stone, again to set an example to the emerging humans. Coyote’s daughter was “slim and bony, and neither handsome nor attractive,” but her fate was not due solely to her unattractive qualities that precluded marriage for her. She also violated sexual taboos that had eroded “her good name and reputation for chastity” (Kuykendall 1889, 69). The eternal presence of the old maid in rock form, physically looming over the Upper Chinookan villages, was to set an example for successive generations of women of what not to become and to warn them to uphold the strict Wishram taboos against pre-marital sex and adulterous relations (Spier and Sapir 1930, 214). Like many stories, there were layered lessons within this story. Coyote would have a number of “daughters” or other relations in these transformation-era stories, which, in addition to serving as a storytelling device, reflected and, for them, reinforced the social practice of forging fictive kinship bonds with people unrelated by blood.

Rocky Marital Relations

Depending on the different views people held, there were numerous marriage codes one should not violate. Rock formations often served as a medium to convey didactic stories, such as formations around Puget Sound and the Cascade Range for the northern Puget Sound Salish bands in the late nineteenth century. The landscape surrounding Puget Sound relayed warnings against marital abuse, specifically, women abusing and unnecessarily shaming their husbands (Castile 1985, 365). For the Natives who traversed the waters of the Sound frequently, these landmarks would be salient reminders of the proper spousal roles and the extent to which one should use shaming as a means of social control, so as to avoid destabilizing not only a marriage, but also the family and the band. Rock formations are certainly durable and prominent and allow for visibility and long-term transmissions of lessons, thus making them apt and convenient features on which to graft texts. However, the prevalence of lessons involving individuals being turned to stone may have a deeper meaning and offer an additional warning.

For peoples whose daily and seasonal activities and expansive kin networks could span large swaths of the Northwest, mobility was essential to physical and social existence. To be without kin (or without access to the protection/assistance of kin) left one vulnerable, while the inability to hunt, catch, or gather sustenance led to starvation. Immobilization, figuratively or literally, made an individual a nonentity and was among the worst possible fates. Not following the lessons embedded in these features could lead to such a fate. Furthermore, as James Axtell (1985) posits for the similarly structured Eastern Woodland societies and cultures, among the most highly regarded spirits were those identified with some of the most agile and mobile animals—ones who “enjoyed the greatest autonomy.” The high regard Oregon and Washington bands and tribes had for various guardian spirits, such as the wolf or hawk, and the central roles in creation that Coyote, Blue Jay, and the amphibious Beaver played seem to fit that pattern. For example, one Chinookan version of the creation of the Cayuse, a Plateau tribe that at times raided and at other times traded with the Chinookan villages west of the Cascade Mountains, reasoned that Coyote created the Cayuse from the legs of Beaver so that they would be fast runners (their adoption of the horse made them even more agile—and threatening to some). Mobility and agility afforded them power. Lacking autonomy and mobility, in turn, relegated a person closer to the status of a slave, and petrification effectively illustrates this concept (Axtell 1985, 16; Ruby and Brown 2005, 31n.13).

For the Chinookan and Sahaptin-speaking peoples of the Northwest, the Columbia River was central to their way of life and afforded mobility; and, as we have seen, the lands around it naturally provided an important canvas on which to imprint lessons. In addition to Eagle Rock, other Columbia River Valley rock formations tell stories dealing with infidelity and respect for deceased spouses. In the late 1920s, Clackamas elder Victoria Howard conveyed to ethnographer Melville Jacobs a version of the widespread Chinookan tale involving Coyote’s travels along the Columbia River as he prepared things for the coming of humans. While on his transforming journey, two women appeared to Coyote from across the river, teasing him with sexual advances. Every time he crossed the river to meet them, they disappeared, only to reappear on the other bank. Frustrated, Coyote consulted his three sisters¹⁰ for advice. They informed him that the two women were merely “šq’i’lawlaw,” or women who unfaithfully flirt with or tease men. Coyote responded: “No. You shall not be like that. You shall merely stand there. When they [humans] pass you they will say, ‘These are the šq’i’lawlaw.’” Now they became two rocks that stand there, warning married women against improper behavior toward other men (Jacobs 1958, 84).¹¹ In an ostracized fashion, they

could “merely stand there,” having lost autonomy and position in their community and kinship network.



Fig. 4. The Columbia River was a critical means of travel, trade, and communication as well as an important source of sustenance for the Natives residing near its shoreline, and well beyond. Its rocky shoreline provided an important canvas on which various peoples could embed stories, myths, and laws. Curtis may have posed this Chinook man but the landscapes around him were authentic.

Akin to the rock formation of the flirtatious wives, Widow Rock, located in the nearby Wishram Plateau lands, relayed the Yakama restrictions on widows' interactions with men. Yakama women who saw Widow Rock would recall a

didactic story from ancient times. The widowed woman met her fate because she violated taboos after her husband's death, specifically by looking at people (men); "She was especially attentive to the men," Yakama storyteller Virginia Beavert related. "[D]ispleased," Beavert continued, the Great Spirit "turned her into stone. She is there today looking at everybody. . . . When you go up to it, her eyes are upon you, and no matter where you stand on either side of her, the eyes are upon you. Even when you walk away she is looking at you" (Beavert 1974, 197). Whether it is the Yakama or Upper Chinookan warning, rock formations (e.g., Widow Rock for the Yakama or the aforementioned "Eagle" Rock for the Upper Chinookans) stalked women traversing the mid-Columbia River, offering a salient reminder of how they were expected to behave.

A Klickitat story about the creation of their rugged, red lava bed lands north of the Columbia and near the Wishram settlements served as a warning against infidelity. As recorded by Governor Stevens in the 1850s, in ancient times, a Klickitat man had grown tired of his wife and took up a mouse, which then became a woman, as a new wife. The old wife did not take kindly to this affront and threatened to kill both as a punishment for adultery (reflecting the seriousness with which they, like their Upper Chinookan neighbors, dealt with infidelity). Fearing for their lives, the man and his mouse-wife went into hiding. Assuming they hid in the ground, the old wife dug and dug into the earth trying to find them, tearing up the terrain and digging out passageways (lava tubes). She eventually saw them above her, standing on a mountain and mocking her. After scrambling up the mountain, she confronted her husband who begged for his life and for a return to their old living arrangements. The old wife acquiesced but only partly. While she spared her husband's life, the old wife did kill the mouse-woman to amend the shame the mouse-woman had brought upon her; according to the Klickitat informant, "it is her blood which has colored the stones at the lake." The old wife eventually killed the husband as well and lived out her days alone on the mountain. This lesson in the landscape also became an identifier. The Klickitat referred to the valley as *Hool-hool-ilse*, from their word for mouse (*hool-hool*), and their Yakama neighbors referred to Klickitat lands as "mouseland," or *Hoolhoolpam* (Office of Indian Affairs 1855, 229). Thus, both the hue and nature of the terrain as well as the toponym stress the value of fidelity and happy marital relations.

A Yakama story connected to the character and hues of the Toppenish Range on the Columbian Plateau also conveys instructions regarding marital relations. In the early twentieth century, Mrs. Skouken John related that the entire valley created by the ridges was once a single longhouse (i.e., not divided by ridges), and everything

was peaceful in the ancient world. But the shaman *Whe-amish* (or *Chi-nach*) divided the people by taking an additional wife: “The people on this Thappanish side of the valley were rather guilty, for they sided with him,” she explained. “They, as you see, retained their red color, but lost their white paint. Along the other side of the valley and across the Yakima River, the people retained their white paint but lost their red color. They were opposed to Chi-nach taking a new wife.” The colors red and white represent hostility and peace, respectively, and thereby Chi-nach’s faction was labeled the provokers of a civil war. Once the people divided, Mrs. Skouken John continued, “Everything went wrong, everything was quiet. . . . All people were changed into mountains and bluffs, some red, some white, just as you now see. Chi-nach has the worst color of them all, black.” His actions “wreck[ed] . . . the great civilization.” Trafzer (1998, 233–35, 233n.2) explains that the law ingrained in the polychromatic land was that taking two wives is acceptable, but more than that disrupts the household (longhouse). Like ancient ruins of a lost civilization, the rocky formations conveyed what could happen to all members of a community if individuals forsook their communal values.

Most of the Northwest’s indigenous societies practiced polygyny and, not surprisingly, they had stories dictating the boundaries of the institution, like the story above, or warning against jealousy. Women in polygamous marriages found reminders in the landscapes—and in the most prominent physical geographic features in the region—of how to properly behave (or how *not* to behave) toward other wives. The lessons and the rigidity of the landscape features containing them conveyed to women how immobility precluded them from one of their most productive roles in society, sustaining the family and the band through gathering activities.

For the Cowlitz bands in southwestern Washington, as former Cowlitz Chairman Roy Wilson relates, *Takhoma*, *Lawelatla*, and *Patu* served this purpose. Takhoma was “a great chief,” Wilson recalled, and Lawelatla and Patu were his two wives. “They were doing some things the Creator did not like,” he continues, and they would not heed his warnings. The Creator knew he must punish them for their disobedience, but “did not want to destroy them because they were such great people. They should remain as a lesson to everyone, forever. So, he changed them into great mountains. Today, we know Takhoma as Mount Rainer, Lawelatla as Mount St. Helens, and Patu as Mount Adams” (Thompson and Egesdal 2008, 133–34).¹² These mountains and others in the Cascade Range dominate the horizon,

bifurcate the region, and play roles in a number of different tales for many of the cultural groups on both sides of the Cascades in Washington and Oregon.

The Yakama story of *Pah-to* is another example of the mountains relaying laws to women in polygamous relationships; specifically, the story of *Pah-to* teaches women to not be jealous, as it leads only to hatred, retaliation, social insignificance, and possibly death. Intermarriage between men and women from the two sides of the Cascade Mountains was very common, and it's not surprising that the highest peaks of that range played central roles in their shared social lessons. In this story, *Pah-to* (Patu or Mt. Adams), *Wasco* (Mt. Hood), and *Wak-soom* (a mountain no longer in existence) were wives of the Sun, *Pos-twa-nit*. As the sun rose, it first shined on *Wak-soom*, which made *Pah-to* jealous. One night [i.e., when their husband, the sun, was away], *Pah-to* knocked down and killed *Wak-soom* in a jealous rage, taking all of her flora and fauna. Now when the Sun rose, *Pos-twa-nit* shined on *Pah-to* first. That, in turn, made *Wasco* jealous, who then killed *Pah-to* and tore her "to pieces." "I do not know how it happened," Yakama elder White Eagle narrated in the early twentieth century, "but *Pah-to*'s head was broken off and scattered from there to Fish Lake. To this day that is hard country to travel." *Wasco*, too, took everything of *Pah-to*'s; "Like *Wak-soom*, *Pah-to* was no longer a producer of life. Not growing foods, *Pah-to* had lost her usefulness to the world, was no longer of any importance." Akin to the fear of immobility, becoming barren or no longer productive was a fate few native women would want to face, and the story clearly conveys the value of being "useful to the world" and being a productive member of society.

The Creator witnessed what had transpired and, knowing the people were arriving soon, he took pity on them. "He restored *Pah-to* to life and brought back to her all the game, salmon, berries, and roots. These are still found there to this day." He replaced her head with the head of the "great White Eagle," and "*Pah-to* was now a powerful Law standing up towards the sky and was for the whole world. . . . Coming from the great Giver, the Law was immortal." The wise and powerful White Eagle would watch over all the people. In turn, Mt. Adams "holds a great spirit power" for the Yakama (Trafzer 1998, 277–79). Conveying part of the story of creation, this story grafted onto the prominent Cascade Mountains also dictated gender roles women should embrace and a stern warning of the Creator's displeasure toward jealousies. Moreover, the extensive kinship ties and commercial and political connections relied on smooth travelling between the regions; jealousies and selfishness figuratively made the road between them harder to travel.

While the distant Pah-to was, and still is, spiritually significant and conveyed lessons to members of the Yakama, Yakama women also found a cue on conducting themselves in plural marriages closer to home in the Black Bear and Grizzly stones near Wenatchee. Yakama storyteller Virginia Beavert relates that Grizzly was continually jealous of Black Bear, who was better at “performing the wifely duties” (e.g., gathering or dressing skins) and seemed to get preferential treatment from their husband. “They quarreled so much over their husband,” she continues, “that Spilyáy [Coyote] punished them by turning them into stone where they sit today, quarreling over their husband.” The stone features known to whites as Saddle Rock, “are actually a black bear and a grizzly bear sitting up there quarreling over their husband. The small rocks scattered around them are their children” (Beavert 1974, 180). Together, they remind women who see the formation to keep their jealousies and rivalries in check or suffer the fate of nigh endless stagnation.

Guidelines for Leaders

As seen above, Coyote is an integral figure in creation and in establishing laws by rewarding or punishing the Ancient People. Coyote was an agent of the Great Spirit, and his great achievements were not for his own glorification, or even for the glory of the Great Spirit, but instead for the benefit of the Natives who were about to appear; in this case, relaying specific morals via the landscapes. The extant stories seem to predominately target women, which is partly a result of patriarchal societies but also likely reflects the biases of the white male transcribers, but there were certainly landscape lessons intended for men, which convey the proper leadership attributes expected of religious, political, and war leaders (Trafzer 1998, 90n.4, 306n.8).

Goose Egg Mountain in Yakima County, Washington, is a place carrying messages for the Yakama and their leaders. Known to them as *Me-ow-wah*, in addition to providing their creation story of how the sustaining plants of the Columbia Plateau arrived, it relays standards for proper human behavior and ideal virtues, especially of leaders. In the time before the arrival of humans, Me-ow-wah was a chief highly regarded for his preference for peace, modesty in victory, and general wisdom and virtue. Hoping to ensure that there would be a legacy of his leadership, the Cowlitz, Okanagan, Wishram, and Spokane chiefs (that is, the forbearers of those tribes/bands) encouraged him to take a wife and thus pass his admirable qualities onto a son. Those chiefs sent some of their fairest women to seduce him into marriage, but Me-ow-wah withstood their advances and instead perceived their

efforts as the influence of malicious spirits bent on eroding the morality of the Yakama. Hearing that those chiefs were sending another set of even more beautiful women, Me-ow-wah consulted his father, Speel-ya, for advice. Speel-ya (Coyote) informed him that he should sacrifice himself and the women to set an example for the people, who were soon to emerge, and to appease the Great Spirit, who was offended by their behavior. Me-ow-wah assented. As planned, Coyote turned the group of women and Me-ow-wah into stone; the resulting mountain, standing for the ages, was simply called Me-ow-wah (Bagley 1982, 122–23).

The Yakama story of *Sho-pow-tan* and the *Tah-tah Kleah*, which is engrained in the landscape, emphasizes the importance of wisdom, intelligence, and patience in leaders. Unlike many of the previous stories, the story of Sho-pow-tan and the Tah-tah Kleah occurred in the time of humans, at Eagle Rock on the Naches River. Sho-pow-tan was a chief and the Tah-tah Kleah was a feared female monster that preyed on humans. Separated from his men after a hunting trip, Sho-pow-tan knew that the Tah-tah Kleah would be stalking him. So, as Yakama storyteller Tamwash related in 1919, “he went up to a hollow place in the *Tic-teah* [Eagle Rock]. You can see the trail where he traveled up the face of the rock, to the cave high up in the wall of Tic-teah. Grass is growing along that narrow trail. You can see it when you are out from the rock, where it winds up the cliff.” It was in that cave that Sho-pow-tan hatched his ruse to trick the monster. When the Tah-tah Kleah arrived as he predicted, Sho-pow-tan startled the monster as she entered cave by using a long stick to jostle a blood-filled deer stomach that he had placed at the entrance. Upon hearing the squeamish “Kloup! kloup! kloup!” sound, Tah-tah Kleah tumbled backwards and down the mountain to her death in the river. Had she caught him, Sho-pow-tan would have been killed, cooked, and eaten. “But Sho-pow-tan was brave, was wise” (Trafzer 1998, 117–18).

Friends and Family

Dealing with one’s family members and neighbors is a nigh universal dilemma, and Oregon and Washington Natives had landscape stories about that, too. The stories regarding taboos and morals noted above are also good examples of the lessons relating to marital relations. Other stories, however, focused more broadly on the value of relations among family members and neighbors. These were the Great Spirit’s laws, often transmitted via Coyote, on how one should treat others in their own and neighboring villages. For members of the Palouse tribe, the picturesque rolling hills named after them in Eastern Washington and Northern Idaho evoked the story of Coyote and Turtle. The message behind the story and

embedded in the hills is one of unity. Coyote wanted to race but found only Turtle accepted the challenge, which brought laughter from the Animal People. Coyote nevertheless accepted the preposterous competitor; envisioning a challenging course for the race, he brought the rolling hills of the Palouse into existence. The race, he announced, would cover five hills. Going into the first hill, Coyote had a commanding lead, only to find as he began to ascend the second hill that Turtle had already crested it. Coyote ran faster and passed Turtle on the descent, but again upon looking up the third hill, he found Turtle rounding the peak. No matter how much faster Coyote ran, at every peak Turtle wound up ahead of him and ultimately crossed the finish first. Of course, Turtle did not outrun Coyote, but instead, by relying on his family members, one of whom he had stationed at each peak, Turtle was able to defeat Coyote. This story conveys the importance of capitalizing on one's wit and knowledge and, more importantly, the importance of family and community. The rolling hills, undoubtedly the most distinguishing physical feature of the picturesque Palouse region, serve as a constant visual reminder of communal values as the Palouse Natives traversed the region during their diurnal and seasonal peregrinations (Trafzer 1998, 6–7).¹³

The story “The *Qui-yiah*, Five Brothers,” as told by Simon Goudy, is a Yakama creation story regarding the formation of several lakes and a mountain that contained rules for brothers to follow that were also applicable to society generally. The Columbia Plateau, it relates, was once flooded with water. Five brothers went to investigate and the youngest brother realized that it was the Chief of the Beavers who had dammed the region and that to stop the flooding they must kill him. The youngest brother not only comprehended the problem, but he was also the only one who understood that a diminutive beaver, “small like a frog,” was the culprit, not the larger beavers that the older brothers assumed to be the chief. The youngest always had to tell them to wait, as they repeatedly targeted numerous beavers they misidentified as the Chief of the Beavers. They laughed when the youngest brother speared the smallest beaver, but, to their surprise, when speared the beaver “became so large that nothing could hold him,” and he yanked the youngest brother into the water. The Chief of the Beavers made his way to the Columbia River, knowing he would die unless he made it to the *nChe-wana* (“The Big River”). In his struggle, the Chief of the Beavers broke several of his dams, releasing the water. Now it was the youngest boy who worried, for he would die if the Chief of the Beavers dragged him to the *nChe-wana*, and he grasped at plants to hold him and the Chief of the Beavers in the rushing water; the first four broke, but that last held.

Once the water drained and the four brothers caught up to him, they killed the Chief and scattered his body parts, which brought forth the various peoples of the Columbia (like the Cayuse, as noted above). They then returned to the original, now drained, site. “This is what we wanted!” as Goudy told of the conversation among the brothers, “[w]e now have country fixed ready for the Indians. It is best for us to hide before the Indians grow up [i.e., humans appear].” They sought out a lake in which to hide, but the lakes the elder brothers chose were not deep enough; it was the youngest brother who found the appropriate lake (Lake Keechelus), which he sighted from the mountain named *Mo-kehl* (“animal built house,” that is, the Chief of the Beavers’ dam), located north of the Yakima River in Kittitas County, Washington. Aside from narrating the creation of the Plateau and some of its lakes and mountains, the story and those geographical features relay laws that emphasize the importance of councils, discussion, and collective decision-making as well as how younger members of society can contribute. It also calls on elders to take seriously the opinions of their younger family members. As Clifford Trafzer emphasizes, these are not mere stories for entertainment but instead are facts and truths for these Native American cultures and what bind communities (Trafzer 1998, 15, 54–61, 54n.2, 55n.3, 61n.10). If oral stories and histories were the glue of society, then the stories also engrained in the landscapes were like superglue that not only more strongly reinforced communal values but also bound together the people, the values and laws, and place.

The landscapes and stories were not static, however. Paiutes exiled to the Yakama and then Warm Springs Reservations after their uprising in the 1870s—at the latter they resided with the Wascos—brought with them a moralistic story on the treatment of others from their traditional lands near modern-day Reno, Nevada; this story found a new home in the oral traditions among mid-Columbia bands and, in some places, in the landscape of the Northwest. On Pyramid Lake northwest of Reno stands the “Stone Mother,” or *Kit-si-na-o* (“the one who weeps alone”), to remind Paiutes of the proper way to treat others, especially the less fortunate. *Kit-si-an-o* was the mother of a large number of healthy, strong children, whom she allowed to ridicule the frail, rather helpless child of *Skoolt-ka*. He was *Skoolt-ka*’s only child and she adored him to no end. *Skoolt-ka* was so troubled by her child’s tormentors that she was brought to fits of tears, and her crying caught the attention of her guardian spirit, the wolf. To determine the best response to this improper treatment of *Skoolt-ka*’s only child, her tamahnous (wolf) convened a council of wolves. It deliberated and decided the punishment was for *Kit-si-an-o* to lose all her children; subsequently, wolves devoured them all. Saddened, *Kit-si-an-o* retreated to the lakeside to weep over her tremendous loss, where the keeper of the

dead turned her into stone to serve as a reminder to the Paiutes of the proper way to treat weak members of their society—it also highlighted the importance of council and deliberation (Philips 1902, 114–23).

Although transplanted, Kit-si-an-o found new landscapes, at least among the Haida north of Puget Sound, which is indicative of the ways Native Americans acculturated new stories and applied them to old places. A late nineteenth century white Northwesterner J.A. Costello recorded the Haida's Kit-si-an-o story, noting that:

....in time she became incorporated with it [a rock on which Kit-si-an-o sat and wept] and to this day a traveler on the Prince of Wales Island who chances to call into American Bay will see this modern Niobe bent over and weeping bitterly. The Haida asks no questions as to the authenticity of these stories, the fact that they have been carved on wood and slate, and that the said rock is in existence is conclusive proof. (Costello 1895, 139)

Paul Kane, an artist who traveled in the Northwest during the 1840s, related a Nisqually story, akin to the Kit-si-an-o one imported to the Northwest, about a widow transformed into a rock along the Nisqually River shoreline. Unlike the Paiutes' Kit-si-an-o story, this lesson targeted siblings, reminding them to treat one another respectfully and to think about the effects of their ill-will toward each other. The widow had four sons, one from her first marriage and three from her second. The three younger brothers treated their elder half-brother poorly, despite his efforts at reconciliation. Unbeknownst to the three younger brothers, the older brother had tamahnous powers (that is, he had shamanistic power to heal and harm), and he finally resorted to using tamahnous against them. Harnessing his spiritual power, he sent them on a journey from which they never returned. Worried, the widow went looking for them and became depressed when she couldn't find them. Sitting on the shoreline of the Nisqually River "bemoaning their absence," she was turned to stone. Not attuned to the message, Kane did not see any resemblance in the rock as his Nisqually guides canoed him by it, but he added that "standing, however, as this rock does, entirely isolated, and without any other being visible for miles around, it has naturally become an object of special note to the Indians" (Kane 1859, 250–55).



Fig. 5. The basalt cliffs carved out by the Columbia River east of The Dalles as mid-19th-century Indians would have seen them. The Indian residence near the shore was likely an Upper Chinookan or Sahaptin summer encampment, at which they fished for salmon and traded, communicated, and interacted with a variety of Native peoples thanks to reserved rights contained in their 1855 treaty to access traditional sites.

The cliff faces on the mid-Columbia have significance for the oral traditions of the Chinookans that relay ideal behaviors for in-laws. For the Wasco, as Sitting Rock narrated to Lucullus Virgil McWhorter in 1921, a cave across the river from them tells of the importance of patience and obedience. A part of the longer narrative of the battle between Eagle and Chinook [or Chinook Wind], the story connected to this cave was Chinook abandoning his stepmother for not obeying his command. The two were canoeing home, when Chinook grew tired and fell asleep on her lap, but, before dozing off, he had instructed her to not awaken him no matter what she saw. Soon, seeing worms crawling from his mouth, ears, nose, and eyes, she was startled and dropped him from her lap, the worms disappearing as he awoke. Disappointed in her behavior, as Sitting Rock told it, Chinook abandoned the woman in “a cave in the cliff along the river. I can show you that cave up in the rocks, up in the side of the wall-rock. It is there today” (Trafzer 1998, 121–24, 237).¹⁴ Since the Columbia served as a central highway for the Northwest Natives,

the message connected to the cave was read often by the Wascos and surely shared with others who gathered with them along The Dalles of the river to fish and trade.

The “Laws” and Histories

Among the more important laws set forth by the Great Spirit through Coyote was that of reciprocity, and that is evident in the tales of Coyote’s transformation of the physical world for the coming of humans. The Great Spirit created the physical world to sustain native peoples, and they were expected to reciprocate through rituals and respect in their use of it; their physical surroundings conveyed reminders of that and of creation. For the Spokane and Coeur d’Alene tribes, the features of the Spokane River they shared were the result of Coyote’s quest for a wife. When the Spokanes (again, the pre-human ancestors of the Spokane) obliged his request by offering one of their women as his future wife, Coyote reciprocated by creating the rapids in the Spokane River, thereby making an excellent spot for them to fish. The Coeur d’Alenes, by rejecting Coyote’s request, received the opposite; Coyote created the Spokane Falls to prevent the fish from migrating upriver to Coeur d’Alene territory (Bagley 1982, 132–33). The Yakama, who had extensive connections with those groups through marriage and kinship, embedded that story into their own landscape. As Mrs. Skouken John related to McWhorter in 1917, when the Toppenish Creek band did not offer a wife to Coyote, he prevented salmon from going up that creek by transforming his daughter to stone, declaring “I am placing my daughter in the middle of the water so the salmon will not pass.” As Mrs. Skouken John emphasized, “Coyote did this and the daughter is still there,” reminding the Yakama to reciprocate. It is important to note that Coyote’s daughter does not only play a negative role; when Coyote created the Wenatchee Falls, the Klickitat Storyteller An-nee-shiat related, he strategically placed his daughter, “a big rock,” in the river and “[a]t this place salmon jump and she rules,” providing the Natives an excellent fishing site. Natives found the same lesson on reciprocity in the looming mountains. McWhorter recorded one such story from the Plateau about Pah-to and *Tahoma* (Mt. Rainer). Coyote had moved the two mountain chiefs to colder areas without berries or good salmon runs in retaliation for them not wanting to marry his daughter (Trafzer 1998, 97–106, 110–14, 274–76). They believed clear messages infiltrated the landscapes, highlighting the isolation and unproductiveness that came from a lack of reciprocity.

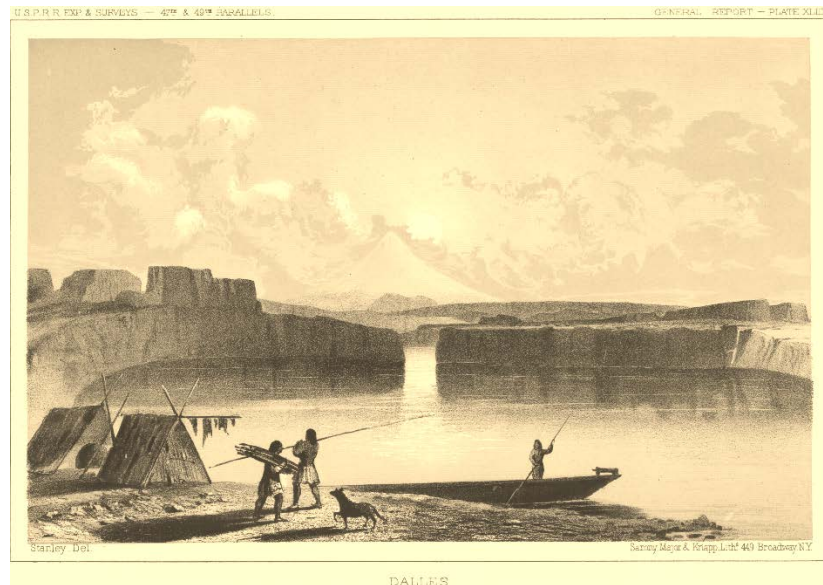
Landscapes did not have to be extant to convey meaning. Another Klickitat story on reciprocity is connected to a no-longer extant geographic feature. Narrating the origin of fire, this story is tied to the Bridge of the Gods, or the Tamahnous Bridge,

that once spanned the Columbia River at the Cascade Mountains. *Loowit*, a “witch-woman,” lived under the bridge in “the time of their remote grandfathers” (so, within the human-era) and she had the only fire available in the world. Seeing how pathetically cold the Klickitats on the right bank and Multnomah band on the left were, Loowit provided them with fire by setting it in the middle of the bridge that spanned between them. The Great Spirit, witnessing and pleased by the act of generosity, reciprocated by granting her one wish; she requested youth and beauty and the Great Spirit provided. That bridge, while it stood and where it was after its collapse, remained a sacred site—and not just to the Klickitats. As the Wasco member Ana-whoah (Black Bear) recalled in 1914, “Some of my ancestors, old people, saw and passed under that Bridge. . . . It was law, the rule, that when the canoes journeyed through the waterway, no Indian was to look up. None see the Bridge, must not look up at the rocks of the Bridge.” Clifford Trafzer explains that “the Bridge of the Gods was a sacred place, too powerful for people to study with their eyes. Such natural wonders, including mountains, rocks, and areas, are not to be violated by humans with their eyes or their feet. Some such sites today are sacred to native peoples but they are not supposed to touch, see, or walk upon such places.” This was one of numerous stories tied to the bridge and, while it was taboo for many Natives to look at where the bridge was, recollecting that geographical feature reinforced stories of creation and reciprocity for a number of Columbia River bands (Bagley 1982, 135–36; Trafzer 1998, 197–202, 201n.13). These creation stories are great examples of the interplay of the past and present, place and people, while explaining the origins of resources like fire and dictating proper social behavior.

Stories on reciprocity and other demands were not necessarily unchanging, as there were dynamic connections between Northwest Natives and the terrain around them. While Coyote did not seek glory by transforming the world and promulgating laws, he and the Great Spirit did demand respect. A (relatively) recently recorded lesson on gambling was written into the Klickitat landscape—recent because the story includes horses, which did not arrive among the Plateau peoples until c.1730s. Recorded on paper by Washington Territorial Governor Isaac Stevens in 1854, it is about the creation of the prized valley within the Klickitat lands, the Tahk Prairie, which had been a lakebed during the time of the ancients or Animal People. According to Stevens’ Klickitat source, Coyote had drained the water to create a lush prairie—which he copiously planted with camas bulbs (an onion-like plant) and *wapatos* (an edible tuber), central plant staples of the Native American diet in much of the Northwest—and ordered the salmon to swim through the stream to sustain them. Negligent of their obligations to show

respect to Coyote though “fishing and the business of life,” the Klickitat instead spent all their time horseracing and gambling. Coyote, as a punishment, took away the salmon and placed two large stone blocks on the Prairie “beyond which they [the Klickitats] could not pass.” Apparently, the lesson represented by the stone pillars often went unheeded as there were plenty of horse races and gambling still occurring in the late nineteenth century (Office of Indian Affairs 1855, 229).¹⁵ This story likely emerged after contact with missionaries, since they did chastise Natives for such behavior and the message does mesh well with the “Protestant work ethic” missionaries attempted to instill in native peoples of the Northwest. Moreover, contests involving gambling—whether horse or foot races or various games—were a customary and accepted activity during inter-band gatherings. Indeed, for the Coast Salish bands of Puget Sound at least, the acquisition of a certain guardian spirit bestowed gambling prowess (Raibmon 2005, 106). Whether or not the impetus behind its creation was contact with Christian missionaries, it reflects how Natives imprinted new stories—or altered old ones—onto the landscape.

The landscape often spoke of the transformation era and creation, but it also included texts on regional histories. The Klickitat story above about the Bridge of the Gods is an example of a shared history between bands. It also exemplifies a dominant thread of that history: the rivalries and animosities among Chinookan-speaking bands and their upstream neighbors living along the Columbia River. The most notable conflict was between the Lower Chinookans (e.g., Chinook and Clatsop near the mouth) and the Upper Chinookans (Wasco-Wishram, among others, near the Cascades), the origin of which the Wishram recorded in the landscape. The Wishram on the north side and the Wasco on the south side of the Columbia occupied the most important fishing sites in the Northwest—the Cascades (the obstructed part of the river, not the mountains) and The Dalles. The fisheries there attracted Native Americans from as far away as modern-day British Columbia, California, and east of the Rockies during the fishing seasons (Stern 1998, 641–42), and occupying that site made the Wasco-Wishram central players in the pre-contact regional economy. That, of course, provoked envy and continual hostility from Lower Columbia River bands.



Figs. 6 & 7. As the Columbia River ran through the Cascade Mountains it produced several hydraulic effects that made the locale a prime site for fishing, especially for salmon and eels, to this day. First are the Celilo Falls (no longer extant after being inundated by 20th-century dam building), then the Cascades or rapids, and the narrowing of the river or “the Dalles.” This area became a hub of a trade network spanning from Canada to California and the Pacific to the Great Plains. The water carving into the basalt basin also resulted in numerous rock forms in the area that assimilated myths for the region’s people.

According to the Wishram story, the origin of their success and of the tensions was a large luminous stone at their settlements, another non-extant geological feature. The stone glowed brightly at night, allowing them more time to fish and to gather edible plants along the banks of the Columbia. It afforded them, as Yakima Reservation physician George Kuykendall recorded from Klickitat residents, “an abundance of fish and all the comforts of Indian living.” That is until the jealous neighboring bands conspired to level the playing field by attacking the Wishram and toppling the large spiritual stone into the river. After that, the Wishrams

fumbled around at night and their prosperity waned quickly. They did eventually retrieve the stone from the river bed and reset it, only to have the envious bands align again once their prosperity returned and permanently destroy it. The rivalry continued ever after, and the Wishram had to settle for what they could obtain during the daylight (Kuykendall 1889, 76). In this case, as with the Tamahnous Bridge, it is what was missing in the landscape that relayed a history lesson.

For the Wasco, a spurned marriage proposal involving Coyote's granddaughter helped to explain the animosities between the Lower and Upper Chinookan bands, a story written onto cliffs around the famous Multnomah Falls. As told by Ana-whoah (Wasco)—who first heard the story from her mother in the early nineteenth century and retold it to L. V. McWhorter in 1911—a Lower Chinookan boy, *Nihs-lah*, sought a wife and found a suitable mate in *Sko-lus*, a girl who lived near the Multnomah Falls. Nihs-lah had made the upriver journey without the consent of his parents and *Sko-lus* agreed to his proposal without the consent of hers, and she left with him to return to his people. Coyote, viewing *Sko-lus* as his granddaughter, followed the couple to ensure her safety. Upon learning of Nihs-lah's actions, his parents prohibited the marriage, and *Sko-lus* and Coyote sat for five days, hoping they would change their minds. Learning of his parents' hostility, Coyote returned to the falls with the girl and, in retaliation, turned Nihs-lah into a half-man, half-fish monster. Coyote commanded the man-fish (Nihs-lah) to haunt the waters of the Columbia near the Multnomah Falls and to rise up "about every two moons" when the Lower Columbia people come up the river and "...become mad. The wind will blow hard, the waters rising high will kill people. This will be well for we are enemies." Coyote was not finished with the transformations, Ana-whoah added. "Coyote placed the girl on the opposite side of the nChe-wana, and called her *Sko-lus*. She is there to this day, the tall cliff, the rim-rock above the river," serving as a reminder of the Lower Chinooks' past rejection of the Wasco maiden (Trafzer 1998, 156–57).

There were also histories of cooperation and peace among bands in the mid-Columbia region and bands elsewhere in the Northwest embedded into the terrain. According to a Klickitat creation story, a segment of a longer transformation myth, the Great Spirit had two sons who had ventured together to The Dalles. Seeing how beautiful the region was, the two began to squabble over who would inhabit it. To settle the dispute, the Great Spirit shot two arrows, ordering his sons to settle where their respective arrow fell. One fell between the Yakima and Columbia Rivers, and the son who settled there became the progenitor of the Klickitats; the other arrow landed in the Lower Willamette River Valley, and that son was the

ancestor of the Multnomah. Wanting to demarcate their territories to maintain peace, but also connect them, the Great Spirit built up the Cascade Mountains and created the aforementioned Bridge of the Gods (Tamahnous Bridge). Peace was maintained until the leaders of the Multnomah and Klickitat bands met Loowit, that one-time witch turned young and beautiful by the Great Spirit after introducing fire to the two peoples. While all the nearby chiefs sought the hand of the newly transformed beauty, she only found the Multnomah and Klickitat chiefs worthy suitors. However, she could not decide between the two chiefs and, in turn, the two chiefs and their bands went to war. Displeased, the Great Spirit destroyed the bridge between them and killed both chiefs and Loowit. However, as they were “beautiful in life,” the Great Spirit wanted them to be “beautiful in death.” Thus, as a message to both bands to end hostilities between them and to keep their beauty in the region, he transformed the Multnomah chief, the Klickitat Chief, and Loowit into what whites labeled, respectively, Mt. Hood, Mt. Rainer, and Mt. St. Helens (Bagley 1982, 135–36). Peace did remain among them, and Klickitat bands and individuals were common visitors in the Willamette Valley into the reservation-era—an era when US agents did their best to keep them on their reservations (George Curry to Maj. G. A. Raines 19 October 1855; Office of Indian Affairs 1856, 194–95).

Similarly, many smaller-scale rock features taught the lesson of peaceful relations to the inhabitants of the Chinookan-speaking Wasco villages and the Sahaptin-speaking Tenino (Wa’yam) villages. Roughly five miles apart, these villages marked the boundary between the two dominant language groups on the Columbia River. The story tells of a war that erupted between the two over a Wasco woman who faked her own death to leave her husband for a Tenino man, a war that made Coyote furious. Declaring as law that “a woman should never cause war,” Speel-ya transformed members of both villages, declaring “you people of Tenino become rocks, and you Wascoes be rocks.” As ethnographer Edward Sapir’s informant relayed to him, “both sides are standing there to this day, all rocks,” relaying Coyote’s demand of friendly relations between them (Sapir 1909, 242–43).



Fig. 8. Being among the highest peaks in the Northwest, Mt. Hood—like the other mountains in the Cascade Range—played a prominent role in the cultural geography of the regions native peoples.

A landscape myth from the Upper Chinookan village of Clowwewalla, at the falls of the Willamette River nearby modern-day Oregon City, metaphorically conveyed the economic bonds that tied Clowwewalla to the Kalapuyan peoples to the south. Inhabiting the area around the Willamette Falls, another important salmon fishing site in the Northwest, allowed the Clowwewalla to establish important economic and kinship ties with numerous peoples. Salmon was among the most important trade items. Their story of “The Skookum and the Wonder Boy” documents that economic relationship, specifically with the Santiam band of Kalapuya; parts of the story are written in both of their landscapes. Louis Labonte, whose maternal grandfather was the Clatsop Chief Caboway, recorded the story in c.1900; the story begins with an “evil spirit,” the *Skookum*, descending on the pre-human Clowwewalla village. All but the chief’s pregnant wife perished. Giving birth shortly afterward, she was determined to ensure her son was protected and took him to various tamahnous waters so he could hopefully acquire spiritual guidance, powers, and protection. He did, and, as a young warrior, he used his prowess and powers to destroy the Skookum and resurrect his father and the entire band. Unfortunately, his father did not recognize him and had no recollection of the events since the village’s demise and challenged Wonder Boy. After sustaining verbal and physical hostilities from his unwitting father, Wonder Boy fled to the

falls to grieve. His grieving was so doleful that torrents of tears fell from each eye, boring two holes into the basalt stone on the edge of the falls, which were still present during Labonte's lifetime. Wonder Boy turned himself into a salmon and sought solace in the waters of the Willamette. The mighty Willamette Falls, however, were too noisy, so the now "Salmon Boy" swam up stream. Finding the waters of the Molalla and other tributary rivers also too chaotic, he ventured further into Kalapuya territory, finding suitable waters in the Santiam River. There the Salmon Boy remained until Coyote chanced upon him during his transformation trek and changed him into a fish-shaped rock in the stream. Aside from being a memorial salmon paid tribute to as they swam up the Santiam River, this rock—along with the holes at the falls—directly connected the Clowwewalla Chinookan and Santiam Kalapuyan bands and reminded viewers of that important relationship that transcended language and cultural differences (Juntunen et al. 2005, 98–100; Lyman 1900, 169–70, 185–87).

Sites of Spiritual Presence

Some sites went beyond merely relaying tales and physically intervened in the lives of Natives as places that were homes to spirits, either malicious or beneficial/protective. Seatco, taking various forms according to the people telling the story, threatened many groups. On the southern Oregon Coast, Seatco haunted the shoreline and awaited wayward visitors. A rock formation along the beach tells the tale of the daughter of Chief Siskiyou from the interior—who had wandered to the beach with her dog and a basket of raccoon cubs during a potlatch—to remind the Natives of the dangerous place. Her father found her the next morning, transformed by Seatco into stone, along with her barking dog and raccoon cubs, the formation standing as a testament of Seatco's power. This version of the Seatco story may have had children as the target audience with a moral regarding listening to elders and/or a warning against isolating oneself during communal events. Among the Southern Coast Salish-speaking Nisqually of the Southern shore of Puget Sound, Seatco was more nebulous, lurking in "dark retreats," looking to steal children and kill unsuspecting travelers. He was distinct, however, from other malicious spirits inhabiting sites within Nisqually territory such as *Whe-atche*, who resided in the lake Nisquallies named after her (which Euro-Americans renamed Steilacoom Lake). For many of the Chinookan and Sahaptin peoples, the monster (called *Isti-plah* among the Yakama) resided at the Mouth of the Columbia River and swallowed people during the pre-human times; however, after five tries, Coyote was able to kill the monster and ordered the river to no longer swallow people.¹⁶ Apparently Coyote's control over the river did not extend to Euro-

Americans, since the mouth of the river swallowed a good number of them as they began arriving in the 1810s (Bergmann 2008, 40–41).¹⁷

The active volcano Mt. St. Helens, not surprisingly, was home to malicious spirits that controlled human-like cannibals. Mt. St. Helens, Southwestern Coast Salish-speaking Natives also claimed, contained a lake in the center that had fish with the heads of bears. Paul Kane, an artist “wandering among the Indians” in the 1840s, recorded that story and wrote that his native informants (who may have been Cowlitz) claimed two Natives had gone there and only one had returned, just barely, to confirm the legend (Kane 1859, 199). In the late 1830s, Samuel Parker of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions described the location of a malicious spirit on the northern bank of the Columbia River near where the Cowlitz River merged with it. While sharing the northern bank with Nihs-lah, this is a distinct water spirit down river from him. At the point of confluence of the two rivers “there are some dark recesses in the basaltic rocks,” as Parker recorded of his trip upriver, that Natives canoeing the river avoided. Parker’s unnamed “Indian chief” who accompanied him on his voyage had “warned Capt. L. not to approach those dark places; for they were the residence of bad spirits, who would destroy the ship and all on board.” In an effort to erode such indigenous beliefs, “Capt. L purposely passed near the place; and the Indian [probably petrified] was astonished that we escaped unhurt, and concluded there must have been some great ‘medicine’ in the ship which defended us” (Parker 1846, 248–49). While Parker and “Capt. L.” tried to repudiate this man’s spiritual beliefs, their effort only reinforced his belief in the great spiritual assistance Euro-Americans must have had. This episode illustrates how steadfast these beliefs were and how Northwest Natives had incorporated Euro-Americans into their physical and spiritual worlds.

Such geographic oddities and sites not only contained evil spirits but could also contain beneficial ones. For the Kalapuyans of the Northern Willamette Valley (that is, members of the Tualatin and Yamhill bands), Spirit Mountain was a sacred site on which shamans and warriors gained powerful guardian spirits after a successful spirit quest. For the Puyallup and Nisqually of Puget Sound, it was Tahoma (Mt. Rainer) as well as Medicine Creek. It was via spirits at those sites, for example, that shamans received their tamahnous power to heal and harm. Those sites, in turn, remained with the recipient for life; as Trafzer aptly noted, “The places where individuals received their power are often on their minds, particularly in times of crisis” (Carpenter 1968, 14; Trafzer 1998, 23).



Fig. 9. Spirit Mountain is the most important spiritual site for the Kalapuyan peoples of the Willamette Valley in Oregon. Fortunately, although termination of the mid-20th century dissolved the tribe and reservation for about thirty years, the Kalapuyans were able to remain near the mountain after removal in the 1850s. Although a lumber company now owns Spirit Mountain, members of the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde continue to visit and it continues to sustain them physically and spiritually.

The Northern Kalapuyans were fortunate to have convinced President James Buchanan to make permanent the temporary Grand Ronde Reservation—to which they and a number of tribes from across western Oregon were removed in the 1855—for it was located in their traditional locales and afforded them the ability to remain in the shadow of Spirit Mountain. Despite the Grand Ronde agents and missionaries' determined efforts to curtail spirit quests to the mountain, men continued to sneak away to the mountain. As visiting clergyman R.W. Summers recorded in the late 1870s, "Nothing had as yet shaken the Indians' faith in his [i.e., a shaman] power over life and death after he came down out of the mountain"

(Summers [1871–1878]). Living close to that sacred site kept that indigenous tradition alive and well. They could still read the texts layered onto it. Had the US government removed them elsewhere, their cultural loss would have been far more rapid and thorough. Their Grand Ronde co-residents like the Klamath and Umpqua of southern Oregon and Northern California were not so fortunate.

Removal from Lands and Lessons

Creation stories and moral lessons embedded in the physical geography informed and reminded generations of Northwest Natives of proper social and cultural behavior and record laws and histories. Removal to reservations after 1855 not only restricted their access to lands and means of subsistence but also removed them from those lessons *in* the landscapes. Understanding that helps to shed light on the urgent need of Pacific Northwest Natives in the mid-1850s to negotiate a reservation within their traditional lands and, when that failed, on the warfare beginning in 1855 and the refusal of a good number of bands and individuals to relocate to assigned reservations. During his conversations with McWhorter in the early twentieth century, Yakama elder White Eagle conveyed the importance of retaining access to lesson-laden landscapes, in which the Yakama embedded more stories during the treaty-era: “This is why we want Pah-to within our own reservation boundary. That mountain belongs to us. A witness to our treaty with Governor Stevens. White Eagle, ever points upward to the Great Maker who heard the promises of that treaty.” Both Takhoma (Tahoma) and Pah-to are sacred places for the Yakama, and Yakamas have maintained strong affinities with the mountains (Trafzer 1998, 274n.2).¹⁸

Oregon and Washington Natives were active participants during the 1850s treaty negotiations and some successfully secured *parts* of their important lands and the lessons they contained. The first US treaty efforts in Oregon in 1851 were a complete failure because Native residents of the Willamette Valley and along the Columbia River adamantly refused to relocate. Federal agents did negotiate eighteen treaties with the Willamette Valley (5) and Lower Columbia (13) bands (Anson Dart to Luke Lea 1851), but they could not convince a single band/village to remove to east of the mountains, which was a requirement of the Office of Indian Affairs. Largely because of that, the US Senate tabled all the treaties (Fisher 1996, 152; Beckham 2006, 105). Though ultimately unsuccessful efforts, these failed treaty talks demonstrate the Natives’ steadfast desire to retain connections to important lands. Leaders of the Santiam band of Kalapuya in the Central Willamette Valley were adamant about retaining the lands between the forks of the

Santiam River and rebuffed the 1851 commissioners' continual requests to relocate; they had deliberately redirected white settlers from that tract for years as a means of protecting it. In disbelief of their determination, the commissioners asked the translator if they understood that the US government was going to provide them with "equally good" land east of the Cascades. He confirmed that the message was not lost in translation, adding that "they don't seem to like its being pressed upon them." When asked again about relocating, Santiam headman Al-que-ma declared their "minds were made up" and that they would "rather be shot" than remove (Beckham 2006, 118–24; Office of Indian Affairs 1851, 205–06; Spaulding [1852–1854?]). Throughout the Valley, and "without exception," the 1851 commissioners found Natives "possessed of local attachments of the strongest kind" (Office of Indian Affairs 1851, 207–10, 217). Because there was "not the least prospect that a single band will leave their present homes," the 1851 commissioners had to accept treaties that violated the US goal of removing and consolidating bands and tribes on as few reservations as possible. Because of that, the Senate refused to ratify them (Dart to Luke Lea 1850; Dart to Luke Lea 1851; Office of Indian Affairs 1851, 214–15).

The next round of treaty-making came three years later, beginning in December 1854 and lasting throughout 1855, and US negotiators, like Washington Territorial Governor Isaac I. Stevens, found the same adamancy about retaining lands. Governor Stevens argued in 1854, and before treaty negotiations, that there was no point in removing the Southwestern Washington Natives since they would likely just return to "the[ir] old haunts" (Office of Indian Affairs 1855, 241). Governor Stevens and, eventually, his counterpart in Oregon, Joel Palmer, acceded to some Natives' demands to retain portions of their lands and convinced those relocated to now confederated reservations with treaty clauses reserving access to "usual and accustomed" places.¹⁹ Some members of the Puyallup and Nisqually bands of Lower Puget Sound used the war in 1855–56 as a means of negotiating for a reservation including some of their traditional lands and succeeded; through executive orders in 1857 and 1874, the US government conceded to more suitable reservations, increasing the amount of acreage tenfold (Isaac I. Stevens to George Manypenny 1856; Harmon 1998, 91; Ruby, Brown, and Collins 2010, 201, 214, 237). The Sahaptin bands that would become known as the Columbia River People refused to relocate whatsoever, interpreting access to "usual and accustomed" places as the right to remain permanently at those sites along the Columbia River that had sustained and defined their existences for untold generations (see Fisher 2010).

Certainly a number of factors were behind the Northwest Natives' steadfast efforts to retain certain parts of their lands in exchange for clear title in American legal terms: Natives understood that uncultivated land to the east was valued less and was not as productive; they believed the prices offered for the lands were not high enough; they wanted to ensure the guardianship of burial sites; some wanted to maintain the farms they had already cultivated or to continue laboring in American communities; numerous Native American negotiators expressed concerns about confederating with other bands, and so on. Surely, however, maintaining access to the lands containing innumerable stories and lesson augmented the economic, personal, and social arguments against removal.

Even when successful, and despite the treaty rights to access the "usual and accustomed" sites, assimilation demands, reservation life, and white settlement limited their access. Fences of whites blocked their trails and access to the rivers and closed off gathering lands—the sites of these stories; white homesteads and expanding towns appropriated evermore of the lesson-laden lands with each passing decade of the late nineteenth century (for more on this, see Bergmann forthcoming). Those restrictions and pressures and the often mute landscapes of the reservations attributed to the cultural loss and social disintegration that accompanied reservation life in the late nineteenth century. Natives did come to develop new attachments to the land, now as agriculturists (and as the reservation land came to hold the remains of their kin), only to face similar detachment with the arrival of allotment in the 1870s and 1880s. Removal was both physical and cultural, as native peoples lost more than just their lands in the process. Lost, too, were the stories maintaining the proper social practices and behavior, cultural attributes, and the histories of the regional indigenous societies written onto those lands.



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Maps and Illustrations

- Fig. 1: Gifford, Benjamin A, photographer. 1899. *The Home Guard—On the Columbia*. Retrieved from the Library of Congress. Accessed 14 July 2016. <https://www.loc.gov/item/95522798/>
- Fig. 2: Map originally published in *Indians of the Pacific Northwest*, by Robert Ruby and John Brown. Copyright © 1988 by the University of Oklahoma Press, Norman. Reprinted by permission of the publisher. All rights reserved.
- Fig. 3: "Early Indian Tribes, Culture Areas, and Linguistic Stocks—Western U.S." Courtesy of the University of Texas Libraries. The University of Texas at Austin. Accessed 30 June 2016. http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/united_states/early_indian_west.jpg.

Fig. 4: Curtis, Edward S., photographer. 1910. *The Middle Columbia*. Image. Retrieved from the Library of Congress. Accessed July 14, 2016. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2002722473/>.

Fig. 5: “Scene on the Columbia River at The Dalles with Tipi in the Middle Distance.” [1860?]. Image. Retrieved from the Library of Congress. Accessed July 14, 2016. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2005680430/>.

Fig. 6: Gifford, Benjamin A., photographer. 1906. *Middle Cascades, Columbia River*. Image. Retrieved from the Library of Congress. Accessed July 14, 2016. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2007662709/>.

Fig. 7: Sarony, Major & Knapp Lith. [1855?]. *Dalles*. Image. *Major & Knapp, Liths. 449 Broadway, N.Y.* Retrieved from the Library of Congress. Accessed July 14, 2016. <https://www.loc.gov/item/95513912/>.

Fig. 8: Detroit Photographic Co. 1901. *Mt. Hood from the Columbia River*. Image. Retrieved from the Library of Congress. Accessed July 14, 2016. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2008678163/>.

Fig. 9: “Spirit Mountain, Grand Ronde Indian Reservation.” OrHi 019372. Courtesy of the Oregon Historical Society.

Endnotes

¹ Trafzer notes (p.36n.4) that the stories themselves are also sacred.

² As Trafzer aptly stated: the creative time associated with many stories “is at once past and present. . . . The creative time occurred at one point in time, but is very much related to the present and future.” This certainly applies to stories in the landscapes as well.

³ While understudied, these connections have been analyzed by a few scholars for specific groups, most notably ethnographer Keith H. Basso’s *Wisdom Sits in Places* (1996). Basso’s work introduced me to this fascinating subject and influenced my approach in researching Northwest Natives. See also Akers 1999. Eugene Hunn’s seminal study of the Plateau alludes to the cultural significance of sites, but leaves it at Plateau peoples “naming culturally significant places” without getting into details on why they were significant (Hunn 1990, 93–95).

⁴ There are multiple spellings and uses of the word “tamahnous.” This spelling is from Chinook Jargon, a pidgin language in the region.

⁵ Basso’s work contains a good example of this. Basso related one young Western Apache woman’s response to him pointing out a specific site as “I know that place. It stalks me every day” (Basso 1996, 57).

⁶ Coyote was important to most Northwest peoples and, naturally, each often has their own spelling of his name.

⁷ This was a pre-human epoch in which human-like animals, Coyote, Beaver, and Blue Jay being among the most important ones, inhabited the earth. When the name of an animal is capitalized, it is referring to one of these ancient peoples. For some bands, Blue Jay played the role of transformer and was more prominent than Coyote.

⁸ For more on analyzing these oral stories, Ramsey 1983, especially Chapter Three, and Kroeber 1981.

⁹ There are several extant versions of this story recorded in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; details of the story vary, but the message remains constant. In some cases, the varying details are due to the filtering of prudish whites—e.g., the Clackamas Chinookan story, narrated by Victoria Jacobs and recorded by an ethnographer in the early 20th century, refers to Coyote partaking in self-fellatio. Late 19th-century Victorians like Kuykendall, not surprisingly, did not record such licentious details (incomplete Wishram version).

¹⁰ Coyote's three sisters lived in Coyote's bowels, and when he sought their advice, which he did often, he defecated, and they appeared in the form of feces to interact with him. This was another detail Victorian-era recorders of Native American stories often glossed over.

¹¹ Stories of Coyote's journey up or down the Columbia River were common and central stories among Chinookan and Sahaptin peoples.

¹² Myron Eells recorded a similar story among the Puget Sound Natives (Castile 1985, 365).

¹³ While this Palouse story shares themes with the European turtle and hare tale, as Trafzer aptly reminds us, these "[s]tories are not juvenile literature or fairy tales that grow with the telling. They are facts and truths of Native American cultures and communities. They are at once history and literature, religion and law" (Trafzer 1998, 15).

¹⁴ This is a Wasco version of a common Chinookan story. L.V. McWhorter was a historian and neighbor and friend of the Yakama, among other Plateau peoples, who collected for posterity a number of tales in the early 1900s (Trafzer 1998, xi).

¹⁵ For a Wishram (Wishom) law on gambling written onto the landscape, see *Che-pos-To-cos*, "How Young Eagle Killed *Pah-he-nux'-twy*," in Trafzer 1998, 187–91.

¹⁶ For stories of Seatco and similar monsters, see: Beckham 1998, 15–16 (Southern Coast Seatco); Wickersham 1898, 348 (Nisqually Seatco) and 350 (Whe-athe); Thompson and Egesdal 2008, 135; Trafzer 1998, 146–48 (Isti-plah).

¹⁷ Nihs-lah, the man-fish noted above, also proved to haunt Euro-Americans near the Cascades (Trafzer 1998, 156–57).

¹⁸ The continued centrality of Pah-to to the Yakama is evidenced by the dominant presence of the mountain on the Yakama Nation's flag and seals. The same is true for the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde flag and Spirit Mountain. Images of both can be found on the tribes' websites:

<http://www.yakamanation.org/> and <http://www.grandronde.org/>.

¹⁹ The treaty texts can be found in Kappler 1904: 661–64 (Medicine Creek), 665–69 (Willamette Valley), 694–98 (Walla Walla), 698–702 (Yakama), 714–19 (Middle Oregon). It is available on-line via Text Archive at <http://www.archive.org/details/texts>.

Preserving Cultural Heritage and Creating Economic Stability after the Nepal Earthquake

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Abstract: During the summer of 2015, after my freshman year at The Pennsylvania State University, I was given the opportunity to spend about a month in Nepal where I worked at a non-governmental organization and created a project that would help Gatlang, a village that was horribly damaged by the earthquakes that struck Nepal in April and May of 2015. A few short weeks in Nepal were enough to change my perspective on the world forever. I still think about how lucky I am to have been granted an experience that most people could never dream of having. Even more than this, I realize how lucky I am to have never been forced to cope with the devastation of any disaster of the magnitude of the Nepal earthquake.

Keywords: Cultural Preservation; Disaster Relief; Nepal

doi:10.18113/P8ik260044

Preserving Cultural Heritage and Creating Economic Stability after the Nepal Earthquake

During the summer of 2015, after my freshman year at the Pennsylvania State University, I was given the opportunity to spend about a month in Nepal, where I worked at a non-governmental organization and created a project that would help Gatlang, a village that was horribly damaged by the earthquakes that struck Nepal in April and May of 2015. A few short weeks in Nepal were enough to change my perspective on the world forever. I still think about how lucky I am to have been granted an experience that most people could never dream of having. Even more than this, I realize how lucky I am to have never been forced to cope with the devastation of any disaster of the magnitude of the Nepal earthquake.

My journey first began when I met Dr. Pasang Sherpa on my very first day of college. She was the instructor for my introductory cultural anthropology class.

Like so many students in their first year of college, I was unsure of what I wanted to study, much less what kind of career I saw myself pursuing in the future. When Dr. Sherpa briefly described her research on climate change and its effects on Sherpa populations, I was instantly interested, and, although I was a shy new student, I decided I wanted to learn more. Under the direction of Dr. Sherpa, I ended up doing a fall semester research project about the radio communication of indigenous youths. I also took more anthropology classes, including one about the peoples of South Asia. This was my favorite class because the subject was new and extremely fascinating to me. Most of the classes I had taken in the past had focused on the history and cultures of the Western world. Studying cultural anthropology showed me the rich diversity of cultures that exists everywhere, especially outside of the places I was familiar with. The more I learned, particularly about indigenous populations, the more I wanted to know. I worked with Dr. Sherpa and planned to continue my research over the summer by travelling to Nepal and spending time with Sherpa populations. I was very eager to travel and continue exploring a subject and a region that I had become so passionate about. I submitted many proposals to fund my trip and everything seemed to be going well. All of this changed when Nepal was struck by a massive earthquake on April 25, 2015, killing thousands of people. I thought my hopes of travel to Nepal were over, and I was devastated that the country whose rich culture I was so fascinated by was suddenly filled with such chaos and destruction.

After the spring semester ended, I began a quiet summer at home, but, to my surprise, I received an email that funds were still available for my trip. Now, my trip had a new mission. Instead of conducting research, I would travel to Nepal to help with community rebuilding efforts. Thanks to Dr. Sherpa, I was able to work with Mountain Spirit, a Nepalese non-governmental organization led by her father, Dr. Mingma Sherpa. This organization's goal is to assist people living in the mountainous regions of northern Nepal.

I had never been on an airplane by myself, and now I was about to travel half way around the world solo. To say I was nervous would be an understatement. When I finally reached Kathmandu, I stayed with Dr. Sherpa's family, who did everything they could to make me feel at home in an unfamiliar place. The city of Kathmandu is huge and sprawling, unlike any place I had ever been before. I loved my time in the city, with its many World Heritage Sites, museums, and markets. It was heartbreaking to see the Boudhanath stupa, the biggest and oldest stupa in Nepal, covered in scaffolding while undergoing repairs. Many homes and businesses in

the city were also destroyed. Though I expected this, it was impossible to prepare myself for some of the destruction I saw.



Kathmandu



Kathmandu

For me, the most upsetting sights were on the road from Kathmandu to Gatlang Village, which is where I worked on my project. Many small villages and single homes that we passed on the bus ride were reduced to rubble. There were entire towns of people living in tents, unable to begin reconstruction on their homes due to the monsoon season, which lasts until the end of the summer. I was filled with emotions on the long bus ride into the mountains. I was shocked to see evidence of many mountain landslides, which had torn apart the road in some places. I was in awe of the natural beauty of the Himalayas, but I was heartbroken to see the lack of shelter and resources for many people affected by the earthquakes. After eight hours on a bus, followed by two hours of hiking where the road was too unreliable, I arrived in Gatlang Village, accompanied by Durga Tamang. Durga was born and grew up in this village, where he now runs a trekking company, as well as a small NGO. I originally met Durga in Kathmandu, where he lives part-time and his children attend school. It was there that we initially talked about ideas for my project in Gatlang. Most of my background information about Gatlang Village and the region comes from Durga Tamang, who was not only a knowledgeable guide, but a kind host and friend.

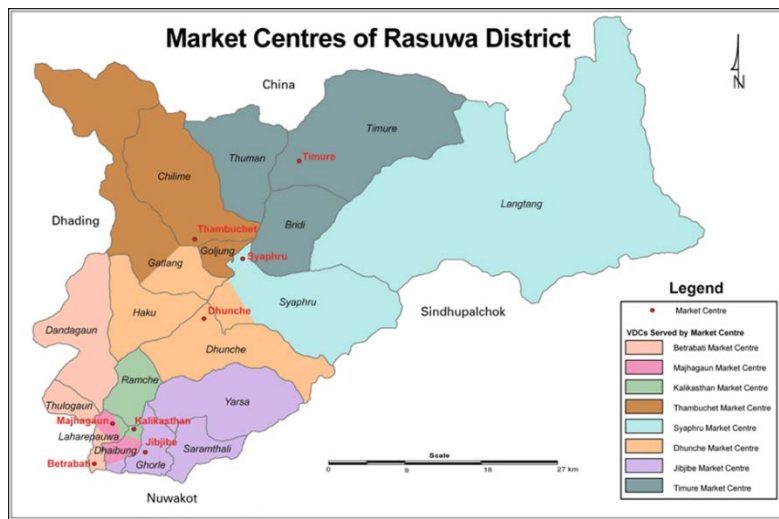
Background

Gatlang Village is a small community in the Rasuwa District in the Bagmati Zone of Northern Nepal and is one of several villages in the Gatlang Village Development Committee (VDC), an area known for the Tamang Heritage Trail.

This eight-day trekking route, as well as other trails in the area, has become increasingly popular with tourists from around the world. At an altitude of 2300 meters (6900 ft.), Gatlang village has beautiful views of Langtang Lirung and surrounding mountains. The trekking and tourism industry in this area is relatively new, however, as the Rasuwa District is remote, about eight hours by bus from the capital city of Kathmandu. Therefore, communities such as Gatlang Village have historically relied on agriculture as the main sector of their economy. The introduction of the tourism industry in 2003 has brought notable economic growth to the villages of Rasuwa, including Gatlang, which is one of the stops along the Tamang Heritage Trail.

Though located in a remote region, Gatlang Village does have road access to Kathmandu. This access is due to a project undertaken about three decades ago by the Nepalese government. This mountainous region is known to be rich in natural resources, which has attracted the interest of Nepalis, as well as outsiders that are trying to make a profit. Thirty years ago, an Indian company, in partnership with the Nepalese government, sent funding for the construction of a road. Nepal then sent members of its military to build a road from Kathmandu to the Gatlang area so that materials, including zinc and other minerals, could be extracted from the Ganesh Himal Mountain. Since the Nepalese government completed this project, it has been easier for locals to access Kathmandu and, eventually, easier for tourists to access Gatlang. The very same road is still in use today and has never undergone any major renovations.

Gatlang Village has between three hundred and three hundred and fifty households with a total population of approximately eighteen hundred people. The people in this area are ethnically Tamang and they speak the Tamang language for daily interactions. Surrounding the residential areas are belts of land used for agriculture. The upper belt is used to grow crops such as beans and potatoes, while maize and millet are grown in the lower belt. Most people farm as a means of subsistence and few people are able to profit economically from the crops that they grow. There is a local school, about a five minute walk from the residential area. The school uses the standard Nepali curriculum and offers classes up to grade ten. Situated above the village at 2500 meters (7500 ft.), about an hour walk up the mountainside, is the monastery of Gatlang Village.



Map (Source: <http://swasthyakhabar.com/2014/12/18150.html>)



Gatlang

Earthquake Effects

The earthquake on April 25 had particularly devastating effects on Gatlang Village because of its close proximity to the epicenter. There were ten casualties within the village. About thirty to forty percent of the houses were completely flattened and another fifty percent were rendered uninhabitable due to damage. The original residential area is completely empty. Even those whose homes were undamaged felt scared to return to them because of the continual aftershocks. The villagers constructed temporary shelters higher up on the mountain, where they will live until the monsoon season ends and rebuilding begins. The school and the

monastery both sustained significant damage. The monastery was previously two stories high. The top story was completely destroyed by the earthquake and is now nonexistent. The first story was too badly damaged to be salvageable. The roof of the monastery was destroyed and local people constructed a tin roof in order to protect the sacred statues, which, luckily, remained intact inside the building. Gatlang Village is also home to many Tibetan manis and chortens that are estimated to be between seven hundred and eight hundred years old. Chortens are stone structures that memorialize an individual after they have passed away. Manis are similar structures, but are instead inscribed with prayers of protection for the villagers. Several of these structures were reduced to rubble.

In addition to the physical and cultural damage, Gatlang Village is still experiencing the economic effects of the earthquake. Before the earthquake, some villagers relied on the growing tourism industry and the economy was increasingly stable. Afterwards, however, the economy was plunged into turmoil. During the 2014 season, an estimated fifteen hundred tourists traveled through Gatlang Village. The upcoming tourist season in October 2015 was not expected to be nearly as promising. Several governments around the world advised their citizens against travel to Nepal. Widespread media coverage also frightened away many potential tourists. Additionally, landslides occurred in neighboring regions; one that was particularly deadly in Langtang valley destroyed an entire village. These landslides dissuaded people from traveling to the Rasuwa District, where many people have not only lost their homes, their schools, and their precious religious sites, but also their main source of income.

The Nepalese government did very little to help the people of Gatlang Village. Originally, the government provided the village with 7,000 Nepalese rupees (about 70 USD). Additional contributions brought the total government support to about 22,000 rupees (~220 USD). Several NGOs have provided the village with rice and tarpaulins to serve as temporary shelters. Monasteries in Kathmandu have also done what they can to offer support to the villagers. Despite these efforts, there is inadequate money or resources to restore Gatlang Village.

*Prayer house**Residential home*

My Project

With help from local community leaders, I developed a proposal for the reconstruction of the monastery in Gatlang Village, as well as the construction of several new buildings, including a Thangka painting school (a traditional Tibetan painting style), an orphanage, and an Amchi medical center (a traditional Tibetan healer).

The monastery is an extremely important cultural center for both Gatlang Village and the surrounding villages. The exact age of the monastery is a mystery, even to the locals, but it has been estimated that it could be over one thousand years old. About five hundred years ago, the monastery was moved to its current location, where it has a prominent view of the village below. The people of Gatlang follow the Kagyukpa School of Tibetan Buddhism. They hold rituals at the monastery on the tenth, fifteenth, twenty-fifth, and thirtieth of each month, as well as on full and new moons. Two or three times each year, people travel to this monastery from several villages in order to take part in Buddhist festivals. The current monastery had never undergone renovations and was becoming too small to host the considerable number of people it serves. Earthquake destruction had rendered the monastery unusable. There are only two monks living in and taking care of the monastery. An additional twenty to twenty-five monks live in the village below, as there is no room to house them in the monastery. The monastery has always been used only for celebratory purposes, as there is also no space for classrooms in which to train monks.

One of the reasons the Gatlang monastery is so important is because of a nearby lake, known by local people as Chodingmo. This lake is thought to be home to powerful water spirits and is an extremely important part of the Buddhist faith of the villagers. One or two times per year, the lake hosts large festivals for worshipping water gods. These are attended not only by local villagers, but also by people from surrounding areas. Even Hindus believe the lake to be sacred. When the Nepalese military was constructing the road to Gatlang, several Hindu men spotted a snake in the lake. This was an auspicious sign, as snakes hold important symbolism in the Hindu faith. Some view the snake as a form of the goddess Parvati. Thus, the lake is also referred to as Parvati Kund. The lake is only a five minute walk from the monastery. This close proximity adds to the importance of the monastery for both the people of Gatlang and those from surrounding villages.

*Monastery**Monastery**Prayer wheel**Stupas*



Monastery caretaker

Conclusion

There were many moments during my trip to Nepal when I was exposed to unfamiliar sights and sounds, moments when I stepped out of my comfort zone and soaked in new experiences. But, as I sat in a potato field in rural Nepal, overlooking the picturesque Himalayas, I felt incredibly comfortable and at home. I spent only a few days in Gatlang Village, but, while I was there, I harvested potatoes in the field, visited a yak cheese factory, and met schoolchildren who asked me about life in America. I had experiences that many people never imagine, and, for that, I am thankful. I was inspired by all of the people I met, both in Gatlang Village and in Kathmandu. They were so kind and welcoming, even though many of them had recently lost everything because of the earthquake. I am especially thankful to Dr. Sherpa and her family, who made this entire experience possible for me.

My time in Nepal has inspired me to spend the rest of my life exploring, learning, and, most importantly, helping others. I think I learned as much in one month in Nepal as in an entire semester of college. I see now that the best way to learn about a culture or a place is to actually experience it. I hope to focus my studies on indigenous cultures of South and Central Asia. I aspire to work for a non-governmental organization and to help people displaced by natural disasters and political crises.



Kylie Rose Doran is currently a junior at the Pennsylvania State University. She is a Schreyer scholar majoring in anthropology and Russian with minors in Arabic and history. Kylie is one of the founding members of Penn State's Student Society for Indigenous Knowledge and hopes to continue researching indigenous communities around the world. She is also an active member of several other organizations on campus, including [Penn State Alternative Breaks](#) and [Lion Scouts](#). After graduation, she plans to attend graduate school and eventually earn a PhD.

Traditional Pottery of Bhaktapur

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Abstract: In 2014, I conducted fieldwork studying traditional pottery making in Bhaktapur, Nepal. The pottery, which is made for commercial purposes today, is still produced with a traditional ash firing process. My fieldwork consisted of interviews, observations, and interactions with a traditional family of potters. I found that, while pottery production is still continuing among the Newar community, it has changed in recent years to adapt to technological advances, including the electric wheel and the availability of resources such as clay, plastic, and electricity. The increasingly wide variety of economic opportunities available to the younger generation poses challenges to the continuation of this occupation.

Keywords: Pottery; Craft

doi:10.18113/P8ik259804

Traditional Pottery of Bhaktapur

In the summer of 2014, I had the opportunity to travel to Nepal to conduct research for the Matson Museum of Anthropology at Penn State. I chose to study the pottery of Bhaktapur, a small city located in the Kathmandu Valley. The city is considered to be one of the Kathmandu Valley's cultural centers. It is home to approximately one hundred thousand people, most of whom are of the Newar ethnic group. According to the last census, there are about one hundred homes of potters within Bhaktapur.



A view of Bhaktapur

My research consists of observations and interviews of the Prajapati family, one of the many potting families of Bhaktapur. Newar Pottery production is mainly done in family units; the family consists of a mother, father, daughter, and two sons. Within the Prajapati family, only the mother and father actively participate in the craft as their livelihood. During the days that I was observing, they worked simultaneously: the father worked at his wheel making pots, while the mother crafted very small elephants completely by hand.



Electric wheel



Traditional wheel



Crafting elephants by hand

It is important to explain the production methods that are employed in Bhaktapur. A traditional potter uses a large wheel, about one meter in diameter, which he spins with a large wooden stick. The potter can usually make one or two objects before he must spin the wheel again, making the traditional method more challenging in a physical sense. In the last few decades, more and more potters have begun to use more modern production methods. Krishna, the father of the Prajapati family, primarily uses the electric wheel. There are several reasons why this is being used more frequently. Production is much faster with the electric wheel, and it also does not require as much human energy to spin the wheel; in the most basic sense, it is simply easier and faster to use. On the other hand, there are many reasons why potters choose to continue using the traditional method. The electric wheel is far more expensive, and electricity in the Kathmandu Valley is unreliable and nonexistent at some points throughout the day. In addition, the electric wheel must be plugged in inside the potter's home. Many families do not have enough room in

their home for an electric wheel, so the traditional wheel is a better option, as it can be used pretty much anywhere, including in the streets or town square.



Hakuchha, black clay

Clay is another aspect of pottery production that is important to discuss. The type of clay that is used by the Newar is called *hakuchha*, which means black clay. This type of clay is very soft and flexible, so it can be easily blended and shaped. The malleable quality of the clay allows the potters to shape their objects with great ease and at a very fast pace. The clay is obtained from a place about three kilometers away from Bhaktapur, which is one of the only places in the area where the potters can collect clay of this quality. In order to get the clay, the potters must dig a minimum of five meters into the ground. They then load it into tractors to take back to their homes, where it is stored until it is used. The Prajapati family completes this process twice a year, and every year they bring home between four and five tractor loads of clay. For perspective, it is important to note that Krishna uses between 100 and 150 kilograms of clay each day.

One of the main problems the potters of Bhaktapur are facing has to do with the clay. Portions of the land from which the clay comes are privately owned. The potters used to be able to take clay freely from this property for religious reasons, as most religious statuary and other objects are made from clay. Now, younger generations are not as religious as past generations, and they do not see this as a valid reason to take clay freely from this piece of land. In addition, portions of this land are currently under town planning, making it even more difficult for the potters to have access to this clay. If they cannot get clay from this location, they must search for other mines. Unfortunately, the potters have found that the clay from other mines has not been as good. If they use bad clay to make pots, the clay

will break down more easily before the pots are even fired. Clay is quickly becoming a prominent issue for the potters of Bhaktapur.

Another important aspect of the production method is the firing. The potters of Bhaktapur are somewhat unique, in that they are some of the only potters to use an ash kiln. In this type of kiln, the pots are stacked between layers of hay, and then the entire stack is covered in a layer of ash. The pots are fired for about four days, during which the kiln must be tended to frequently, sometimes throughout the night. After each firing, the ash from the kilns can be reused. It is stored in small sheds nearby and used again for future firings. The city of Bhaktapur has a communal firing area, which can be used by any of the town's potters. They share a mutual understanding of the shared space, and most families only fire once or twice a month. They wait until they have enough pots to make kilns that are about five or six layers tall before firing. Because firing takes so much manpower and attention, waiting until they have enough pots ensures that time and energy are not wasted.



Ash kiln

After the firing, the pots are sold to agents—the middlemen—who then sell the pottery in their shops. These middlemen are part of the reason why many of the potters are no longer able to rely on pottery production as their sole source of income. The shopkeepers are able to sell the objects for much more than the purchase price, which creates a problem for the potters. This problem could be avoided by cutting out the middleman and selling the objects on their own, but most families do not have the manpower to both produce the products and keep up a shop on their own. One solution that the families have implemented collectively is to fix prices for their products. Under these constant prices, the agents are not able to undercut prices from one potter to another, and whenever someone wants to raise the price of pots, the whole potting community gets together to discuss the

change. This idea seems to be working quite well for the potting community of Bhaktapur.

Although tourists often buy the more decorative items—such as the elephants and other small statues, locals are the primary market for this pottery. While the market for “souvenir” items has increased slightly in the past few years, the primary market for the local people has declined. Aluminum and plastic are replacing pottery because they are more reliable, lighter to carry, and cheaper. This change was quite obvious from my perspective. There were many flower pots in the area that were made of plastic; after pointing them out, the daughter of the Prajapati family mentioned that those same flowers used to be in her father’s pots instead of the plastic ones.

One theme that was very evident throughout my time in Bhaktapur was that the craft is slowly declining. Some of the reasons for this have already been mentioned, such as the introduction of new materials that are cheaper and more practical, but there is another major reason for its decline as well. Within the Newari caste system, the production of pottery is a family occupation. Children begin learning this craft at a very young age, as early as four or five years old. Family occupations have been very important within their social system, but they are becoming less important today. It is now more acceptable for a family member to leave their family’s profession to pursue another. This change was very obvious to me within the Prajapati family. All three of their children have attended college and are pursuing careers outside of their traditional one. I spoke with one of their sons, who is currently working towards a master’s degree in engineering. He explained to me that he will not continue with his father’s craft as his main livelihood. He will continue it as a hobby, but, because the market is not good right now, he cannot depend on this as his main source of income. He mentioned that it is always an option for him, but his interests are more within the field of engineering. At this time, therefore, they are unsure of the future of this profession in their own family. This uncertainty extends to many families in Bhaktapur. The increasingly wide variety of economic opportunities available to the younger generations poses serious challenges to the continuation of this occupation in years to come.



Pottery in home

In a very recent conversation with Beena, the daughter of the Prajapati family, I learned about the effects of the 7.8 magnitude earthquake that hit Nepal on April 25, 2015. The village of Bhaktapur was greatly affected by the earthquake and its aftershocks, and the earthquake took a particularly hard toll on the potting community. The communal kiln that was used by most of the potters in Bhaktapur was destroyed when the buildings around it collapsed. Now, it has been rebuilt, but the potting community was unable to fire for more than four months. Most of the houses in Bhaktapur were damaged, if not completely destroyed, making them uninhabitable. As a result, most of the potters had to move to new houses far away from the Pottery Square or to temporary cottages and refugee camps outside of the village, meaning that the potting community is now very widely distributed.

In general, the productivity of the community has declined substantially. This is partially because of the lack of resources, the lack of space in refugee camps and other relocation settings, and the wide distribution of the potting community; however, the health of the potters is another concern for the productivity of the community. One of the major effects of the earthquake has been a decline in the health status of the population due to increased pollution, the spread of disease, and the heavy rainfall that came after the earthquake. Beena told me that her father, who used to fire about twice a month, has only fired his work four times since the earthquake in April.

In addition, since the earthquake, the market demand for ceramic materials has declined significantly. For example, in 2014, Beena's family sold over two million *diyo* (small light pots) for Bhaktapur's annual festivals of lights, Dashai and Deepawali; this year, less than forty thousand were sold. Beena suggested that the

decline in demand could be partially attributed to the repeated aftershocks that the country has experienced. People are concerned about using clay materials because they break so easily, especially during aftershocks. For these reasons, people are currently using more plastic and aluminum materials in their homes.

Despite the challenges that this community has faced, the potters of Bhaktapur are recovering along with the rest of the nation. The potters and their families are working to rebuild their homes and their professions. Chandra and Surya, the sons of the Prajapati family, are working with some other families to raise funds to rebuild Pottery Square. They are planning to build an electric kiln for the potters to use instead of the traditional ash kiln. This type of kiln would be more environmentally friendly, easier to use, and would increase the speed at which materials could be fired. The potters have started working again as well, and are working to attract more tourists, both local and foreign, to Bhaktapur once again. Although the earthquake took a significant toll on this potting community, these families are showing their resiliency and dedication to their craft through their efforts to rebuild and continue their way of life.



Elizabeth Anne Rothenberger graduated from The Pennsylvania State University and Schreyer Honors College in May 2016 with Bachelor of Arts degrees in anthropology and Jewish studies. Her undergraduate research focused primarily on gender roles in traditional pottery production across the globe.

Cultural Passport: Demystifying Traditional Indian Music and Art

Esha Zaveri

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Abstract: South Asian music and art is flourishing in State College, in large part due to efforts by the Society for Indian Music and Arts, founded by Shri Arijit Mahalanabis, and Dr. Stephen Hirshon, Professor of Art History who are bringing accomplished artists, composers and musicians from around the country, and world to Centre County.

Keywords: Music; Indigenous Arts; Storytelling

doi:10.18113/P8ik260042

Cultural Passport: Demystifying Traditional Indian Music and Art

Over the past twenty years, the traditional arts of South Asia have slowly but surely started to take root in the cultural milieu of State College, Pennsylvania, giving a voice to the aesthetic that has shaped and formed the history, culture, aspirations, and philosophy of the South Asian people. Ancient origins notwithstanding, these classical Indian arts continue to allow a consciousness of expression that, at its core, remains utterly universal and human.

In Centre County, these arts have come to life through student organizations like the Society for Indian Music and Arts (SIMA) and the concerted efforts of people like Professor of Art History Dr. Stephen Hirshon and Shri Arijit Mahalanabis, exponent of Indian classical music, musicologist, and teacher, who has championed the propagation of India's rich and vibrant art forms. Last fall saw a celebration of these arts in *Birth of the Painted World*, an exhibit curated by Dr. Stephen Hirshon that featured indigenous paintings of the *Warli* tribes, and *Virasat* (legacy or tradition), an Indian music festival that showcased performances by SIMA's students.

Be Still. Listen. Like you, the Earth breathes.¹

Warli art is practiced by a tribe of around three hundred thousand people who live on the outskirts of Mumbai, India's teeming metropolis in the western state of Maharashtra. They speak a language that has no written form, yet their paintings evoke a deep sense of being and belonging. Central to the Warli tradition is the essence of womankind and the idea that women are the center of the universe. For thousands of years, women of the tribe have painted on the terra-cotta walls of their huts as a form of invocation and blessing, marking ceremonial occasions like festivals and marriages. Characterized by a deceptively simple style that is based on circles, triangles, and squares, Warli paintings are steeped in symbolism and convey a sense of harmony between nature and humans. Painted entirely in white—a pigment made from a mix of rice dough, water, and gum resin—this *joie de vivre* and synchronicity between people, animals, and trees are seen in the circular formations and stylized figures as they sing, dance, draw water, tend their fields, and live their everyday lives. This artistic vision of life and movement came to the HUB Robeson Galleries at the Pennsylvania State University in the form of paintings from the collections of Sanchi Gillett and Gallerie AK by Jivya Mashe—the leading master of Warli painting—as well as paintings by his sons Sadashiva and Balu Mashe, his grandson and granddaughter, and other Warli artists. The collection, encompassing 110 paintings and photographs, was the first major retrospective of Jivya Mashe's works in the United States. Although rooted in history and tradition, these paintings exemplify the need for balance and sustainability with nature, with each other, with our communities, and within ourselves, a message that is as relevant today as it was in the past.



Warli Exhibit (Photo credit: HUB Robeson Galleries)

*Warli Exhibit**Warli Exhibit*

Music and Dance as a Grammar for Expression

Music, it is said, has a singular power over the human spirit, a power that transcends intellect, boundaries, and languages. It is uniquely “both completely abstract and profoundly emotional” (Sacks 2007).

The Society for Indian Music and Arts (SIMA) began in Seattle in 2007 as the brainchild of its founder, Shri Arijit Mahalanabis, as a way to disseminate traditional South Asian performing arts, encourage dialogue between the artist and the audience, and provide a platform for students to become active participants in the artistic process through workshops, concerts, and classes.

Ever since the inception of the student organization at the Pennsylvania State University in 2014, SIMA has grown strength to strength, supporting a thriving community of artists, students, faculty, and the wider community in discovering the dynamic and expressive traditions of music and dance in South Asia. SIMA is home not only to professional artists, but to complete beginners and those curious to learn more about this beautiful form of expression. The diversity at SIMA is apparent; students attending the weekly music lessons on campus range in age from nine to fifty years and have varied educational backgrounds in disciplines such as art, education, engineering, physics, computer science, economics, and statistics.

Over the past two years, Penn State SIMA has attracted internationally acclaimed scholars, performers, and practitioners of Indian music to State College. Some of SIMA's first concerts included performances by [Pts. Rajan and Sajan Mishra](#), foremost exponents of *Khayal*², a form of north Indian music popular for its improvisational nature and interplay between melody and rhythm; [Dr. Karaikudi S.Subramanian](#), a celebrated ninth generation *Veena*³ player; [Smt. Anupama Bhagwat](#), one of India's leading *Sitar*⁴ players; and [Shri Arnab Chakrabarty](#), a highly acclaimed *Sarod*⁵ artist. In addition to inviting artists to perform, SIMA also facilitates workshops on the different styles of music rendered by the visiting artists. Last year, these artists included [Pt. Uday Bhawalkar](#), renowned singer of *Dhrupad*⁶—the most ancient form of north Indian music—which is known for its gradual melodic development and poetic, meditative style; [Smt. Aditi Kaikini Upadhya](#), an accomplished vocalist of the Agra Gharana⁷ who is widely recognized for her contributions to scholarship and pedagogy; and [Pt. Satish Vyas](#), recipient of one of India's highest civilian honors, the Padmashree, and *Santoor*⁸ maestro. Through visits by such artists, among others, SIMA strives to foster active engagement between students and the performer and create an atmosphere of learning and critical thinking about musical issues. More recently, SIMA has also included classical Indian dance in its core activities. At the Warli exhibit, a workshop led by Smt. Ranjana Phadke, noted *Kathak*⁹ dancer, introduced an enthralled audience to the rhythmic, nuanced movements and the subtle facial expressions integral to [Kathak](#), a dance form that can be traced back to the storytellers—or *Kathakars*—of ancient northern India.

SIMA (Photo credits: Bhushan Jayarao)



Students and their Guru (teacher) during SIMA's second Happy Valley music festival, Virasat, held at the Flex Auditorium, HUB, fall 2015



SIMA's Guru (teacher), Shri. Arijit Mahalanabis, performing at SIMA's student recital, Kahat Hai Sanjhrang, held at Schwab Auditorium, fall 2014



Visiting artist Pt. Uday Bhawalkar performing at the Unitarian Universalist Fellowship of Centre County, spring 2015



Visiting artist Pta. Aditi Kaikini Upadhy performing at a house concert in State College, summer 2015



Lecture demonstration by visiting artist Dr. Karaikudi Subramanian at the Music Building, summer 2014



Visiting artists Pts. Rajan and Sajan Mishra performing at the Unitarian Universalist Fellowship of Centre County, spring 2014



Visiting artist Shri. Jay Gandhi performing during SIMA's first Happy Valley music festival at the Eisenhower Chapel, Pasquerilla Spiritual Center, fall 2014

Cutting across religions and social strata, Indian music and dance have captivated audiences with the spirit, ideas, and imagination of its compositions for thousands of years. Unlike arts that have evolved in other cultures, traditional Indian music and dance provide a unique grammar for expression. Like a language, one can say anything about anything using this grammar. But, unlike language, this grammar allows one to express to the fullest degree that which language can never capture. Every time you witness these arts being unfolded in front of you, you witness a great artist extending the grammar of the art. You witness its progress and its growth. With *Virasat*, its annual music festival, SIMA sought to showcase just this. Over the course of three days, it brought together SIMA's top twenty-one students from around the country and world to share their artistic vision with State College audiences and with each other. Performances included a *Kathak* dance recital, expositions of *Dhrupad* and *Khayal*, and instrumental music of the flute (or *Bansuri*), Hawaiian guitar (or *Mohan Veena*), *Tabla*, and *Sitar*.

***Virasat* (Photo credits: Bhushan Jayarao)**

Students performing during SIMA's second Happy Valley music festival, Virasat, held at the Flex Auditorium, HUB, fall 2015

For those who had never heard Indian classical music, it was a chance to experience a new grammar of expression, one that is unhurried, deeply moving, but also meaningful at an intrinsically human level.



Esha Zaveri is a PhD candidate in the dual-doctoral program in agricultural, environmental, and regional economics, and demography at the Pennsylvania State University. Her primary research interests are in environment and development economics, with a particular focus on climate change impact and adaptation, agriculture, water resources, and migration. More broadly, her research tries to understand how economic behavior interfaces with the natural environment using interdisciplinary tools drawn from the fields of hydrology and the natural sciences. Her current research explores the effects of changing precipitation patterns on irrigation outcomes in India and policy implications for agricultural production and water infrastructure projects. Esha is also a former president of the Society for Indian Music and Arts at Penn State (SIMA).

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Endnotes

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- ¹ Kelsey and Kim (2012)
- ² Imagination or contemplation
- ³ Ancient stringed instrument
- ⁴ Plucked instrument
- ⁵ Indian lute
- ⁶ *Dhrupad* is contracted from "*Dhruvapada*," meaning melodically fixed composition.
- ⁷ The Agra Gharana is a school of music whose lineage can be traced back to the reign of Akbar, the third Emperor of the Mughal dynasty, during the sixteenth century.
- ⁸ Hammered dulcimer
- ⁹ *Kathak* is derived from the Sanskrit word "*Katha*" meaning story.

Decolonization and Life History Research: The Life of a Native Woman

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Abstract: Focusing on stories told to the author by her mother, this life history work counters critiques that qualitative life history research is weak on method and theory by taking a decolonizing approach. Working with decolonizing theory to understand the stories shared, the author examines how the continued colonization of native women's minds and bodies impacts their humanity in both perception and treatment by others. The author discusses decolonizing research as both action and process, considers the effectiveness of a decolonizing strategy in life history research, and calls on others to take a decolonizing approach in their own work.

Keywords: Decolonization; Indigenous Identity; Life History Research; Native American Women; Indigenous Anthropology; Indigenous Research Methods; Decolonized Research Methods; Native Studies; First Nations Studies; Feminist Anthropology; Feminist Studies

doi:10.18113/P8ik259717

Decolonization and Life History Research: The Life of a Native Woman

In January 2013 I sat down with my mother, an elder of the Ktunaxa tribe, to record her life history. Growing up she had always been an enigma to me; I hoped this project would help me learn more about her and the history of my tribe. When we began, I handed her a list of questions such as, "What makes a good Kootenai woman?" and "What traditions do you remember as a child?" My mother looked me in the eye and said, "Our lives weren't like this." I put away my list and gave up some of my power. In the end, though I had asked less than twenty questions, I realized I had gained new insights into how we as Western-educated researchers conceptualize native people, particularly women, within the context of the on-going colonization of native lands, lives, and bodies. These are the words of my mother:

When I was about, less than about three years old, I remember we had a terrible winter, and it was in January. The house was really, really cold all the time because we had no insulation. We had wood floors. And we just had one stove, wood-burning stove in the living room. And a wood-burning cooking stove in the kitchen. We had no running hot water. We had one bedroom. Our Grandmother, our Great Aunt, made quilts. The floors were always cold. And it was in January, and I remember, it had snowed and snowed and it covered the windows. And being small I didn't think the windows were that big but they went really high. And I remember standing there looking at them because the snow keep getting deeper and deeper. And then one morning there was a lot of commotion. My Grandfather came in with my Grandmother and told my Great Aunt they were leaving. They had to shovel. And I remember looking out the door when he left and all these men were walking by, they all had shovels. I wondered what was going on. And then I don't remember anything. It must have been maybe a week later...and my Grandmother told my Great Aunt, "They'll be coming back today." And I kind of remembered they said they were leaving but I wondered where they went because I didn't understand time. But my Mother came in the door and she was carrying something. And she put it on the bed in the living room and it started crying. It was my brother, Silas. The reason that they had been shoveling was because the snow was so deep, they couldn't drive the car to the hospital. It had taken them all day to shovel that far. It's about two and a half miles. And then my Mother had to stay there until the snow could be shoveled again so she could go home. And that's the last thing I remembered for a while.

I remember when I started school. I didn't want to go. Man did I fight my Grandfather. He told me, "You have to go to school!" Adrian had already gone through one year so he knew some English, because we didn't speak English...I remember my teacher. I think we probably had maybe, twelve students in class. So they put Adrian next to me. Because he could translate what we were doing, and then he could translate for me and the teacher hated it because, "I should know English! I'd better start studying English!" She'd shout at me in class...the first few weeks...it was horrible. When I started first grade, I had long hair. Long straight hair. Well, a couple of weeks before school started, my Mom went and got a perm kit for little girls. She cut off my hair. She

cut off my hair and she put a permanent in my hair and because my hair is so fine, it just basically rolled my hair into one big curl. It was ugly and my Grandma asked, "What did you do to her? She could wear braids!" "Oh no. She can't wear braids to school." She wanted me to be a *siyupi* [white] kid. But I had one dress. I must have worn that four days out of five. And I had Pasco's shoes from the year before. That's what I remember about first grade. And I remember one day, maybe it was like, the third day of school, and I really had to go to the bathroom. So I told Adrian, he said, "Put your hand up and say *lavatory*" and I couldn't say that word. I didn't know what the heck that meant. So I put up my hand and the teacher says, "Yes?" And I said, "I—toilet?" And she came storming at me and she said, "We don't say that!" And I didn't know what she was saying. And Adrian said, "Don't say that. Say *lavatory*." And he said it again and I couldn't. And she just stood there with her hands on her hips looking down at me and I really had to go. And she said "I'm not allowing you to go until you learn to use that word." Later on, I knew that's what she had said. And so I peed in my pants.

And...every kid started laughing. And it went on all year long because when she got mad at me, she was so angry, that I automatically peed and she would just get, that would just make her double and triple and quadruple angry at me. "Can't you learn?" And I'd think, "Well, if you wouldn't yell at me I could, why can't I just get up and go, you know?" I don't know.

The first time I ever shot a gun, I was seven years old and it was a .22 single shot. My Grandmother decided she was going to teach me. She was the tribe's spiritual leader. And since Helen's mother had been one, that woman inherited that. So we had two...these are the women that, as they go from house to house they fire a shot, to welcome the New Year. When I was seven, my first time, she gave me a .22 single shot. And Helen was my Grandmother's helper so she was there. And so she told Helen to shoot first, then she would shoot, then I would shoot. It scared me so bad when Helen shot a shotgun. My Grandmother shot a .22. And then she loaded mine and she gave it to me. And she told me to hold it up by my shoulder. And I couldn't get it high enough so she told Helen, "Lean her back, have her hold it like this, put her finger in

there. But lean her back, that will point it up.” And so she prayed. And then she said, “*Dahas*” [finished]. Helen pulled the trigger and it went BOOM! And she said, “You can’t fall down.” So that was the first time I ever did anything.

Two times before I turned ten, I saw [my dad] come home drunk. The first time, I must have been about seven. He came home drunk and he asked Mom what was for dinner. Mom had already fed us. And she said, “It’s spaghetti.” And he grabbed the pot and dumped it over her head. Then told her to clean it up... Sometimes, he would be so drunk, he would keep me and Libby and Silas awake until one or two in the morning.

And he’d tell us, “I’m trying to dummy you up! You can’t understand what’s going on in school! I’m going to keep you up until you learn!” And he’d be drunk and he’d scream and yell at us. “You’re nothing but a dummy!” Q’Awiss [her Great Aunt] would come out, “Leave them alone. They have school tomorrow.” “They’re my kids! I don’t want them to be dummies in school!” And we’d be up until three or four in the morning sometimes. And then as a reward, he would feed us ice cream. A big bowl of ice cream and we had to eat it all up. I think the most peaceful times that we ever had were the times when he went back to prison, or went to jail. But it didn’t last because then Mom would pick up where he left off.

About a week after I graduated [from high school], I opened the paper and there was an article about Women’s Army Corps. So, I read it and this woman, this staff sergeant at the recruiting office was talking about, they are looking for women between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five. And it listed all the things you could be. So I thought, “Okay, that’s what I’m going to do. Otherwise why would I have found this? This is what I’m going to do. This is what I’ve been waiting for. So, I’ll go for it.” And I didn’t say anything to anybody...two days later, somebody knocks on the door and I answered. He goes, “Hi, my name is Samson.” I said, “Wow! You’re here early!” And Mom said, “Who is that?!” I said, “He’s a recruiter.” “What does he want?!” He steps in and he says, “Ma’am, I’m here to talk with your daughter about joining the Women’s Army Corps, being a new recruit.” “Well, I’m not going to

allow it!" And I thought, "I'm eighteen." "So, is there somewhere we can talk?" I said, "Yes, there's a restaurant." He said, "We'll be right back." Oh, Mom was so mad, because she couldn't get to me. So we went down, sat down, talked about two hours. And he said, "Are you going to have problems having your mother sign your papers, because you have to be twenty-one?" I said, "No." He said, "If she's willing to sign them, then you can go. But if she isn't willing to sign them, you have to wait until you're twenty-one." I said, "Then I'll wait until I'm twenty-one. But, I don't care." So, he left... So instead of going home I went out to Grandpa's.

Grandma was in the nursing home and I told him. He said, "Well, you know, that's what happens. What you've gone through, that's what happens. You get help." So I told him that I have a problem. And he said, "We can take care of that." So, he said, "Well, spend the night and then we'll go see Grandma." So the next morning we went to see Grandma, and I thought, "Oh, God, she's going to yell at me!" So he started talking to her. And she said, "Yes. That's what we'll do." So, she told Grandpa, "Go in the taxi. Go up to her house and tell her to come down." I don't know what happened when he got up there, poor old man. Finally, they got there. Mom came in and Grandma said, "Sit down." She sat down and Grandma said, "you know, for years we've been asking for help for her. It came today. She's being helped. There is no other way...for her to get ahead, and this is what's going to happen." Oh man, Mom was mad. "You know I'm never going to sign don't you!" And so finally I said, "You know, if you don't sign it now, when I'm twenty-one I'm still going in." "They won't take you!" Finally, Grandma told her, "She is right, if you don't do it now, she'll wait until she's twenty-one. And we're going to help her." And Grandpa reminded her, "She's no longer on welfare. You're going to have to be taking care of her." "She can't live at my house!" And I said, "Then why shouldn't I be in the Army?" It took, like, a week and she finally said she would. And so I called, I said, "Get up here with the paperwork. She said she's going to sign it." So he came and she was mad and she signed it. And fourteen days later I was gone.

What does one do when told stories like these; especially when a project involves collaboration between a mother and daughter, and the words are about people close to you? How can an indigenous person conduct research in ways that do not continue the legacy of mistrust between home communities and anthropologists? Why does life history work even matter, considering it is criticized for being weak on theory and method? These are the questions I wrestled with after working with my mother.

If we had followed my list of questions I do not believe she would have shared these particular stories. My questions framed her as an “other,” disconnected from the family, culture, country, and history that shape us both. When we sat down together I understood the world through a “colonized mind” (Chilisa 2012, 7-8); my ideas and assumptions were predominantly based on Euro-Western science and literature, and I often structured my research in self-serving ways, reinforcing power hierarchies between my participants and myself.

In preparation for this work, I read several anthropological life histories of native women. It did not take me long to realize these works reinforce particular narratives about conquest, history, colonization and gender; contradicting my experiences as a native person. I found myself questioning statements about the love of Indian boarding school, and would cringe when a researcher would press an elder for “shamanic” knowledge or insights long after she had politely demurred. As a native woman these stories did not seem real to me; as a native researcher I did not want to continue these types of power imbalances in my own work. It took me nearly a year of studying with a queer, Cherokee Two-Spirit instructor, who introduced me to decolonizing theory and methods, to move forward with this research.

Decolonizing is a different way of understanding and interpretation, which actively resists gendered and racialized assumptions, along with narratives of domination and the inevitability of European colonization and control. Decolonizing research “center[s] [indigenous] concerns and world views, leading to an understanding of theory and research from indigenous perspectives and for our own purposes” (Smith 2012, 41). Decolonizing research is *action*, “inclusive of all knowledge systems and respectful of the researched” (Chilisa 2012, 4). It involves being conscious of the fact that indigenous people created and sustained lives and cultures on these lands prior to European arrival and that all of our lives and cultures continue to be influenced by colonization today. Decolonizing can also be

understood as a *process*, which entails gaining a deeper understanding of Western knowledge and history, how they are positioned as superior to native knowledge (Chilisa 2012), and how they shape the perceptions and experiences of both colonizers and the colonized.

For me, decolonizing this research was both action and process. Working with my mother was an act of resistance against the continuity of research which privileges a white European experience on this land and within academia. Rather than correcting her grammar and rewording her statements, I present her stories as she spoke them, out of respect for her as an individual and to challenge the academic tradition of changing a native person's words and still calling them their own. I considered how this research would honor the Ktunaxa covenant with the Creator.

Decolonizing this research was also a process of learning about federal and state laws as well as social practices and beliefs regarding native people, and how these have impacted my mother's life. It meant re-examining concepts such as racism, European Imperialism, and primacy, to working through personal fears and judgments as I wrote. In the end, I understood how my mother and her stories exemplify what Gerald Vizenor calls survivance, the survival and presence of native people in the face of the continued colonization of their lands, minds, and bodies (Vizenor 1999, iiv).

Without a decolonizing perspective, I may not have connected the humiliating act of cutting my mother's hair with my grandmother's experiences at an Indian boarding school. I may not have grasped the persistence of the marginalization of my tribe without the knowledge that when my mother was little, her community which included the elderly and pregnant women, had to shovel their own way to town. I would not understand how white European heteropatriarchy has degraded the status of native women within my tribe; my great-grandmother was spiritual leader, while my grandmother and mother were treated as property meant to be abused and controlled.

I did not write this paper to arouse feelings of pity or guilt. I did not intend this research to be "damage centered," characterized by Eve Tuck as research "intent on portraying our...tribes as defeated and broken...operat[ing] from a theory of change that establishes harm or injury in order to achieve reparation" (Tuck 2009, 412). I was not motivated by the possibility of reparations. My intentions were to create a space which honors my mother's humanity; to interrupt anthropological

research portraying the lives of native people, particularly women, as hopeless; and to upset traditional researcher/participant relationships rooted in the support of colonizer/colonized domination and control.

Decolonizing research is often understood as solely for indigenous or colonized communities. Indigenous researchers often cite life expectancy rates and substance use as urgent needs for new research methods and perspectives that take into account particular histories and needs. However, the reality is most anthropological researchers are not indigenous, and they are not producing the bulk of indigenous-centered work. Anthropology is an overwhelmingly white Euro-American profession, shaped by colonial practices and beliefs. We must become aware of how this fact continues to influence our discipline and our research, and decide if that is how we want continue. As researchers, we must ask ourselves these questions; how long can we structure our work with a colonizer perspective and claim it is insightful, useful and helpful? How can we seek to end gendered violence and racialized poverty when our work protects a certain privileged status and fragility? How can we move forward and face the challenges we all share without hearing, learning about, and owning our collective history? Decolonization is about understanding how the past has shaped colonizers and the colonized alike; in other words, you and me. I believe we must move beyond the structures and beliefs that shaped my mother's life and continue to shape all of ours today. I leave you with these words, which my mother told me, "You think these things happened a long time ago."



Jyl M. Wheaton-Abraham (Ktunaxa) holds an MA in applied anthropology with a queer studies minor from Oregon State University. Her article, “Decolonization and Life History Research: The Life of a Native Woman,” builds upon work for her master's thesis. Prior to attending OSU, Ktunaxa worked as an archaeologist for the USDA Forest Service and has served on her tribal council. Her research interests include Ktunaxa history, native identity, decolonization, power relationships in modern society, and the archaeology of the Pacific Northwest.

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Remarks: Regional Constructions of Cultural Identity Forum July 6, 1997*

Puanani Burgess

Living Treasure of Hawai'i and Cultural Expert

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Abstract: When I began writing poetry, it was not with any audience in mind, nor any poet in mind. Those poems just had a life of their own and, in my present life, I'm beginning to find the meaning in them. They are probably my greatest teachers.

*Originally published in *Hāpai Nā Leo* (2010), edited by Bill Teter

Keywords: Hawaii; Poetry

doi:10.18113/P8ik260075

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'Ano'ai me ke Aloha, e na hulu manu like 'ole.

In our mothers' tongue, "Greetings among us, birds of many feathers."

I'd like to say a couple of things first. One, when I began writing poetry, it was not with any audience in mind, nor any poet in mind. Those poems just had a life of their own and, in my present life, I'm beginning to find the meaning in them. They are probably my greatest teachers.

I want to start off by reading a poem and telling a story to show you, as an example, how poems and stories are very necessary tools in regard to community organizing, especially in these times. The poem I'd like to read to you is called "Choosing My Name."

When I was born my mother gave me three names:
Christabelle, Yoshie, and Puanani.
"Christabelle" was my "English" name,

My social security card name,
My school name,
The name I gave when teachers asked me
 For my "real" name; it was a safe name.
"Yoshie" was my home name,
My everyday name,
The name that reminded my father's family
 that I was Japanese, even though
 my nose, hips and feet were wide,
 it was the name that made me acceptable to them
 who called my Hawaiian mother *kuroi*;
 it was a saving name.

Puanani is my chosen name,
My piko name, connecting me to the 'Aina,
 and to the kai and to the Po'e Kahiko;
 it is my blessing and my burden,
 my amulet, my spear.

When I first wrote that poem, the place it first appeared was in one of the special editions that the newspaper puts out and my father saw it. That was the first place that he saw that poem. My father is Japanese. I was named after him. His name is Christopher Yoshiyuki Sonoda and I am Christabelle Yoshie Puanani Sonoda.

My father was immediately called by my aunties and uncles asking him, "Who is she writing about? Who are those people that called her mother *kuroi*?" And, "You know, you need to call her up and tell her *to stop* doing that. It's not right that she talks about family stuff in the newspaper."

My father, much to his credit and a feature, I think, of his own courage that I never recognized growing up, said, "That is the girl's history and she deserves a way to tell that history however *she* wants *to tell* it. It is her reality." And so, with those words, he kept them from ringing me up and disconnecting me forever.

I was thinking about a title for this talk and if I had one it would be something like "Finding Meaning in the Face of Power: The Role of Poetry and Storytelling."

What our communities are undergoing right now is incredible pain. They are being asked to transform themselves without any input. We see golf courses, we see all

kinds of stores and developments that are cropping up in our community that have no relationship *to* who we are.

There's this really wonderful old woman who I met in Wai'anae Store; she came up to me and said, "Eh, Pua, you know what ... I live Wai'anae all my life and you know, I born hea and I come this store every day and I know everybody. But you know, I come this store now and I know almost nobody and I nevah move!"

That is the reality of what is happening in our communities. If you have the price of lease or rent or mortgage, you can become a neighbor. But just living next door to each other doesn't make you a "neighbor," not in the old sense, like in the days of our grandparents. Part of the reason why it is so hard to be neighbors is that we don't have Time. Families are working themselves to death. They are working one, two, three jobs. Both adults are out there. And there is not time just to sit back and create those neighborhoods that each of us who are fifty years old and older really understand and have experienced.

And so we're thinking about how we can talk about and retrieve our history, not just in terms of celebrations or memorial events or dry essays, but how do we retrieve our history as the people in Appalachia, who are some of my greatest teachers, have done. The people of Appalachia are also trying to recover their history and dignity in the face of tremendous disempowerment and oppression. They are trying to find the meaning of the coal mine experience, for example, just as we are trying to find the meaning in the plantation experience.

Poetry has been essential in people being able to back into their pain, being able to deal with very painful issues in a way that doesn't destroy them. That poem, "Choosing My Name," talks about some very difficult issues of identity, security, values and oppression.

I used to watch those mah jong games, you know, that our aunties and uncles and grandparents played. Sometimes it was *hana-fuda*, but for my Japanese aunties and uncles, it was mostly mah jong that they played. They all gathered at one auntie's house, and at some point they would talk about my mother. And I was a little child just hanging around and they would call her things—like *kuroi*—what they actually meant was "nigger." And they would wonder how Yoshibo could have married that woman. And, as a child they dismissed me, not realizing that I had ears and a heart and a mind and that someday, those memories would become part of my politics.

But as you look at me today and as I look at myself in the mirror, I am Yoshie, I am that Japanese girl that grew up with my *bachan* and *jichan*. I am the girl that went to *ban* dance and went to the temple to bless those little pieces of tissue paper that my grandmother used to paste on me to bless me and to protect me from hurt. I am that person as well.

I am also Christabelle. I am that American girl who grew up pledging allegiance to the flag and singing those American patriotic songs with tremendous loyalty to that country. And then I discovered that my loyalty was misplaced and a whole range of people, not just Hawaiian people, are discovering what actually happened in 1893 with the United States Government. And what do you do when you are faced with a history that you never knew, never understood? History that was not part of yours and that you are learning about as an adult. History that causes tremendous pain.

I want to tell you a story that shows how to deal with these issues. History is—and I think the Japanese have also found this to be so because of the role of Japan in the war—that history is part of reclaiming our health, as a society. If we cannot reclaim our history, live it, own up to it, do something about it, then we continue to be victims of that history.

I have a very good friend who teaches Hawaiian history at Pearl City High School and she is a Japanese woman and every time she comes to that part in Hawaii's history that deals with the Mahele, which is the great cutting up of the Land and the distribution of that land to a variety of interest groups—every time she comes to that part, the Mahele, she sees the kids doing this: they put their heads down on the table, make pepa airplanes, fly 'em around the room, talk to each other, absolutely zone out of that discussion.

So, what she found out, after seven years of teaching that course, was that the kids believed, "Eh, my people stupid! If dey wasn't stupid, how come dey no moah da land? Dey shoulda regista for da land, just like da law tole 'em foa do. But no, dey nevah do 'em. Oat's why we no moah land, no moah watah, no moah money, no moah powa."

And, you know, nothing you or that teacher could tell them could talk them out of that reality. They live in the projects; they know what poverty is; they live it. They understand hopelessness. And there's nothing we can say to dissuade them. They

don't buy the statement, "Hey, you can grow up to be President of the United States. You can be anything you want." That's not their reality.

So, on the first day of school, she had a genius idea; it was a simple idea, as most truly genius ideas are—what she did was she wrote up on the blackboard, you know, in that place that teachers really like, on the far, far upper right corner, she wrote, "Register for your chair in two weeks, or lose it." And then she signed it and then she drew a chalk box around the sign.

Two weeks later, the kids came into the classroom, looked around and said, "Eh, teach. Like whea da chairs?"

She said, "What do you mean, 'Where are the chairs?'"

"Like, what we goin' sit on? Floah?"

"Well," she said, "You read English?"

"Yeah."

"You read the sign that I put up on the blackboard?"

"Yeah."

"Well, why didn't you register for those chairs, like I told you to do?"

"Yeah, but you nevah tole us, 'Eh, pay attention, dis foa real.' Nobody wen evah do dis to us befoa; so, eh, we wen jus' blow 'em off."

"Well, now do you understand what happened to your ancestors?" she asked.

"They were being asked to register to own the land; it was like being asked to own your own mothers. How many of you have the audacity to go down to the Bureau of Conveyances to register to own your mothers? Your ancestors were not just being asked to do something unusual; they were being asked to do something sacrilegious—to own land. They were also being asked to do this at a time of great imperialism in the world and in the Pacific. Back then there were no empowerment workshops to tell the people about their human and political rights. No, nothing like that was going on."

So, those kids began to understand that within the context of the world in which Hawai'i existed, that there were many things that were happening that was not caused by the stupidity of their ancestors. So, they began to pick up their history as a spear and began poking holes in all the paradigms that imprisoned them.

Whenever I tell that story, to all kinds of people, they begin to understand that we need to reclaim our deep history. In one of the projects that's part of our community called the Cultural Learning Center at Ka'ala, every year we work with about 3,000 kids, ALL kinds of kids, ALL makes and models. And one of the things that we teach there, the most important thing, is that the 'aina, the Land, is color blind. She doesn't know if you are Japanese, Chinese, Hawaiian or haole. She only knows if you love her; she knows if you respect her. And when you treat her as all mothers should be treated—with dignity and respect—then she gives you back that dignity and respect by giving you food, shelter, stability and life.

And so, when we talk to kids and we tell them, "Don't give us that bull that you're not responsible for the Land because you're not Hawaiian; you are responsible. This Land is your Mother, as well as mine. But it goes beyond that, this history is yours to care for, not just mine; the future of Hawai'i is your responsibility as well as mine."

In ending my presentation of how poetry works in the face of power—it becomes an incredible part of how our whole society reorganizes itself around certain values. I want to include a poem that I wrote called, "The Mouse Is Dreaming." The last lines of this poem are actually an old Eastern European saying.

In the dark hole behind the washing machine,
the house-mouse is dreaming.
Whiskers, body, tail-twitching and trembling,
paws scratching the air.
That mouse, he's a dreamin'
of great chunks of cheese, and whole loaves of bread;
of a nest made of the finest pieces of cloth and paper,
dry, warm and snug.
Of living out in the open once again, to be sun-warmed
and star-shined.
Of walking. Of walking through the territory patrolled by the Cats;
of cat traps, and cat cages,
and cats without claws and teeth;
Of a world without Cats.
And this mouse, she's a dreamin'
of acres of lo'i kalo, of nets full of 'ōpelu,
of rocks choke with 'opihi and limu,
of forests of koa and 'iliahi and wiliwili;

of empty and crushed buildings which no longer
scrape the sky;
Of living in the open once again, to be sun-warmed
and star-shined;
Of walking. Of simply walking through the territory
controlled by the Cats;
of cat traps, and cat cages,
and cats without claws and teeth;
Of a world without Cats.

And the Mice dream dreams
That would terrify the Cat.

Aloha.



Puanani Burgess (Auntie Pua) is a noted cultural expert and was recently awarded a meritorious doctor of letters (D. Litt., indigenous knowledge holder) for her lifetime contributions to indigenous education by the World Indigenous Nations University. Auntie Pua is also recognized as a living treasure of Hawai'i and as a community scholar working with the Department of Urban and Regional Planning at the University of Hawai'i in Mānoa. Auntie Pua serves as a mentor to her generation and to subsequent generations, passing on living Hawaiian wisdom, knowledge, practices, and worldviews. Auntie Pua's work as a member of the Hui is having and will have an international impact as she shapes our thinking about how indigenous work in education, social services, and community development is evaluated and assessed. She is revolutionizing our thinking about Hawaiian ways.

The Ghana Cookbook: A Review

Book Review by Esi Colecraft, PhD
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The Ghana Cookbook

by Osseo-Asare, Fran and Barbara Baeta. 2015. Hippocrene Books, New York, NY. 248 pp. Hardcover \$19.95 ISBN 978-0-781813-43-3.

*Correction issued December 19, 2016. Original published version omitted an author in the above citation and misspelled an author's surname in the body of the review.

doi:10.18113/P8ik260048

Several years ago, as a student in the United States, I discovered Fran Osseo-Asare's first Ghanaian cookbook, *A Good Soup Attracts Chairs*, a name derived from an Akan proverb. Though written for children, I gifted this book to several American friends who had tasted Ghanaian meals and asked me for recipes. As with many Ghanaians, my cooking is based on "feel" rather than carefully measured out ingredients so giving out recipes was always quite a challenge and I was grateful to have that little cookbook to give out to friends. I was thrilled to learn about *The Ghana Cookbook* and just as excited to be given the opportunity to review it.

Fran Osseo-Asare and Barbara Baeta set out to capture the heart of Ghanaian cuisine in *The Ghana Cookbook*. From the red hued glossy cover decorated with images of a few of typical ingredients, such as peanut toffee and palm nuts, to the glossary of Ghanaian names of ingredients and dishes used throughout the book, *The Ghana Cookbook* impressively accomplishes the author's purpose: take the user to the heartland of Ghanaian cuisine and as a bonus gives us some snippets of other West African gastronomy.

The book's introductions include mini biographies of the authors and a brief overview on the country and its culture. The biographies are an interesting read

and nicely capture the authors' mutual love for Ghana's cuisine as well as their spirit of collaboration, friendship and adventure that has culminated in this very gratifying cookbook.

The cookbook is divided into two parts. The first part of the cookbook provides information on equipment, textures, flavors; cooking methods and seasonal techniques that are foundational to Ghanaian and West African cooking and which are referred to in the recipes. The second part of the cookbook holds almost two hundred pages of recipes grouped under ten chapters that reflect the structure of Ghanaian meals. While most of the recipes are typical Ghanaian recipes, there are several recipes that are western or American adaptations. While vegetarianism is not common in Ghana, there is a brief vegetarian chapter but other vegetarian options can be found under the other recipe groupings, particularly under the Snacks, Appetizers and Street Foods chapter. The typical Ghanaian recipes are identified by English descriptions and their local name. As there are recipes from almost all the major ethnic groups of the country, the name of the cookbook, *The Ghana Cookbook*, is befitting.

The layout of the recipes is easy to follow with organized ingredients lists, step by step preparation directions and serving suggestions. Many of the recipes also have a troubleshooting feature where potential problems are anticipated and remedies provided. Alternatives are suggested for potentially hard to find ingredients. The pages of the recipes are also dotted with brief informative synopses on key ingredients such as palm nut fruit or gari and even egg. Although there are no pictures accompanying the recipes, the cookbook has an eight-page insert with colorful pictures depicting some of the recipes, ingredients, cultural attractions and the authors. All the recipes carry a caption that describes the recipe and some have anecdotes of how the final recipe was arrived at. Some of these anecdotes were amusing telling of differing opinions on how a certain dish should be prepared but demonstrate the adaptability of the recipes and should encourage users of the cookbook to have fun and be creative with the recipes. The authors accurately refer to onions, tomatoes and pepper as the "holy trinity" of Ghanaian cooking: this is very true.

All the recipes I tried turned out great without any modifications. I have always enjoyed Tiger Nut Pudding which I have had at parties and restaurants but had never tried to make myself. I was so happy to find the recipe in the cookbook and it was the first recipe I tried. It turned out really silky smooth and delicious, it

didn't stay too long in the fridge and so the next day I made up some more. My eight year old daughter was keen to try the fish cakes so I had her help measure out the ingredients and in less than one hour we were enjoying a delicious snack. I had one of my busy students try out one of the quickie recipes (Sardine Stew in a Flash) and this is what she had to say: "I loved how the instructions were clear and easy to follow. The ingredients were not complicated or difficult to find. The stew was ready quite literally in a flash! The amount of pepper stated in the instructions was too small in my opinion, so I just increased it to suit my taste. It is definitely a handy recipe and can be used on days where you just want to whip something up quickly."

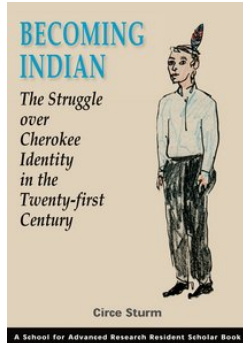
I recommend *The Ghana Cookbook* for anyone interested in African cuisine in general and Ghanaian cuisine in particular. It is authentic, educational, and, more importantly, the recipes work. Both the novice and seasoned cook will enjoy this cookbook. At the start of her biography, Osseo-Asare says "This cookbook is the one I always wanted to buy and could never find." After reviewing this book, I would like to thank the authors for writing the cookbook that I have always wanted to buy for my foreign friends and could never find until now.



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A Review of *Becoming Indian: The Struggle over Cherokee Identity in the Twenty-first Century*

Book Review by Suzan A. M. McVicker



*Becoming Indian:
The Struggle over Cherokee Identity in the Twenty-first Century*

by Sturm, Circe. 2011. Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research Press. 262 pp. Paper \$27.95 ISBN 978-1-934691-44-1.

doi:10.18113/P8ik260043

In *Becoming Indian*, author Circe Sturm examines Cherokee identity politics and the phenomenon of racial shifting. Racial shifters, as described by Sturm, are people who have changed their racial self-identification from non-Indian to Indian on the US Census. Many racial shifters are people who, while looking for their roots, have recently discovered their Native American ancestry. Others have family stories of an Indian great-great-grandmother or grandfather they have not been able to document. Still, others have long known they were of Native American descent, including their tribal affiliation, but only recently have become interested in reclaiming this aspect of their family history. Despite their differences, racial shifters share a conviction that they have Indian blood when asserting claims of indigeneity. *Becoming Indian* explores the social and cultural values that lie behind this phenomenon and delves into the motivations of these Americans—from so many different walks of life—to reinscribe their autobiographies and find deep personal and collective meaning in reclaiming their Indianness. Sturm points out that “becoming Indian” was not something people were quite as willing to do forty years ago—the willingness to do so now reveals much about the shifting politics of race and indigeneity in the United States.

Back cover description of *Becoming Indian*:

Twenty-first century United States Census results stoke a wildfire racial conversation that sweeps far beyond Kituwah, the ancient mother town of the Cherokee People in the Great Smoky Mountains. The Cherokee People of the Fire and their hidden descendants who passed as white are engaged in an expanding talking circle over questions of identity and belonging. Circe Sturm, an interdisciplinary anthropologist with Sicilian, German, and Mississippi Choctaw ancestry, is quick to state that she was not raised on tribal land or in tribal community. Though her readers do not know how she checked boxes indicating her race on the US Census form, she is clear about her aspiration for the book, *Becoming Indian: The Struggle over Cherokee Identity in the Twenty-first Century*. Sturm invested over fifteen years of research toward realization of her vision for greater political understanding about a topic that arouses a conflagration of polarized perspectives.

During the time that mobile phones shifted from elite use as yuppie devices and into a modern means to communicate across Indian Country, Sturm boldly set the field for academic and popular conversation on the history of blood quantum and the formation of national Cherokee identity in her 2002 book, *Blood Politics: Race, Culture, and Identity in the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma*. Her 2011 sequel text, *Becoming Indian*, reads like a novel alight with research graphics. Her artistry as a scholarly writer is resonant with metaphor-rich Cherokee language (Altman and Belt 2009, 9-22). She presents insightful reflections on metaphors heard in her interviews, such as bankruptcy of a white culture that is running out of gas. Sturm's Cherokee Identity Matrix chart offers a template for looking at six continua of differences and commonalities in discerning "Cherokeeity." She documents and details what is being said and, importantly, not said in public discourses on Cherokee identity. Her goal of igniting the need for additional attention to racial shifting is met through skill in infusing life into findings from analysis of her interviews.

**Indigenous Reclamation Is a Political Act:
Clarity to Protect Rights of Sovereignty**

Sturm gives voice to the growing party involved in the talking circle about "Cherokee converts." Her book, *Becoming Indian*, may support federally recognized Cherokee tribes in responding to racial shifters. Hot-topic dangers

alongside spiritual reasons for racial shifting are lifted from the groundswell of racial “converts.” Gaining clarity regarding Cherokee bloodlines, politics, and spirituality may open consciousness of deeper identity about self-in-relationship. This expanded experience of self can be understood from systems theory as opening to the reciprocal relationship of humans with all living beings in physical, energy, and spiritual dimensions (McVicker 2014, 2). At stake in the public discourse about becoming Indian is the protection of sociopolitical boundaries, rights of sovereignty, and perpetuation of Cherokee culture and worldview. Through her own respectful listening for understanding, Sturm cultivates compassionate witness of a complex political reclamation process. Balanced sharing of the talking stick invites polarized voices to contribute perspectives for the benefit of all who consider themselves to be People of the Fire.

Encouraged by tribal authorities to scrutinize Cherokee political rights and sovereignty entitlements associated with identity and belonging, Sturm opens her book with questions designed to reevaluate ancestry and tribal belonging. Ancestry, reckoned differently even by members of the same kinship group, involves entangled viewpoints on kinship that force this conversation into a lengthy one. Kinship claims are evaluated by sifting through ideas of belonging based on blood as well as cultural knowledge. Between quoted voices, Sturm tells a well-researched backstory of complex Cherokee American history. Documentary evidence of indigeneity versus undocumentable oral history is an area the author steps into skillfully. Preservation of the value of oral knowledge calls for a delicate balance with questionable stories asserting Cherokee ancestry.

Asking Again, “Who Is Indian?”

Snap judgment still prevails in everyday encounters between citizen Cherokees and racial shifters. Accusations of cultural appropriation are spun differently depending on answers to the “Who is Indian?” question. In traditional Cherokee inclusiveness, Sturm moderates a conversation, begun in the last century, with strong boundaries to protect against any attempt to force a false sense of resolution. As if the ancestors were whispering in her ear, she invites Cherokee speakers to, in turn, listen with hospitality to the experiences of their relatives.

First, the racial shifters speak. Chapter topics follow an oratory sequence introduced with “Hidden Histories and Racial Ghosts” (Sturm 2011, 31). Cherokee-identified individuals are observed to have a need to talk about pride of

ancestry, an eagerness akin to a dam breaking—something held back for so long that pressure finally overcomes barriers. Labels like “half-breed” or “wannabe,” encountered in remapping personal racial narrative, are deconstructed with dignity in this circle and examined with scholarly curiosity for “What Lies Beneath” (Sturm 2011, 31). As intricate and confusing accounts coalesce into “White Before, Cherokee After: Racial Conversion as a Resolution of Meaning” (Sturm 2011, 73), transformational learning links with spiritual ideals. Learning that takes place in the borderlands between Indigenous and Western worldviews often necessitates grief along with illumination (Herrmann, unpublished dissertation). Talk of a larger self-in-relationship emerges from burdensome stories into a new form of politics born of neighborly engagement and interrelational spirit. At this point in Sturm’s book, when racial converts highlight remedies that they see through the eyes of Cherokee soul-sense of self, the talking stick passes to citizen Cherokees.

With citizen Cherokees, as with racial shifters, Sturm picks up the term “wannabe” only after others utter it. The wannabe term, usually associated with impoverished social class and white appearance, is an everyday word in Indian Country. Federally-recognized Cherokees generally perceive wannabes as suffering from a lack of desirable identity, hailing from a bankrupt white culture. Racial shifters who stagger under the weight of poverty while lugging the name “white trash” welcome newfound Cherokeeness as a step up into higher social respect. When experienced in community spiritual practice, life as a racial convert brings richer meaning. As day-to-day circumstances brighten, even derogatory appellations that also carry the inference of being Indian are suffered with pride.

Citizen Cherokees have much to say about “‘Descendants’ and ‘Thindians’: Blood Measures and the Negotiation of Racial and Cultural Marginality” (Sturm 2011, 128). A Thindian is a Cherokee descendant whose genealogical blood appears to be too thinly stretched from tribal forebears (Sturm 2011, 227). Blood, the sacred medium connecting ancestors and descendants, mattered in Ancient Times and continues to matter in modern times. Citizen Cherokees express greater tolerance and empathy for shifters whose claims appear to have genealogical likelihood. The still-relevant historical backstory appears in the present moment. Citizens and shifters who clash over what it means to be Indigenous in Indian Country and in the United States busily exhume the issue of Indian families who long ago passed for white. Native American passing, buried and forgotten, lies as an unmarked part of the social terrain of American history. Indian destiny was portrayed as

extinction because the tribal way of life made it impossible for Indians to belong in the modern landscape. Instead, Cherokee identity went underground. Passing, one way to deal with the specter of Removal or extinction, represented an early instance of racial shifting. Then and now, passing signifies status change.

In the last pages of her book, Sturm (2011, 165-192) explores how discordant understandings of change in racial status fuel controversies around Cherokee identity claims. Maintaining her refusal to stereotype, she shows readers the possibility that a centuries-old course of assimilation may be reversing. Lumping all wannabe, Thindian, and descendants into one homogenous camp could obscure key stories shedding meaning and significance about racial shifting at this historical moment. Strengthened by ethnic renewal, American Indian political resurgence, informal social changes, and ideological openings, Cherokees whose ancestors were scattered by Removal meet each other in a form of “Racial Alchemy in the Twenty-first Century” (Sturm 2011, 183).

Embracing Opposites within the Circle

Since Ancient Times, the People of the Fire combined seemingly opposing positions to create alchemical forward movement. Instead of seeing each foot as separate, right and left feet are accepted as two parts of one body. Grounded in a worldview that embraces life as a circle and that respects interrelatedness of all positions within the circle, The People of the Fire value questions that seek opportunity in contrapositions (Garrett and Garrett 2002, 92-99). As Cherokee racial claimants and citizen Cherokees find old kinship bonds and relax rigid boundaries that severed them from each other in recent centuries, how might boundaries that protect cultural identity and political sovereignty strengthen? “Memories hold hands” despite gaps in cultural knowledge following Removal and assimilation (England-Aytes 2014, ii). Messages to future generations from individual stories and oral histories can support rejuvenation of Cherokee identity (England-Aytes 2014, 2). Sturm exhibits her strength through her ability to engage readers long enough to sit through difficult conversation.

Opportunities to listen and reflect, to readjust for ceremonial meeting common in all Cherokee communities, are spiritual reflections as well as political reflections. Whether trauma and loss befell them along the Trail of Tears, struck them by remaining with their land of origin, or afflicted them when passing for white, for Cherokees, ceremonies handed down by common forebears are inherently

understood to create a flow of potential healing that protects cultural identity. Ceremonies, the heart of Indigenous storytelling and performance, open space and embody Indigenous experience of time so that deep cultural relationships with the natural and spirit worlds can be renewed (Walker 2007, 26-31). Through singing and dancing in ceremony, the worldviews of participants are met with respect and may undergo transformation (Walker 2007, 32-36).

Long-unrecognized Indians Forced to “Play White”

Listen to twenty-first century accounts of outsiders, non-Indian Americans, at public events where they still cheer to see American Indians in Hollywood costume behaving in stereotypical ways staged by colonial dominance. With Sturm, invoke Wilma Mankiller to hear the cry of danger raised at a 1995 US Senate Committee meeting over gross misrepresentation of authentic Indian identity. “A tribe’s sovereignty, identity, and reputation are at stake.” Whole communities, domestic and international, who do not live near tribal peoples learn about Native Americans from the Internet. Disreputable identity information shines across the screen as believable. How identity is shaped and understood inside the Cherokee world by those who perpetuate Cherokee bloodlines also molds social and political recognition outside the tribes.

Issues of tribal identity and “false tribes” that are ambiguous to insiders risk stirring up confusion for non-tribal policymakers. Across the United States, Sturm maps a mounting number of state-recognized and self-identified tribes that divide Native American sovereignty into gradations. Well-meaning policymakers who want to do right by tribal peoples may have trouble discerning authentic tribes in a range of sovereignty levels. If resources are diverted to questionable tribes, rightful shares are siphoned off from legitimate tribes in the confusion. Sturm alerts readers that as census results continue to document swelling numbers of racial shifters, momentous Cherokee-specific issues will impact other tribal communities.

Sturm (2011) touches a hidden depth when she talks about homesickness for Kituwah. “Racial wistfulness” lurks in the psyche of non-whites trying to live as white (Sturm 2011, 185). As racial shifters understand what their families lost when they passed for white, they link sadness with the generations-long assimilation process. They feel the branch of the family that had been cut away. Though the exact means of the transmission of the felt sense of Cherokee experience are not fully understood, unrecognized Cherokee descendants feel gaps

in identity and belonging much like reacting to a phantom limb (Sturm 2011, 185). During social climate change of redignification (a multi-step process in which victims of violent crime reclaim control over their own historical narrative and social dignity) of Native Americans when such feelings became more acceptable, racial shifters begin to see themselves “not as whites who ‘play Indian’ but as long-unrecognized Indians who have been forced by historical circumstances to ‘play white’” (Sturm 2011, 184).

A Pivotal Moment: Reconnection or Repeated Suspicion?

The early twenty-first century is a pivotal moment in Cherokee history. During this time of language renewal and sifting for authentic Cherokeeness, official tribal policy for belonging in federally-recognized tribes could either dilute or bolster cultural empowerment if racial-shifter Cherokee descendants are welcomed. A majority of interviewed citizen Cherokees maintain that culture is acquired by osmosis in childhood. Even if shifters learn the stories, language, and worldview in adulthood, they are considered to be unable to transmute far enough from whiteness to be able to transform into full Cherokeeness.

Sturm’s (2011) own leaning toward the minority viewpoint of cultural pliability and Cherokee conversion shifts the conversation from wannabes to “could-bes.” Racial converts who are willing to engage in respectful mutuality with citizen Cherokees could claim ancestral belonging within the tribe (Sturm 2011, 143). No room exists, however, for misrepresentation or appropriation of Cherokee identity. Neither is there room for entitled attitudes, no matter how understandable these reactions might be to past rejections from citizen Cherokees. Attitudes of citizen Cherokees toward descendants with thin blood claims must also soften into respect and appreciation for historical reasons that some families rejected US Government blood quantum policies. For some, the original intention behind refusal to enroll was to protect the next generations from further losses through dealings with US federal, state, and local authorities (Sturm 2011, 175). Maturing self-in-relationship calls for connections built with compassion, curiosity, calmness, and creativity (McVicker 2014, 4-7). If more citizen Cherokees adopt an understanding that cultural learning in adulthood may be transformational, and, if “entities using the Cherokee name” establish collaborative relations with federally-recognized tribes—two sizeable “ifs”—meaningful ties may take root. A great number of people with Cherokee ancestry might eventually be rewoven into the distinctive patterns of their tribe of origin (Sturm 2011, 145).

Sturm is both master storyteller and researcher. In the Cherokee old way, an artist and her finished work can be described together as one entity (Smith, Strickland, and Smith 2010, 20). The author together with *Becoming Indian* might be called “empowering Cherokee knowings.” *Becoming Indian* is a gift both from and to the People of the Fire; the book is for anyone who recognizes that the struggle over contemporary Cherokee identity is about social justice, individual and collective healing, and the development of a balanced and harmonious self-in-relationship. Sturm’s compassion, clear historical contextualization, and creative weave of connecting identity with politics voice cutting-edge emergent questions. Tribal sovereignty and Cherokee cultural persistence depend on kinship connections born of appreciation for how each blood relative arrived at Cherokeeity. The conversation in Sturm’s book is a pivotal one intended to continue at Cherokee kitchen tables, in classrooms, in chambers where policymakers meet, through cousin-to-cousin video calls, among philosophers, in coffee shops, and by texting in the Cherokee syllabary on iPhones.



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New Resources on Indigenous Knowledge

This section lists recent publications related to indigenous knowledge. It is not intended to be comprehensive but covers a wide range of disciplines and provides a snapshot of the depth and breadth of research on indigenous issues.

Aguilera-Black Bear, Dorothy, and John W. Tippeconnic III. 2016.
Voices of Resistance and Renewal: Indigenous Leadership in Education.
Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. [Publisher's page](#).

Albuquerque, Ulysses Paulino, and Rômulo Romeu Nóbrega Alves, eds.
2016. *Introduction to Ethnobiology*. Cham, Switzerland:
Springer. [Publisher's page](#).

Anderson, Ann, Jim Anderson, Jan Hare, and Marianne McTavish, eds.
2016. *Language, Learning, and Culture in Early Childhood: Home, School,
and Community Contexts*. New York: Routledge. [Publisher's page](#).

Arabena, Kerry. 2016. *Becoming Indigenous to the Universe: Reflections
on Living Systems, Indigeneity, and Citizenship*. North Melbourne, VIC:
Australian Scholarly Publishing. [Publisher's page](#).

Baines, Kristina. 2015. *Embodying Ecological Heritage in a Maya
Community: Health, Happiness, and Identity*. Lanham, MD: Lexington
Books. [Publisher's page](#).

Barelli, Mauro. 2016. *Seeking Justice in International Law: The
Significance and Implications of the UN Declaration on the Rights of
Indigenous Peoples*. London: Routledge [Publisher's page](#).

Barleet, Brydie-Leigh, Dawn Bennett, Anne Power, and Naomi Sunderland,
eds. 2016. *Engaging First Peoples in Arts-Based Service Learning: Towards
Respectful and Mutually Beneficial Educational Practices*. Landscapes: The
Arts, Aesthetics, and Education. Cham, Switzerland: Springer. [Publisher's
Page](#).

Bergland, Jeff. 2016. *Indigenous Pop: Native American Music from Jazz
to Hip Hop*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. [Publisher's page](#).

- Biddle, Jennifer L. 2016. *Remote Avant-Garde: Aboriginal Art Under Occupation*. Objects/Histories. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. [Publisher's page](#).
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- Brian, Amber. 2016. *Alva Ixtlilxochitl's Native Archive and the Circulation of Knowledge in Colonial Mexico*. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press. [Publisher's page](#).
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- Coburn, Elaine, ed. 2015. *More Will Sing Their Way to Freedom: Indigenous Resistance and Resurgence*. Winnipeg, MB: Fernwood Publishing. [Publisher's page](#).

- Desta, Amare, Montesnot Mengesha, and Mammo Muchie, eds. 2016. *Putting Knowledge to Work: From Knowledge Transfer to Knowledge Exchange*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press. [Publisher's page](#).
- Duarte, Marta C. T., and Mahendra Rai, eds. 2016. *Therapeutic Medicinal Plants: From Lab to the Market*. Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press. [Publisher's page](#).
- Emeagwali, Gloria, and Edward Shizha, eds. *African Indigenous Knowledge and the Sciences: Journeys into the Past and Present*. Anti-colonial Educational Perspectives for Transformative Change. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers. [Publisher's page](#).
- Endicott, Kirk, ed. 2016. *Malaysia's Original People: Past, Present and Future of the Orang Asli*. Singapore: NUS Press. [Publisher's page](#).
- Forth, Gregory L. 2016. *Why the Porcupine is Not a Bird: Explorations of the Folk Zoology of an Eastern Indonesian People*. Anthropological Horizons. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. [Publisher's page](#).
- Furusawa, Takuro. 2016. *Living with Biodiversity in an Island Ecosystem: Cultural Adaptation in the Solomon Islands*. *Ethnobiology*. Heidelberg, Germany: Springer. [Publisher's page](#).
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- Jacob, Michelle M. 2016. *Indian Pilgrims: Indigenous Journeys of Activism and Healing with Saint Kateri Tekakwitha*. Critical Issues in Indigenous Studies Series. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. [Publisher's page](#).
- Jacobs, Nancy Joy. 2016. *Birders of Africa: History of a Network*. Yale Agrarian Studies Series. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. [Publisher's page](#).
- Jean-Marie, Gaëtane, Steve Sider, and Charlene Desir, eds. 2016. *Comparative International Perspectives on Education and Social Change in Developing Countries and Indigenous Peoples in Developing Countries*. International Advances in Education: Global Initiatives for Equity and Social Justice. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing. [Publisher's page](#).

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- Justice, Daniel Heath. 2016. *Why Indigenous Literatures Matter*. Aboriginal Studies Series. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press. [Publisher's page](#).
- Kapur, Malavika. 2016. *Psychological Perspectives on Childcare in Indian Indigenous Health Systems*. New Delhi: Springer. [Publisher's page](#).
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- King, Lisa, Rose Gubele, and Joyce R. Anderson, eds. *Survivance, Sovereignty, and Story: Teaching American Indian Rhetorics*. Logan: Utah State University Press. [Publisher's page](#).
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Martin-Hill, Dawn. 2016. *The Lubicon Lake Nation: Indigenous Knowledge and Power*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. [Publisher's page](#).

McCarthy, Theresa. 2016. *In Divided Unity: Haudenosaunee Reclamation at Grand River*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. [Publisher's page](#).

McCleary, Timothy P. 2016. *Crow Indian Rock Art: Indigenous Perspectives and Interpretations*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press. [Publisher's page](#).

McDougall, Brandy N. 2016. *Finding Meaning: Kaona and Contemporary Hawaiian Literature*. Native American Studies. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. [Publisher's page](#).

Meusburger, Peter, Tim Freytag, and Laura Suarsana, eds. 2016. *Ethnic and Cultural Dimensions of Knowledge*. Knowledge and Space. Cham, Switzerland: Springer. [Publisher's page](#).

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Recent ICIK Seminars

Seminar Series: January–April 2016

Seminars are archived and available for viewing at the [ICIK Website](#).

“Are We So Different?” A Look at the Influence of Culture on Breast Cancer Screening Behaviors in Nigeria



On February 17, 2016 Reni Bilikisu Elewonibi, a PhD candidate at Penn State, presented a seminar on the importance of breast cancer screening in Nigeria. Reni’s project used a cultural health promotion framework, the PEN3 model, to identify indigenous knowledge related to beliefs about breast cancer screening in

Lagos, Nigeria. Interviews provided insight into social and cultural barriers that influence screening decisions. The aim was to create a culturally grounded intervention that resonates with cultural and behavioral norms, in the hope of increasing breast cancer screening uptake. Reni’s presentation revealed that such decisions are particularly important for women living in a region with limited resources and competing health care needs.

Reni Bilikisu Elewonibi is a PhD candidate in health policy and administration and demography at Penn State. She is also a recipient of the 2015 M.G. Whiting Student Indigenous Knowledge Research Award.

Through an Indigenous Lens, Food Security is Food Sovereignty: Case Studies of Māori of Aotearoa-New Zealand and Andeans of Peru

On April 27, 2016, Mariaelena Huambachano presented a seminar entitled “Through an Indigenous Lens, Food Security is Food Sovereignty: Case Studies of Māori of Aotearoa-New Zealand and Andeans of Peru.” The seminar, which was co-sponsored by ICIK, presented findings from a research project exploring food security, food sovereignty, and the relationships between them through an indigenous lens. Mariaelena focused on the “good living principles” of indigenous peoples of Peru (Allin Kawsay) and New Zealand (Mauri Ora) as keys to understanding possibilities for improving food security policies. Mariaelena’s research is guided by an innovative indigenous research framework referred to as the “Khipu Andean.” Her case studies are based on in-depth, semi-structured interviews, workshops, and talking circle sessions with Māori Kaumatua/Elders, business leaders, and academics in North Island, New Zealand. Her case studies were based on similar data in the Peruvian Andes. These case studies demonstrate how Māori and Quechua peoples’ resilience in food security and sovereignty stems from their good living principles. Such principles emphasize cultural identity, revitalization of small-scale farmers, and sustainability practices that value community participation, self-sufficiency, and empowerment. She will argue that indigenous peoples’ knowledge embedded in their “good living philosophies” for food security and sovereignty can enhance conceptualization of a food sovereignty framework.



Mariaelena Huambachano is a doctoral candidate in the School of Management and International Business at the University of Auckland, New Zealand. She is also a researcher with the Mira Száscy Research Centre for Māori and Pacific Economic Development at the University of Auckland. She holds a Bachelor of Business Studies and a Postgraduate Diploma in Management, both from Massey University, New Zealand. Her research interests center on sustainable development, indigeneity, international trade and development, and models of food security and food sovereignty.

Traditional, Natural, Esoteric: The Presence of Indigenous Knowledge in Urban Colombia



On April 20, 2016, Dr. Richard Stoller presented a seminar on the role of indigenous knowledge in Colombia and the nation's future. Colombia is one of the most urbanized countries in Latin America, and urban perceptions of rural realities are at the heart of current debates about Colombia's future. Colombia's indigenous people, while only 3.4 percent of the population, have a significant place in

those perceptions; however, they are often stereotyped. Dr. Stoller's seminar looked at a number of examples of how indigenous knowledge is viewed and appropriated in urban Colombia and recent efforts by indigenous people and organizations to reassert control over the presence of indigenous knowledge and identity in wider society.

Dr. Richard Stoller is the Coordinator of Academic Advising and International Programs at the Penn State Schreyer Honors College. He has written about several topics in nineteenth and twentieth century Colombian history since he first traveled to Colombia as an undergraduate over thirty years ago.

Linguistic Knowledge and Language Use in the Yucatan Peninsula

On April 6, 2016, Dr. Lindsay Butler-Trump presented a seminar on the role of language in the transfer of knowledge and its implications in Mexico. Dr. Butler-Trump's seminar, which was introduced by Dr. John Lipski, addressed the question: What does it mean to be human? A fundamental answer to this question involves our ability to transfer knowledge through language. Yet our understanding of the knowledge and use of human language has traditionally failed to include speakers of indigenous languages. This seminar examined linguistic knowledge and language use among speakers of Yucatec Maya in the Yucatan Peninsula of Mexico.



Dr. Lindsay Butler-Trump earned her PhD in Linguistics from the University of Arizona in 2011. She is currently a master's candidate in speech-language pathology at Penn State. Since 2004, Dr. Butler-Trump has been carrying out research with people who speak Yucatec Maya. She is the recipient of numerous research awards including the 2015 M.G. Whiting Student Indigenous Knowledge Research Award.

2016 Whiting Indigenous Knowledge Research Award Winners

The Interinstitutional Center for Indigenous Knowledge is pleased to announce the 2016 Whiting Endowment winners. This year, the winners are Sarah Eissler, a PhD candidate at Penn State; Annie Marcinek, an MS candidate at Penn State; and Narmadha Senanayake, a PhD candidate at Penn State. The winners will present their research findings and/or project results at a fall 2016 or spring 2017 ICIK seminar. They will also write an article highlighting the indigenous knowledge aspects of their projects for publication in the ICIK journal *IK: Other Ways of Knowing*.

Each year, Penn State graduate and undergraduate students are invited to submit proposals to conduct research funded by the Whiting Endowment. The Whiting Endowment for the Advancement of Indigenous Knowledge at Penn State was created in 2008 with a gift of \$50,000 from the Marjorie Grant Whiting Center for Humanity, Arts, and the Environment. In 2009, The Whiting Center increased the endowment to \$100,000. The endowment was transferred from the College of Agricultural Sciences to the Penn State University Libraries in 2014. The funds from the endowment may be used to enhance indigenous knowledge at Penn State by supporting activities that include developing interdisciplinary courses, funding indigenous knowledge-related research, education and outreach efforts of faculty and students, and supporting visiting scholars and lecturers. The endowment has also funded the Student Indigenous Knowledge Research Awards. These awards are open to full-time Penn State undergraduate and graduate students at any Penn State campus, including the World Campus.

You can learn more about applying for [the Whiting Indigenous Knowledge Student Research Awards by visiting our website](#), or [you can view past winners](#).

This year, the winners' research projects will be:



Sarah Eissler, PhD Candidate, Department of Agricultural Economics, Sociology, and Education, Penn State

Title: Investigating Gender Dimensions in Response to Climate Change: A Mixed Methods Approach on Smallholder Cacao Farms in South Sulawesi, Indonesia

Abstract: Women are often excluded from climate change discourse; they are disproportionately impacted by climate change, yet they are often viewed as vulnerable beneficiaries rather than capable change agents. Women play a critical role in natural resource management and have a unique understanding of the natural resources around them. In Indonesia, women and men are both actively engaged in smallholder cacao production; however, women here are marginalized from participating in decision and policy-making. This project aims to investigate the gender dimensions of the impacts of climate change in smallholder cacao production in South Sulawesi, Indonesia. Utilizing a mixed-methodological approach, this project will capture the voices and knowledge of local cacao farmers and communities, particularly those of women. This data will then be brought to larger development projects implementing climate-smart agricultural (CSA) practices for the purpose of building household and farm resilience to climate change, as well as to the broader international development community.



Annie Marcinek, MS Candidate, Department of Recreation, Park, and Tourism Management, Penn State

Title: Extracting from the Rainforest: Indigeneity and Ecotourism in the Ecuadorian Amazon

Abstract: Several indigenous communities in the Napo Province of the Ecuadorian Amazon have turned to ecotourism as an alternative, sustainable development strategy in the face of harmful extractive industries, namely oil. The literature suggests that new income proves insufficient for true sustainable development of indigenous communities. The purpose of this ethnographic field study is to better understand the interaction of indigenous knowledge and new forms of tourism-related knowledge within three projects located in the Napo Province of the

Ecuadorian Amazon. Opportunities to participate in management, decision-making, and, ideally, ownership of tourism projects are explored as a means to extract meaningful environmental, social, and economic benefits from ecotourism among local indigenous communities in this biodiverse area of the planet.



**Narmadha (Nari) Senanayake, PhD Candidate,
Department of Geography, Penn State**

Title: Cultivating Health in Landscapes of Uncertainty:
Mystery Kidney Disease and the Return of Native Seed in
Dry Zone Sri Lanka

Abstract: Since the first reports of a mysterious form of Chronic Kidney Disease (CKDu) emerged in the early 1990s, Sri Lanka's dry zone has become the epicenter of an epidemic that is slowly crippling the island's rice belt. While the disease's etiology is the subject of scientific debate, narratives that link CKDu to the agrarian landscape captivate the popular imagination and influence farmers' cultivation practices, albeit in uneven, haphazard, and poorly understood ways. The proposed project examines the following: how ideas about the environment and its link to diseases are formed, reinforced, and circulated; how farmers' cultivation practices are changing in response to the problem of CKDu, particularly through the repatriation of native seeds and the return of indigenous cultivation techniques; and how relationships between indigenous knowledge, health, and agricultural modernization in the dry zone have changed over time and continually shape the dry zone's positioning vis-à-vis the Sri Lankan state. Findings of this research will provide new insights into the driving forces and consequences of agrarian transformation in dry zone Sri Lanka while also informing emerging scholarship within geography and the social sciences on indigenous knowledge and, health, and environmental interactions.

11th Tri-Annual World Indigenous Peoples' Conference on Education

[Six Nations Polytechnic](#)* and [TAP Resources](#)* have been selected to host the prestigious indigenous education event, the World Indigenous Peoples Conference on Education (WIPCE), from July 24 to 29 in 2017 at the Metro Toronto Convention Centre.

WIPCE is an international conference that began over thirty years ago. The tenth tri-annual conference, held in O'ahu, Hawai'i in 2014, was hosted by the Hawaiian Education Association and drew more than 3,200 delegates from around the globe, including representatives from First Nations (Canada), Native Americans (USA), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples (Australia), Maori (New Zealand), Ainu (Japan), Sami (Norway), and others. These representatives come together to share successes and strategies for culturally grounded indigenous education.

The conference attracts highly regarded indigenous education experts and practitioners. As a result, WIPCE is the largest and most diverse indigenous education event in the world. The conference continues to lead the discussion on contemporary movements in education that support indigenous worldviews.

To learn more, visit the [WIPCE website](#). Abstracts are being accepted on the [2017 event website](#).

*The mission of Six Nations Polytechnic is to preserve, apply, and create knowledge specific to Ogwehóweh languages, culture, and knowledge while respectfully interacting with and informing other knowledge systems.

*TAP Resources is an Aboriginally-owned consulting and professional services group.

Latin America Indigenous Funders Conference

The International Funders for Indigenous Peoples (IFIP) hosted [The Latin America Indigenous Funders Conference](#) on October 25 to 27, 2016 to bring leaders from the indigenous, donor, and corporate worlds to the same table, with the potential to turn the coming tide of extinction of species, languages, and cultures. The conference focused on supporting the role of indigenous peoples' in bio-cultural diversity, human rights, and sustainable economic models.

Location

Jose Antonio Hotel, Lima, Peru

As countries, corporations, and communities around the world are increasingly focusing their attention on developing effective ways to decrease the impact of global warming, indigenous communities around the world are providing solutions. The IFIP is the only global donor affinity group dedicated solely to indigenous peoples around the world.

Conference Tracks

- Half-Day Pre-Conference Workshop: Indigenous Peoples and Security Issues
- Track 1: Investing in Indigenous Models of Sustainable Development
- Track 2: Protecting Ancestral Territories and Indigenous Rights
- Track 3: Walking in Two Worlds: Why Indigenous Wisdom Will Be Vital to Our Future
- Half-Day Session: Resource Mobilization for Indigenous Women

Trent University Launches Indigenous Bachelor of Education

Trent University, ranked as the number one undergraduate university in Ontario and second in Canada, has launched a unique Indigenous Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.) program that will put aboriginal knowledge and perspectives at the forefront of teacher training.

The Indigenous B.Ed. program is a concurrent five-year program open to teacher candidates who, at the time of application, self-identify as having indigenous ancestry (which includes First Nation, Metis, and Inuit students). This program will offer entry directly from high school in addition to transfer agreements with local community colleges and First Nation education institutes. Eligible students will also qualify for college credit based on their past educational experiences. Students will complete their first three years of learning with a wide range of Trent courses to achieve a well-rounded education. Their fourth and fifth years will focus on classes within the Indigenous B.Ed. program. Primary/junior and intermediate/senior teaching streams are available as well as a large selection of subject areas including Ojibway language.

This program leads to licensing by the Ontario College of Teachers and prepares graduates to teach in public, First Nation/Metis/Inuit, and Catholic education systems in both urban and rural areas.

Equity admissions are in place to support applicants who are under-represented in the teaching and professional community.

Visit the Trent University [Indigenous Bachelor of Education \(B.Ed.\)](#) website for more information.

Manitoba Indigenous Education Blueprint

The Manitoba Indigenous Education Blueprint was signed on December 28, 2015 by all of Manitoba's post-secondary institutions and the province's public school boards. This initiative positions Manitoba to become a leading global center of excellence for Indigenous education, research, languages, and cultures.

This monumental undertaking will help transform our province by celebrating Indigenous success, and helping to heal and reconcile the wrongs of the past. The depth and extent of this collaborative effort will create pathways and safe spaces in our education institutions for Indigenous students and, remarkably, we are only just getting started. This partnership will grow in membership and mandate, strengthening our province's ability to close the gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples.

Deborah Young
Former Executive Lead of Indigenous Achievement
University of Manitoba

More information about the Blueprint can be found on the [University of Manitoba website](#). Read the [Blueprint](#) and watch the Blueprint [signing ceremony](#) online.

Join the L-ICIK Listserv

Timely information on indigenous peoples and their lives.

Readers of *IK: Other Ways of Knowing* are invited to join the free listserv managed by the Interinstitutional Center for Indigenous Knowledge that has been open to anyone interested indigenous knowledge and has been growing steadily for more than a decade.

Nearly one thousand subscribers to the ICIK listserv currently receive frequent and timely postings that include informative articles from reliable sources. You can join the list and, if you like, provide information to the listserv manager about things you believe would be of interest to others.

The listserv will provide you with advance notice of ICIK seminars that can be viewed in real time via [Mediasite](#) or viewed at your leisure as an archived video on the [ICIK website](#). The listserv will also inform you of upcoming conferences and current articles about indigenous peoples and their cultures as well as timely notices about calls for submission of proposals issued by government and non-governmental programs.

The ICIK listserv also provides information such as collaborations between Native knowledge-keepers and scientists, updates on current activities related to the impact of climate change on Native communities, efforts in the US to change Columbus Day to Indigenous Peoples Day, the status of Native peoples' court suits, and issues related to the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

To join the ICIK listserv, just go to the [ICIK website](#), then go to "Join the ICIK Listserv" on the home page, and provide your name and the e-mail address at which you would like to receive listserv postings. You will receive an e-mail that tells you how you can choose to receive postings weekly in "digest" form if you prefer. Your e-mail will also tell you how to delete your name from the listserv and how to change your e-mail address if you wish.

