

Notes

Introduction

¹Andy Rooney, "Indians seek a role in modern U.S.," Sacramento Union, March 11, 1992. This column also appeared as "Team mascot names are not tribes' worst problems," with a response by Suzan Shown Harjo, "Columnist speaks from ignorance, needs to unlearn," in Lakota Times, March 25, 1992, A6. Rooney responded to the controversy surrounding his misinformed comments by citing excerpts from letters in a later column, but he remained unconvinced; see "An apology to Indians, sort of," Lakota Times, April 29, 1992, A5.

²Robert H. Fuson, The Log of Christopher Columbus (Camden: International Marine, 1987), 77. It is not insignificant that two days later Columbus wrote that Tainos greeting his ships asked if they "came from Heaven" and shouted to other Tainos on the beach: "Come see the men from Heaven; bring them food and drink." (p. 79) Of course, neither the Tainos nor the Spaniards were able to understand the others' language yet.

Chapter 1

¹Sam Gill, Native American Religions: An Introduction (Belmont: Wadsworth, 1982), xiv.

²For example, I have discussed this phenomenon by reviewing the scholarly literature on Lakota religion in an unpublished paper, "American Indian Religions: The Lakota" (1991).

³Rayna Green, "The Indian in Popular American Culture," in Handbook of North American Indians. Volume 4: History of Indian-White Relations, edited by Wilcomb E. Washburn (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1988), 587.

⁴See Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present (New York: Random House, 1978), 28, 72-80.

⁵E. E. Evans-Prichard, Theories of Primitive Religion (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 105.

⁶Anthropologists did not, however, formulate a theoretical construct for situations of cultural change through interaction with other tribes after European contact. This unfortunate oversight was discovered in the 1950s and promptly defined as pan-Indianism. See James H. Howard, "The Pan-Indian Culture of Oklahoma," The Scientific Monthly 18/5 (1955): 215-20.

⁷Gill, Native American Religions, 10, 11-12.

⁸Vine Deloria, Jr., God Is Red (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1973), 87. See the rest of chapter 5, "Thinking in Time in Space," for a discussion of this topic.

⁹Among other things, the IRA ended the policy of land allotment and provided for (limited) tribal self-government.

¹⁰For example, see Juan Luis Segundo, The Liberation of Theology (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1976), 39-68.

¹¹Charles H. Long, Significations: Signs, Symbols, and Images in the Interpretation of Religion (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), 7, 5. That Long understood well the nature of this situation is evidenced by the recent work of Christopher Vecsey, who apparently believes that all scholars are white. Vecsey demonstrated the interrelationship between exclusionary racism, cultural appropriation, and hegemonic signification in this unintentionally ironic passage:

I have come to the conclusion that Indian stories can help us expand our concept of who we are. Too readily we think of ourselves as white Western moderns, belonging to a Judeo-Christian religion and a Greco-Roman polity. However, by seeing our humanity reflected and revealed in Indian stories, we can release ourselves from the repressed images of our full humanity. By retelling the stories of Indian lives, stories which are, I contend, our own stories, that is, *human* stories, and by imagining ourselves as *humans* instead of contemporary, white Americans, we can make manifest some crucial latencies of our human nature. Indian traditions have something to offer us non-Indians . . .

Earlier in the Preface, Vecsey demarcated his audience by referring to the situation that "we Westerners (or more exactly, we academics)" face. See Christopher Vecsey, Imagine Ourselves Richly: Mythic Narratives of North American Indians (New York: Crossroad, 1988), xi-xii.

¹²Recent scholarship on Lakota religion includes Stephen E. Feraca, Wakinyan: Contemporary Teton Dakota Religion, Studies in Plains Anthropology and History 2 (Browning: Museum of the Plains Indian, 1963); Royal B. Hassrick, The Sioux: Life and Customs of a Warrior Society (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964); Ethel Nurge (ed.), The Modern Sioux: Social Systems and Reservation Culture (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970); Elizabeth S. Grobsmith, Lakota of the Rosebud: A Contemporary Ethnography (New

York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1981); William K. Powers, Oglala Religion (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1977), Yuwipi: Vision and Experience in Oglala Ritual (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1982), and Sacred Language: The Nature of Supernatural Discourse in Lakota (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986); Marla N. Powers, Oglala Women: Myth, Ritual, and Reality (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986); Raymond J. DeMallie and Douglas R. Parks (eds.), Sioux Indian Religion: Tradition and Innovation (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987); Thomas H. Lewis, The Medicine Men: Oglala Sioux Ceremony and Healing (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1990); and Paul B. Steinmetz, Pipe, Bible, and Peyote among the Oglala Lakota: A Study in Religious Identity (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990).

¹³These include Dennis Tedlock and Barbara Tedlock (eds.), Teachings from the American Earth: Indian Religion and Philosophy (New York: Liveright, 1975); Walter H. Capps (ed.), Seeing with a Native Eye: Essays on Native American Religion (New York: Harper and Row, 1976); Earle H. Waugh and K. Dad Prithipaul (eds.), Native Religious Traditions (Wilfred Laurier University, 1979); Lawrence E. Sullivan (ed.), Native American Religions. North America: Religion, History, and Culture Selections from *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (New York: MacMillan, 1989 [1987]); D. M. Dooling and Paul Jordan-Smith (eds.), I Become Part of It: Sacred Dimensions in Native American Life (New York: Parabola, 1989); and Christopher Vecsey (ed.), Religion in Native North America (Moscow: University of Idaho Press, 1990).

¹⁴Other post-war surveys include Hartley Burr Alexander, The World's Rim: Great Mysteries of the North American Indians (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1953); and Joseph Epes Brown, The Spiritual Legacy of the American Indian (New York: Crossroad, 1982); and John James Collins, Native American Religions: A Geographical Survey (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 1991). These works are less useful for this study.

¹⁵Underhill was born in 1884 and completed her doctorate in anthropology at Columbia University in 1935. She worked for the United States Indian Service from 1934 to 1948, then taught at the University of Denver until retiring in 1952. Current Biography,

edited by Marjorie Dent Candee (New York: H. W. Wilson, 1954), 617-19.

¹⁶Ruth M. Underhill, Red Man's Religion: Beliefs and Practices of the Indians North of Mexico (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1965), 242. Among her many works are Red Man's America: A History of Indians in the United States, rev. ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1971 [1953]); Ceremonial Patterns in the Greater Southwest, Monographs of the American Ethnological Society 13 (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1948); The Navajos, rev. ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1967 [1953]); and Papago Indian Religion, Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, no. 33 (New York: Columbia University, 1946).

¹⁷Ironically, the organization of her book--a few chapters on beliefs followed by a regional survey of ceremonial traditions--reflects Underhill's own rationalist orientation.

¹⁸Underhill, 14-17.

¹⁹12, 14, 15.

²⁰6, 7-8, 174, 239-40.

²¹Hultkrantz was born in 1920 and taught at the University of Stockholm, Sweden, until his recent retirement.

²²Among his many works are The North American Indian Orpheus Tradition: A Contribution to Comparative Religion (Stockholm: Statens Ethnografiska Museum, 1957); The Religions of the American Indians, translated by Monica Setterwall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979 [1967]); Belief and Worship in Native North America, edited by Christopher Vecsey (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1981); The Study of American Indian Religions, edited by Christopher Vecsey (New York: Crossroad, 1983); and Native Religions of North America: The Power of Visions of Fertility (San Francisco: Harper, 1987).

²³Hultkrantz, Belief and Worship, x, xiv.

²⁴Hultkrantz, The Study, 125-26.

²⁵Hultkrantz, Religions, x-xiii, 4.

²⁶107, 150.

²⁷Hultkrantz, Native Religions, 79. Hultkrantz has found himself an unwelcome party on the Wind River Reservation since tribal sovereignty and cultural self-determination were reasserted in the 1960s; perhaps this explains his view of Tudy Roberts along with his denigration of contemporary religious leaders:

The following presentation of Shoshoni religion is an interpretation of the forms practiced by medicine men and women and traditionalists until very recent times. Today, practically all of the old-style medicine men and women are gone, and those who now claim to be a medicine man or woman operate without the benefit of the complete traditional setting, combining glimpses of Shoshoni practice with a pan-Indian outlook. Hultkrantz, Native Religions, 41-42.

²⁸Hultkrantz, Native Religions, 1-7, 15.

²⁹Gill was born in 1943; he taught at Arizona State University until recently and now teaches at the University of Colorado, Boulder.

³⁰Among his works on Navaho religion are Songs of Life: An Introduction to Navaho Religious Culture (Leiden: Brill, 1979); Sacred Words: A Study of Navaho Religion and Prayer (Westport: Greenwood, 1981); and Native American Religious Action: A Performance Approach to Religion (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1987). Gill generated a fair amount of controversy with his most recent book, a revisionist historiographical study of European (mis)representations of native worldviews: Mother Earth: An American Story (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1987).

³¹Native American Traditions: Sources and Interpretations (Belmont: Wadsworth, 1983). Gill has also written a more general survey of tribal religions: Beyond the Primitive: The Religions of Nonliterate Peoples (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1982).

³²Gill, Native American Religions, 1.

³³Gill, Native American Traditions, 1.

³⁴Gill, Native American Religions, xiv-xv.

³⁵Gill, Native American Traditions, xi.

³⁶Gill, Native American Religions, 81.

³⁷36, 141.

³⁸172, 142.

³⁹The Sacred: Ways of Knowledge. Sources of Power (Tsaile: Navajo Community College, 1977).

⁴⁰For example:

From this approach, we may learn why it has seemed so important for us to locate Native American origins geographically and temporally, when Native Americans themselves do not even care to consider our findings; and why we have classified an aspect of their lives as religion, when they don't seem to make such a segmentation. Gill, Native American Religions, 1 (emphasis added).

⁴¹Beck and Walters, 8, 3, xii.

⁴²3, x, xii.

⁴³8, xii, 273-74, 166, 192, 306.

⁴⁴244, 248, 273.

⁴⁵See Roy Wagner, The Invention of Culture (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981); and John H. Moore, "The Culture Concept as Ideology," American Ethnologist 1/3 (1974), 537-49.

⁴⁶Erikson described this eight stage schema in his first major work, Childhood and Society, 2nd ed. (New York: Norton, 1964 [1950]).

⁴⁷Eric H. Erikson, "Identity, Psychosocial," in International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, vol. 7 (Macmillan, 1968), 61.

⁴⁸J. Eugene Wright, Jr., Erikson: Identity and Religion (New York: Seabury, 1982), 181.

⁴⁹Hans Mol, Identity and the Sacred: A Sketch for a New Social-Scientific Theory of Religion (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1976), ix, 1-2, 6.

⁵⁰11-13; Mol, "Religion and Identity: A Dialectic Interpretation of Religious Phenomena," in Identity Issues and World Religions: Selected Proceedings of the Fifteenth Congress of the International Association for the History of Religions, edited by Victor C. Hayes (Bedford Park, Australia: Australian Association for the Study of Religion, 1986), 72, 64.

⁵¹Mircea Eliade (ed.), Encyclopedia of Religion (New York: Macmillan, 1987).

⁵²For example, see Susan Ellen Ackerman and Raymond L. M. Lee, Heaven in Transition: Non-Muslim Religious Innovation and Ethnic Identity in Malaysia (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1988); Tim G. Babcock, Kampung Jawa Tondano: Religion and Cultural Identity (Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Gadjah Mada University, 1989); Helen Hardacre, The Religion of Japan's Korean Minority: The Preservation of Ethnic Identity (Berkeley: University of California, Institute of East Asian Studies, Center for Korean Studies, 1984); N.

Kokosalakis, Ethnic Identity and Religion: Tradition and Change in Liverpool Jewry (Washington: University Press of America, 1982); Thomas McElwain, Our Kind of People: Identity, Community and Religion on Chestnut Ridge, Stockholm Studies in Comparative Religion 20 (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1981); Paul Rutledge, The Role of Religion in Ethnic Self-Identity: A Vietnamese Community (Lanham: University Press of America, 1985); Frank A. Salamone, Gods and Goods in Africa: Persistence and Change in Ethnic and Religious Identity in Yauri Emirate, North-Western State, Nigeria (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1974); and Audrey Shalinsky, Central Asian Emigres in Afghanistan: Problems of Religious and Ethnic Identity (New York: Afghanistan Council, Asia Society, 1979).

⁵³Gibson Winter, Religious Identity: A Study of Religious Organization (New York: Macmillan, 1968). We might also consider works that address the relationship between religious identity and politics, including Margaret Louise Lyon, "Politics and Religious Identity: Genesis of a Javanese-Hindu Movement in Rural Central Java," Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley (anthropology), 1977; and Peter van der Veer, Gods on Earth: The Management of Religious Experience and Identity in a North Indian Pilgrimage Centre, London School of Economics Monographs on Social Anthropology 59 (London: Athlone, 1988).

⁵⁴Eldon G. Ernst, Without Help or Hindrance: Religious Identity in American Culture, 2nd ed. (Lanham: University Press of America, 1987 [1977]), 14, 18.

⁵⁵J. P. Kiernan, "The management of a complex religious identity: the case of Zulu Zionism," Religion in Southern Africa 7/2 (July 1986), 3-5, 7.

⁵⁶Paul B. Steinmetz, Pipe, Bible, and Peyote among the Oglala Lakota: A Study in Religious Identity (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990), 5, 170, 197-99.

Chapter 2

¹Robert H. Fuson, The Log of Christopher Columbus (Camden: International Marine, 1987), 77, 76.

²Alex Lopez, "A Historic Document of Early Spain," The Indian Historian 6/1 (1973), 31.

³Kirkpatrick Sale, The Conquest of Paradise: Christopher Columbus and the Columbian Legacy (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990), 128.

⁴"Position Paper of the Native American Project of Theology in the Americas, Detroit II" (New York: Theology in the Americas, 1980), 4.

⁵Henry Warner Bowden, American Indians and Christian Missions: Studies in Cultural Conflict (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1981), 41, 75.

⁶John Webster Grant, Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534 (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1984), 3.

⁷206-10.

⁸"Report first step in Indian program," Canadian Churchman 96/5 (May 1969).

⁹Edward W. Scott, "A Position Paper Concerning the Stance of the Anglican Church to Indian Work," May 9, 1966, Appendix C in Charles E. Hendry, Beyond Traplines: Does the Church Really Care? Towards an Assessment of the Work of the Anglican Church of Canada with Canada's Native Peoples (Ryerson Press, 1969), 98-100.

¹⁰John Melling, Right to a Future: The Native Peoples of Canada (Ontario: Churches of Canada, 1967).

¹¹Hugh McCullum and Karmel McCullum, This Land Is Not for Sale (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1975), 180.

¹²"Native Affairs Sub-Committee faces difficult task," Canadian Churchman 101/5 (May 1975), 17; "Report first step."

¹³"Man who challenged church to change is United layman," Canadian Churchman 96/5 (May 1969); Hendry, ix-xi.

¹⁴Maurice Western, "Church warned be sure of actions," Canadian Churchman 96/5 (May 1969), 7; Hendry, 91-92; John A. MacKenzie, "Consultant Welcomes Report," Canadian Churchman 96/5 (May 1969), 8.

¹⁵"Indians ask churches stop dividing people," Canadian Churchman 97/8 (September 1970); MacKenzie, 8, 13.

¹⁶Carolyn Purden, "Church exits from historic field." Canadian Churchman 96/5 (May 1969), 17.

¹⁷Hugh McCullum, "Beyond Traplines--Does the Church Really Care?" special issue "The Hendry Report," Canadian Churchman 96/5 (May 1969), 1; Shirley Bruton, "A time to care," Canadian Churchman 97/3 (March 1970); Bill Portman, "Indian leader raps Ottawa's proposals," Canadian Churchman 96/8 (September 1969); Francie Miller, "'They listened today' singer says of synod," Canadian Churchman 96/8 (September 1969); "Beaten Race Needs Friend in Church," Canadian Churchman 96/8 (September 1969); Robert D. MacRae (ed.), Bulletin 201: Recent Statements by the Indians of Canada. General Synod Action 1969. Some Government Responses. Suggested Resource (Toronto: Anglican Church of Canada, 1970), 13, 19.

¹⁸"Radical changes in native policies," Canadian Churchman 96/8 (September 1969); Grant, 206.

¹⁹Hugh McCullum, "NEC moves to implement Hendry, Coalition Reports," Canadian Churchman 96/11 (December 1969), 8; Francis

Miller, "Guiding the new approach," Canadian Churchman 97/3 (March 1970).

²⁰ Bruton; "Hendry recommendations making progress," Canadian Churchman 97/6 (June 1970), 15; MacRae, 29

²¹ Harold Cardinal, The Unjust Society: The Tragedy of Canada's Indians (Edmonton: M. G. Hurtig, 1969); Vine Deloria, Jr., Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto (New York: Macmillan, 1969).

²² The Social Action Unit also published Bulletin 202, which contained excerpts from "Native Rights in Canada," a research project of the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada. These two Bulletins were the first in fifty years to focus on Natives in Canada. "Hendry recommendations making progress"; MacRae, 4

²³ "Let's play Anglicans and Indians," special issue "Indians and the Church," Canadian Churchman 97/3 (March 1970); Ronald S. Fellows, "Story of a swindle," Canadian Churchman 97/3 (March 1970); Miller, "Guiding"; MacRae; Tom Holm, "Indian Voices," American Indian and Alaska Native Newspapers and Periodicals, 1925-1970, edited by Littlefield and Parius (1984), 208-9.

²⁴ Andrew Ahenakew, Sometimes We Burn . . . Sometimes We Tremble, videotape, 23 minutes, narrated by Adam Cuthand (Toronto: Anglican Church of Canada, ca. 1977).

²⁵ John A. Price, Native Studies: American and Canadian Indians (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1978), 108; Sam Stanley, "American Indian Power and Powerlessness," chapter 18 in The Anthropology of Power: Ethnographic Studies from Asia, Oceania, and the New World, edited by Raymond D. Fogelson and Richard N. Adams (New York: Academic Press, 1977), 237; "Church seen as 'progressive' by Indians," Canadian Churchman 98/5 (May 1971), 14.

²⁶ Chief John Snow, These Mountains Are Our Sacred Places: The Story of the Stoney Indians (Toronto: Samuel-Stevens, 1977), 143-44.

²⁷"73rd Annual Crow Fair Celebration, Pow Wow and Rodeo, 1991 Teepee Capitol of World Celebration, August 14-20, 1991," Lakota Times Special Supplement, Spring 1991, 10.

²⁸Price, Native Studies, 109-10; Janet Hodgson and Jay Kothare, Vision Quest: Native Spirituality and the Church in Canada (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1990), 96-97; Allan Campbell, "New hope discovered by Indian priests, medicine men," Canadian Churchman 97/8 (September 1970).

²⁹Hodgson and Kothare, 97; Campbell.

³⁰As abstracted by Price, Native Studies, 109-110. There may have been eleven resolutions originally. "Indian Ecumenical Conference grant approved," Canadian Churchman 98/5 (May 1972), 27.

³¹Hodgson and Kothare, 98.

³²Stanley, 237-38.

³³Hodgson and Kothare, 97-98.

³⁴Price, Native Studies, 110.

³⁵Snow, These Mountains, 144.

³⁶Unfortunately, the production company experienced delays in their shooting schedule because of a lack of snow. When a few inches of snow fell in early November, "snowmaker" George Kaquitts claimed to be responsible and asked to be paid for his services. The producers reluctantly agreed to pay him \$100.

After this the snowmaker would not make any more snow until he was paid to do it. The film company refused thus no more snow has fallen since.

This is when [about 175] men, women and children of the reserve were involved as extras in the movie and were getting paid for it.

Though Native People reported this story as straight news, an original cartoon next to the story showed three smiling Indian men talking to a movie director: "For \$100 I'll make it snow." "For \$200 I'll make sure it doesn't melt." "For \$300 I'll control the temperature." "Morley People in Movie," The Native People 2/7 (December 1969), 6.

³⁷"Community Profiles: Morley," The Native People 2/11 (April 1970), 18; Snow, These Mountains, xiv; Richard Lightning, "Community Profile: Morley Reserve," The Native People 6/5 (February 2, 1973), 3.

³⁸Hugh A. Dempsey, Indian Tribes of Alberta (Calgary: Glenbow Museum, 1979); Snow, These Mountains, 19, 35.

³⁹Snow, These Mountains, 17.

⁴⁰Snow, These Mountains, 108-13; "Former Stony Chief Dies," The Native People 3/5 (October 1970), 3; Arthur Carl Piepkorn, Profiles in Belief: The Religious Bodies of the United States and Canada (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1978).

⁴¹Snow, These Mountains, 113-18.

⁴²Snow, These Mountains, 123-24.

⁴³Snow, These Mountains, 118-21, 132, 139-40; "Community Profiles"; Lightning.

⁴⁴The Native People reported that the Stoneys specifically requested that Elk Island National Park provide them with younger calves rather than adult cows and bulls. "'Two years ago,' said Frank Powderface with a grin, 'Gleichen received a herd of fully-grown buffalo and their reserve had to erect a ladder against every tree that could support a human body.'" "Community Profiles."

⁴⁵"Stoney Indian Park - Unique Experience," The Native People 3/5 (September 1970), 11; "Former Stony Chief"; "21st Annual Stanford Pow Wow" program, 1992; Stoney Park Singers, "Pow-Wow Songs" (Phoenix: Canyon Records, 1986); Indian Ecumenical Conference, "The Sixteenth Morley Ecumenical Conference for Indian Spiritual Life," 2 pp. conference announcement, 1988.

⁴⁶"Indians ask churches."

⁴⁷"Indian prayer day June 21," Canadian Churchman 98/2 (February 1971), 40; "Native work assured five years," Canadian Churchman 98/2 (February 1971), 40; "Indian prayer day June 21," Canadian Churchman 98/6 (June 1971), 1; Rev. John Hascall, "Suggested Indian Prayer," Canadian Churchman 98/6 (June 1971), 3.

⁴⁸"Morley Reserve to Host American Indian Religious Leaders," The Native People 3/11 (April 1971), 5.

⁴⁹This problem was also an immediate concern for the Stoneys: Snow had protested the construction of Big Horn Dam beginning in 1969 because the reservoir flooded an historic Stoney graveyard. The situation was resolved in 1972 when the provincial government acceded to the tribe's demands by turning over 1,280 acres to the Stoney tribe and providing for the relocation of the graves. "Stoneys Relocate Historical Graveyards," The Native People 5/17 (July 28, 1972), 1.

⁵⁰Hodgson and Kothare, 100-2.

⁵¹Hodgson, who was not present at the Conference, based this description on first-hand accounts which she did not identify.

⁵²Hodgson and Kothare, 100-2.

⁵³"Huge Turnout Expected for Ecumenical Conference," The Native People 5/19 (August 11, 1972), 13; Hodgson and Kothare, 99-100.

⁵⁴"Indian Ecumenical Conference grant"; Edward B. Fiske, "Indians reviving religious heritage," New York Times, August 23, 1972, 43.

⁵⁵"Indian Day of Prayer Announced by Tootoosis," The Native People 5/6 (May 12, 1972), 6.

⁵⁶"Indian Religious Leaders to Meet," The Native People 5/12 (June 23, 1972), 2, 7; "Huge Turnout."

⁵⁷Cecil Nepoose, "Reunion of Indians and Their Religion theme of ecumenical conference," The Native People 5/21 (August 25, 1972), 8-9; Diane Longboat, "Conference Held on Stony Reservation Attracts Hundreds of Indian Delegates," The Indian News (Ottawa) 15/5 (1972), 4.

⁵⁸There were ninety-three Canadian delegates, with the following regional distribution: Northwest Territories 26, Ontario 21, Alberta 20, Saskatchewan 17, Maritimes 4, British Columbia 3, and Manitoba 2. Price, Native Studies, 111.

⁵⁹Nepoose, "Reunion."

⁶⁰Fiske; Longboat; Price, Native Studies. Each of these sources refers to the mass held in a teepee in 1972, though they disagree on several important details; the celebrant may have been Hascall, though the significance of the black vestment colors would then be lost, since he is Roman Catholic.

⁶¹Fiske; Nepoose, "Reunion."

⁶²Wilfred Pelletier and Ted Poole, No Foreign Land: The Biography of a North American Indian (New York: Pantheon Books, 1973), 56.

⁶³Brad Steiger, Medicine Power: The American Indian's Revival of his Spiritual Heritage and Its Relevance for Modern Man (Garden City: Doubleday, 1974), 72-75.

⁶⁴Hodgson and Kothare, 70.

⁶⁵Lawrence Ear, Letter to the Editor, Stoney Country, May 1973, 3-4; Lincolne Travers, "Native Studies included in Stoney School System," The Native People 7/33 (August 16, 1974), 2; "Morley Reserve Progresses Through SCEP," The Native People 10 (July 29, 1977), 12-15.

⁶⁶"Morley to Host Religious Meet," The Native People 6/16 (April 27, 1973), 1, 2.

⁶⁷Hodgson and Kothare, 103.

⁶⁸Gillian Lindgren, "Daybreak service honors 'Grandfather,'" Calgary Herald, August 4, 1973, 12.

⁶⁹Gillian Lindgren, "Indians gather at Morley to celebrate 'old ways,'" Calgary Herald, August 1, 1973; Lindgren, "Daybreak service"; "God will soon punish the white man," Calgary Herald, August 4, 1973, 12.

⁷⁰Grant, 211; "Native Affairs"; Kris Blak-Andersen, "Increased emphasis for social ministries," Canadian Churchman 100/2 (February 1974), 14.

⁷¹"Morley To Host American Indian Religious Conference," The Native People 7/6 (February 8, 1974), 1, 3; "The Fifth Indian Ecumenical Conference," Stoney Country, Summer 1974.

⁷²Stanley, 238.

⁷³"Native Revival Plotted: Ecumenical Conference," The Native People 7/32 (August 9, 1974), 1, 5; "The Indian Ecumenical Conference an international religious gathering," Indian News (Ottawa) 17/1 (October 1974-January 1975), 8; "Oneness with nature describes aim of conference," Canadian Churchman 101/8 (September 1974), 26.

⁷⁴"Oneness"; "The Indian Ecumenical Conference an international religious gathering"; "Native Revival."

⁷⁵"Oneness"; "Indian Ecumenical Conference," Canadian Churchman 100/10 (November 1974), 18.

⁷⁶Kenneth Fink, "A. Dreadfulwater: In Memoriam," Interculture 17/4 (October-December 1984), 25.

⁷⁷Andrew Dreadfulwater, "We'll Have Hats With Feathers In Them, But We Won't Be No Indians," Interculture 17/4 (October-December 1984), 22-24.

⁷⁸Kenneth Ernest Fink, A Cherokee Notion of Development, Ph.D. dissertation, Union Graduate School (Ohio), 1978, 274-75.

⁷⁹"Fragmentation, disunity, among Indian groups," Canadian Churchman 101/5 (May 1975), 22.

⁸⁰"Indian culture and religion receive church support," Canadian Churchman 101/5 (May 1975), 16; Hugh McCullum, "Indian Ecumenical Conference - Morely, Alberta, 1975," 4 pp. manuscript, 1975(?), Anglican Journal archives, 2, 4.

⁸¹McCullum, "Indian Ecumenical Conference"; "Indian culture."

⁸²McCullum, "Indian Ecumenical Conference."

⁸³McCullum, "Indian Ecumenical Conference."

⁸⁴"Natives urge united front," Canadian Churchman 102/7 (July/August 1976), 15.

⁸⁵Snow, These Mountains, 142.

⁸⁶Snow, These Mountains, 149.

⁸⁷ Snow, These Mountains, 142-43, 46; Gary George, "Morley . . . Different Things to Different People," The Native People 9 (August 13, 1976), 8; Indian Ecumenical Conference, "Indian Ecumenical Conference 1976," 1 p. manuscript, Anglican Journal archives; Ruth Blaser, "Reflection on the Indian Ecumenical Conference 1976; from the Regina Group," 1 pp. manuscript, 1976(?), Anglican Journal archives.

⁸⁸ Ernie Willie, "Cree priest was healer in last years of ministry," Canadian Churchman 104/2 (February 1977), 18.

⁸⁹ Ahenakew; Hodgson and Kothare, 119.

⁹⁰ Ahenakew; Hodgson and Kothare, 124.

⁹¹ George, "Morley"; Rex Weyler, Blood of the Land: The Government and Corporate War against the American Indian Movement (New York: Everest House, 1982), 239, 277; Wendy Gray and Sam Erasmus, "A.I.M. Leader Stages Protest Suicide," The Native People 9/1 (May 21, 1976), 1-2; Yvonne Buffalo, "Stoney Band Will Conduct Its Affairs With Ottawa," The Native People 10 (April 22, 1977), 1-2; "The American Indian Movement," 14 pp. manuscript, 1982(?), Graduate Theological Union library.

⁹² "Indian Ecumenical Conference," British Columbia Ecumenical News, July-August 1977, 7.

⁹³ "The Indian Ecumenical Conference," 4 pp. manuscript, 1977(?), Anglican Journal archives.; Janet Etheridge Jordan, Politics and Religion in a Western Cherokee Community: a Century of Struggle in a White Man's World, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Connecticut (anthropology), 1974, 384-85.

⁹⁴ "The Indian Ecumenical Conference" (1977); Omer C. Stewart, Peyote Religion: A History (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1987), 300.

⁹⁵"Two national staff resign," Canadian Churchman 104/8 (September 1977), 2; "New native consultant," Canadian Churchman 104/11 (December 1977), 6.

⁹⁶"Religious Conference Fizzles in The Drizzle," The Native People 12 (August 17, 1979), 5; Indian Ecumenical Conference, "Minutes of Steering Committee, Indian Ecumenical Conference, Williams Lake, B.C., October 5-6, 1979," 3 pp. manuscript, Anglican Journal archives.

⁹⁷Indian Ecumenical Conference, "Minutes."

⁹⁸Indian Ecumenical Conference, "Minutes"; Indian Ecumenical Conference, "Report of the Meeting of the Sub-Committee held at the International Plaza Hotel, Vancouver, November 27, 1979," 1 pp. manuscript, Anglican Journal archives.

⁹⁹"Morley for a spiritual life" The Native People 14 (August 7, 1981), 15; Adam Cuthand, "A Native Anglican Indian speaks," Canadian Ecumenical News, December 1981, 3, reprinted in Interculture 15/1 (January-March 1982), 37-39.

¹⁰⁰Hodgson and Kothare, 95, 104.

¹⁰¹Dianne Meili, "Lightning kindles return to spirituality at Morley," Windspeaker 5/18 (July 10, 1987), 1; "Some make admirable attempts to put spirituality back in place," Windspeaker 5/18 (July 10, 1987), 6.

¹⁰²Dianne Meili, "Elders urge a return to nature." Windspeaker 5/21 (July 31, 1987), 1, 9.

¹⁰³Indian Ecumenical Conference, "The Sixteenth"; Ken Tully, interview by author, April 12, 1989, Morley, Alberta (by telephone).

¹⁰⁴Nora Schmidt, interview by author, July 28, 1992, Morley, Alberta; Indian Ecumenical Conference, "1992 North American Indian Ecumenical Conference," 2 pp. conference announcement, 1992; Nora

Schmidt, "Morley to host Native trade fair," Cochrane This Week, July 14, 1992, 3.

Chapter 3

¹Sam Stanley, "American Indian Power and Powerlessness," chapter 18 in The Anthropology of Power: Ethnographic Studies from Asia, Oceania, and the New World, edited by Raymond D. Fogelson and Richard N. Adams (New York: Academic Press, 1977), 237; Janet Hodgson and Jay Kothare, Vision Quest: Native Spirituality and the Church in Canada (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1990), 96; Harold Turner in the preface to Carl F. Starkloff, "Religious Renewal in Native North America: The Contemporary Call to Mission," Missiology: An International Review 13/1 (January 1985), 82; John A. Price, Native Studies: American and Canadian Indians (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1978), 110.

²Anthony F. C. Wallace, The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca (New York: Knopf, 1970), 8.

³R. David Edmonds, The Shawnee Prophet (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1983), 25-26, 200 note 26.

⁴Russell Thornton, We Shall Live Again: The 1870 and 1890 Ghost Dance Movements as Demographic Revitalization (New York: Cambridge University, 1986), 6-10.

⁵See Steve Talbot, "Free Alcatraz: The Culture of Native American Liberation," Journal of Ethnic Studies 6/3 (1978), 83-96; Bea Medicine, "Native American Resistance to Integration: Contemporary Confrontations and Religious Revitalization," Plains Anthropologist 26 (1981), 277-86; and Amanda Porterfield, "American Indian Spirituality as a Countercultural Movement," in Religion in Native North America, edited by Christopher Vecsey (Moscow: University of Idaho, 1990), 152-64.

⁶See Anthony F. C. Wallace, "Revitalization Movements," American Anthropologist 58 (1956), 264-81.

⁷For African American movements, see: Hans A. Baer, The Black Spiritual Movement: A Religious Response to Racism

(Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 1984); Leonard Barrett, "African Religions in the Americas," in African Religions: A Symposium, edited by Newell S. Booth, Jr. (New York: Nok, 1974), reprinted in The Black Experience in Religion, edited by C. Eric Lincoln (Garden City: Doubleday, 1974), 310-40; Roger Bastide, African Civilizations in the New World (New York: Harper and Row, 1971); Randall K. Burkett, Garveyism as a Religious Movement: The Institutionalization of a Black Civil Religion (Metuchen: Scarecrow, 1978); Arthur Huff Fauset, Black Gods of the Metropolis: Negro Religious Cults in the Urban North (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1971); Vincent Harding, "The Religion of Black Power," in The Religious Situation, 1968, edited by Donald R. Cutler (Boston: Beacon, 1968); Ira E. Harrison, "The Storefront Church as a Revitalization Movement," Review of Religious Research 7 (1966), 160-63, reprinted in The Black Church in America, edited by M. Hart Nelsen, Raytha L. Yokley and Anne K. Nelson (New York: Basic, 1971), 240-45; and James H. Laue, "A Contemporary Revitalization Movement in American Race Relations: The 'Black Muslims'," Social Forces 42 (1964), 315-23, reprinted in The Black Church in America, 225-39.

⁸For Jewish and Christian movements, see: Helen Rose Ebaugh, "The Revitalization Movement in the Catholic Church: The Institutional Dilemma of Power," Sociological Analysis: A Journal in the Sociology of Religion 52/1 (1991), 1-12; Robert R. Hann, "Post-apostolic Christianity as a Revitalization Movement: Accounting for Innovation in Early Patristic Traditions," Journal of Religious Studies 14/1,2 (1988), 60-75; William G. McLoughlin, Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform: An Essay on Religion and Social Change in America, 1607-1977 (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1978); Amanda Porterfield, "Feminist Theology as a Revitalization Movement," Sociological Analysis: A Journal in the Sociology of Religion 48/3 (1987), 234-44; T. D. Proffitt, "Moses and Anthropology: A New View of the Exodus," Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society 27/1 (1984), 19-25; Kenneth Tollefson, "The Nehemiah Model for Christian Missions," Missiology: An International Review 15/1 (1987), 31-55.

⁹Harold W. Turner, Bibliography of New Religious Movements in Primal Societies, volume II: North America (Boston: G. K. Hall,

1978), vii. Also see the volumes on Black Africa (1977), Oceania (1990), Europe and Asia (1991), Latin America (forthcoming), and the Caribbean (forthcoming).

¹⁰Thornton, 46-50. For the beginning of this discussion, see Michael P. Carroll, "Revitalization Movements and Social Structure: Some Quantitative Tests," American Sociological Review 40 (1975), 389-401.

¹¹William G. McLoughlin, "Ghost Dance Movements: Some Thoughts on Definition Based on Cherokee History," Ethnohistory 37/1 (1990), 29.

For an interesting discussion of an earlier Cherokee religious movement, see Raymond D. Fogelson, "Who Were the Ani-Kutani? An Excursion into Cherokee Historical Thought," Ethnohistory 31/4 (1984), 255-63.

¹²Robert A. Brightman, "Toward a History of Indian Religion: Religious Changes in Native Societies," in New Directions in American Indian History, edited by Colin G. Calloway (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1988), 240-41.

¹³For example, see Vittorio Lanternari, The Religions of the Oppressed: A Study of Modern Messianic Cults (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960); and Harold W. Turner, "A New Field in the History of Religions," Religion: A Journal of Religion and Religions 1/1 (1971), 15-23.

¹⁴Weston La Barre, "Materials for a History of Studies of Crisis Cults: A Bibliographic Essay," Current Anthropology 12/1 (1971), 4.

¹⁵James Mooney, "The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," part 2 of the Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1892-93 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896), 653.

¹⁶James Mooney, The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890, edited and abridged by Anthony F. C. Wallace (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 654, ix.

¹⁷Edward H. Spicer, "Acculturation," in International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, volume 1 (The Macmillan Company, 1968), 21.

¹⁸La Barre, "Materials," 3.

¹⁹Melville J. Herskovits, Acculturation: The Study of Culture Contact (Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1938), v, 131-36, 10.

²⁰Ralph Linton, "The Distinctive Aspects of Acculturation," chapter 10 in Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes (1940).

²¹Herskovits, 75.

²²Linton, "The Distinctive Aspects," 501, 517-18.

²³Bernard Barber, "Acculturation and Messianic Movements," American Sociological Review 6 (1941), 663, 664-65, 667.

²⁴Ralph Linton, "Nativistic Movements," American Anthropologist 45 (1943), 230; La Barre, "Materials," 9.

²⁵Linton, "Nativistic Movements," 230, 231, 234, 239.

²⁶Fred W. Voget, "The American Indian in Transition: Reformation and Accommodation," American Anthropologist 58 (1956), 250, 259.

²⁷Wallace, "Revitalization Movements," 264, 265.

²⁸La Barre, "Materials," 10.

²⁹Wallace, "Revitalization Movements," 265, 266.

³⁰Wallace, "Mazeway Disintegration: The Individual's Perception of Socio-Cultural Disorganization," Human Organization 16/2 (1957), 24; Wallace, "Mazeway Resynthesis: A Biocultural Theory of Religious Inspiration," Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences, series II, 18/7 (1956), 631; Wallace, "Revitalization Movements," 267.

³¹Wallace, "Revitalization Movements," 268.

³²This is Wallace's own slightly modified version of his original conceptualization. See Wallace, "Nativism and Revivalism," in International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, volume 11 (The Macmillan Company, 1968).

³³Wallace, "Nativism," 275-79.

³⁴268; Wallace, Religion: An Anthropological View (New York: Random House, 1966), 38, 164.

³⁵David F. Aberle, "A Classification of Social Movements," chapter 19 in The Peyote Religion among the Navaho (Chicago: Aldine, 1966).

³⁶323, 326, 329.

³⁷La Barre, "Materials," 11; La Barre, The Ghost Dance: Origins of Religion (Garden City: Doubleday, 1970), 42; La Barre, "Materials," 26, 27.

³⁸Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, Introduction to the Science of Sociology, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924), 865, 867, 871, 873.

³⁹Herbert Blumer, "Collective Behavior," chapter 5 in Review of Sociology: Analysis of a Decade, edited by Joseph B. Gittler (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1957); Neil J. Smelser, Theory of Collective Behavior (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1963); J. Craig Jenkins, "Sociopolitical Movements," chapter 2 in The Handbook of

Political Behavior, volume 4, edited by Samuel L. Long (New York: Plenum Press, 1981), 88; Blumer, 147.

⁴⁰J. Craig Jenkins, "Resource Mobilization Theory and the Study of Social Movements," Annual Review of Sociology 9 (1983), 528.

⁴¹Jo Freeman (ed.), Social Movements of the Sixties and Seventies (New York: Longman, 1983).

⁴²21-27.

⁴³Jenkins, "Resource Mobilization," 530, 532.

⁴⁴Freeman, 33-34.

⁴⁵Jenkins, "Resource Mobilization," 533.

⁴⁶J. D. McCarthy and M. N. Zald, "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements," American Journal of Sociology 82 (1977).

⁴⁷Freeman, 118, 277.

⁴⁸Jean L. Cohen, "Strategy or Identity: New Theoretical Paradigms and Contemporary Social Movements," Social Research 52/4 (1985), 690.

⁴⁹664, 701.

⁵⁰Alain Touraine, "An Introduction to the Study of Social Movements," Social Research 52/4 (1985), 769, 780; also see Touraine, The Voice and the Eye: An Analysis of Social Movements (London: Cambridge University Press, 1978).

⁵¹Touraine, "An Introduction," 785, 760.

⁵²Cohen, 694, 702.

⁵³For example: Traditional Gathering, Inter-Tribal Indians of NJ (Monmouth Battlefield State Park, Manalapan, NJ), September 25-27; Spiritual Unity of the Tribes IV, Gathering of Eagles (Custer, SD), June 18-21, 1992; Youth and Elders' Conference, Muskogee Indian Round House (Okemah, Oklahoma), June 24-27, 1992; Youth and Elders Gathering Summer Encampment, D-Q University (Davis, California), June 16-21, 1992.

Chapter 4

¹Athabascans (who live in the Northwest Territories) and Navajos (Arizona) speak mutually intelligible dialects of the Nadene language family and both refer to themselves as *Dine*, though their homelands are nearly two thousand miles apart.

²Louis Amiotte, interview by author, tape recording, Alameda, California, June 29, 1992.

³Vine Deloria, Jr., God is Red (New York: Dell, 1973), 263.

⁴Paul B. Steinmetz, Pipe, Bible, and Peyote among the Oglala Lakota: A Study in Religious Identity (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990), 209; Harold W. Turner in the preface to Carl F. Starkloff, "Religious Renewal in Native North America: The Contemporary Call to Mission," Missiology: An International Review 13/1 (January 1985), 81; Janet Hodgson and Jay Kothare, Vision Quest: Native Spirituality and the Church in Canada (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1990), 94-96; Calvin Martin, "The Metaphysics of Writing Indian-White History," chapter 1 in The American Indian and the Problem of History, edited by Martin (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 32; John A. Price, Native Studies: American and Canadian Indians (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1978), 110.

⁵"A pan movement is dedicated to the unification of a geographic area, linguistic group, nation, race, or religion. The term pan is so broad that it can be, and has been, used to designate a vast variety of disparate phenomena." F. Kazemzadeh, "Pan Movements," in International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, volume 11 (New York: Macmillan, 1968), 365. Also see Hans Kohn, "Pan-Movements," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, volume 11, edited by Edwin R. A. Seligman (New York: Macmillan, 1933), 544-53.

⁶William K. Powers, "Pan-Indianism Reconsidered," Chapter 7 in War Dance: Plains Indian Musical Performance (Tucson: University of Arizona, 1990), 87.

Other useful articles on pan-Indianism which I have not discussed below include: Joan Ablon, "Relocated American Indians in the San Francisco Bay Area: Social Interaction and Indian Identity," Human Organization 24 (1964), 296-304; John A. Price, "The Migration and Adaptation of American Indians to Los Angeles," Human Organization 27 (1968), 168-75; Margaret Sanford, "Pan-Indianism, Acculturation, and the American Ideal," Plains Anthropologist 16 (August 1971), 222-27; James Hirabayashi, William Willard, and Luis Kemnitzer, "Pan-Indianism in the Urban Setting," in The Anthropology of Urban Environments, Society for Applied Anthropology Monograph no. 11, edited by Thomas Weaver and Douglas White (Washington: Society for Applied Anthropology, 1972), 77-87; and Joe R. Feagin and Randall Anderson, "Intertribal Attitudes among Native American Youth," Social Science Quarterly 54 (June 1973), 117-31.

⁷Powers, War Dance, 89, 91, 100-1.

⁸Joane Nagel, "The Political Mobilization of Native Americans," Social Science Journal 19/3 (July 1982), 38.

⁹William Hodge, The First Americans: Then and Now (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1981).

¹⁰Powers, War Dance, 176.

¹¹If there can be pan-Indian organizations and pan-Indian individuals, can there also be pan-Indian animals (horses), vegetables (maize), and minerals (pipestone)? The way in which contemporary scholars use the concept of pan-Indianism calls to mind a familiar biblical dictum; many scholars seem to believe, to paraphrase Jesus of Nazareth, "Wherever two or three Indians with different tribal names come together, pan-Indianism is there with them." ["For where two or three come together in my name, I am there with them." Matthew 18:20 in Good News Bible: Today's English Version (New York: American Bible Society, 1976).]

¹²Powers, War Dance, 87, 108.

¹³Nancy Oestreich Lurie, "The Contemporary American Indian Scene," chapter 14 in North American Indians in Historical Perspective, edited by Eleanor B. Leacock and Lurie (New York: Random House, 1971), 418.

¹⁴Laura Coltelli, Winged Words: American Indian Writers Speak (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1990), 129.

¹⁵William Powers, "Dual Religious Participation: Strategems of Conversion among the Lakota," chapter 5 in Beyond the Vision: Essays on American Indian Culture (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1987), 94-95.

¹⁶James H. Howard, "The Pan-Indian Culture of Oklahoma," Scientific Monthly 81 (November 1955), 215-220.

Howard wrote several other important articles on pan-Indianism, including: "The Plains Gourd Dance as a Revitalization Movement," American Ethnologist 3/2 (1976), 243-59; and "Pan-Indianism in Native American Music and Dance," Ethnomusicology 27/1 (1983), 71-82.

¹⁷Powers, War Dance, 89.

¹⁸Howard, 215, 218, 220.

¹⁹Elizabeth Clark Rosenthal, "'Culture' and the American Indian Community," in The American Indian Today, edited by Stuart Levine and Nancy Oestreich Lurie (Deland: Everett/Edwards, 1968), 82-89.

²⁰Rosenthal, 83, 85-86.

²¹Gerald Vizenor, The People Named the Chippewa: Narrative Histories (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1984), 27.

²²Robert K. Thomas, "Pan-Indianism," Midcontinent American Studies Journal 6/2 (Fall 1965), 75-83, reprinted in The American

Indian Today, edited by Stuart Levine and Nancy Oestreich Lurie (Deland: Everett/Edwards, 1968), 128-40.

²³He did not, however, offer any justification for identifying it as a movement rather than as merely a trend. A movement is an organized effort by a group of people to achieve specific goals, while a trend is a general tendency which can be identified phenomenologically but which is diffuse and undirected.

²⁴Carol K. Rachlin, "Tight Shoe Night: Oklahoma Indians Today," in The American Indian Today, edited by Stuart Levine and Nancy Oestreich Lurie (Deland: Everett/Edwards, 1968), 163.

²⁵Thomas, 128-29, 138.

²⁶Lurie, "The Contemporary American Indian Scene," 419-20.

²⁷Thomas, 129-30.

²⁸I. M. Lewis, "Tribal Society," in International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (The MacMillan Company, 1968), 147, 148.

Also see June Helm (ed.), "Essays on the Problem of Tribe," Proceedings of the 1967 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society, (Seattle: University of Washington, 1968).

²⁹Nancy Oestreich Lurie, "An American Indian Renaissance?" Midcontinent American Studies Journal 6/2 (Fall 1965), 25-50, reprinted in The American Indian Today, edited by Stuart Levine and Lurie (Deland: Everett/Edwards, 1968), 295-327.

³⁰Lurie, "An American Indian Renaissance?" 309-14; Lurie, "The Contemporary American Indian Scene," 418.

³¹Lurie, "An American Indian Renaissance?" 315.

³²Hazel Hertzberg, The Search for an American Indian Identity: Modern Pan-Indian Movements (Syracuse: Syracuse University, 1971), viii, 291.

³³Lurie, "An American Indian Renaissance?" 305, 311, 309, 315, 324.

³⁴Lurie, "The Contemporary American Indian Scene," 444.

³⁵Nagel, 37.

³⁶Lurie, "An American Indian Renaissance?" 326-27.

³⁷Powers, War Dance, 100.

³⁸Powers, War Dance, 108.

³⁹Hertzberg, 1-2, 4.

⁴⁰Hertzberg, 323, 321, 19.

⁴¹Lewis, 149-50.

⁴²Stuart Levine, "The Survival of Indian Identity," in The American Indian Today, edited by Levine and Nancy Oestreich Lurie (Deland: Everett/Edwards, 1968), 32.

⁴³Powers, War Dance, 107.

⁴⁴Hertzberg, 10.

⁴⁵Hertzberg, 240, 248, 273, 250.

⁴⁶For example, see Kay Parker, "American Indian Women and Religion on the Southern Plains," in Women and Religion in America, Volume 3: 1900-1968, edited by Rosemary Radford Ruether and Rosemary Skinner Keller (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1986), 54-55; and Joseph G. Jorgensen, "Modern Religious Movements," in Native American Religions: North America, edited by Lawrence E. Sullivan (New York: Macmillan, 1989), 215.

⁴⁷Sam D. Gill, Native American Religions: An Introduction (Belmont: Wadsworth, 1982), 84, 167, 170, 171.

⁴⁸Peggy V. Beck and Anna L. Walters, The Sacred: Ways of Knowledge. Sources of Life (Tsaile: Navajo Community College, 1977), 238, 243.

⁴⁹Jordan D. Paper, "The Sacred Pipe: The Historical Context of Contemporary Pan-Indian Religion," Journal of the American Academy of Religion 56/4 (Winter 1989), 643-65; also see Paper, Offering Smoke: The Sacred Pipe and Native American Religion (Moscow: University of Idaho, 1988).

⁵⁰Richard E. Gardner, "The Role of a Pan-Indian Church in Urban Indian Life," Anthropology UCLA 1 (1969), 20, 22, 23, 21.

⁵¹Multiple religious participation is a global phenomenon; Hans Kung and Julia Ching have discussed "dual religious citizenship" in China in Christianity and Chinese Religions (New York: Doubleday, 1989).

Chapter 5

¹"A Proposal for an Indian Ecumenical Conference Presented by the Institute for Indian Studies," 9 pp. manuscript (Center for the Study of Man Collection, Series 8, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution), 1, 3-4.

²For example, Sam Gill wrote:

There are a large number of Native American peoples in North America. Each tribe is distinct, with its own language, its own history, its own religious institutions, traditions, practices, and beliefs. This diversity and complexity makes it difficult to find a starting point to considering Native American religions. Native American Religions: An Introduction (Belmont: Wadsworth, 1982), 15.

³It is worth pointing out that in all of my primary research on the Indian Ecumenical Conference I have not uncovered a single instance of a writer making a thematic or structural connection between the Indian Ecumenical Conference and the Christian ecumenical movement. For example, I reviewed the Anglican monthly Canadian Churchman for the years 1969-78, a period of time when the Anglican Church of Canada was engaged in church union negotiations with several other Canadian denominations. Canadian Churchman regularly reported on both the ecumenical movement and the Indian Ecumenical Conference, but (apparently) never connected these two very different forms of ecumenism being practiced by their church leaders and members.

Most scholars have also failed to relate the Indian Ecumenical Conference to contemporary religious interaction. John Berthong surveyed interreligious dialogue in Canada and even began his article with a description of historic religious interactions between native people and Christian missionaries, but he did not mention the Conference. ("Interfaith Dialogue in Canada," The Ecumenical Review 37 [October 1985], 462-70.) Hans Mol studied religious pluralism in Canada and included a chapter on native people, but also did not

mention the Conference. (Faith and Fragility: Religion and Identity in Canada [Burlington: Trinity, 1985].)

⁴Paul Mojzes, "Types of Encounters between Religions," in Attitudes of Religions and Ideologies toward the Outsider: The Other, edited by Leonard Swidler and Mojzes (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 1990), 1-2, 7-8; also see Paul Mojzes, "The What and How of Dialogue," in Interreligious Dialogue: Voices from a New Frontier, edited by M. Darrol Bryant and Frank Flinn (New York: Paragon, 1989).

⁵Jerry K. Robbins, "A Reader's Guide to Interreligious Dialogue," Word and World: Theology for Christian Ministry 9/3 (Summer 1989), 266.

⁶Alan Race, Christians and Religious Pluralism: Patterns in the Christian Theology of Religions (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1982), 1.

⁷There are only a few works on non-Christian views of Christianity. Among them are David W. McKain (ed.), Christianity: Some Non-Christian Approaches (London: Greenwood, 1964); and Paul J. Griffiths (ed.), Christianity through Non-Christian Eyes (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1990).

⁸Harold Coward, Pluralism: Challenge to World Religions (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1985), vii.

⁹James A. Boon, "Anthropology, Ethnology, and Religion," in The Encyclopedia of Religion, edited by Mircea Eliade (New York: Macmillan, 1987), 308.

¹⁰Ugo Bianchi, "History of Religions," in The Encyclopedia of Religion, edited by Mircea Eliade (New York: Macmillan, 1987), 400.

¹¹Rudolf Otto, The Idea of the Holy, (1917).

¹²Wilfred Cantwell Smith, Towards a World Theology: Faith and the Comparative History of Religion (London: Macmillan, 1981).

¹³Frithjof Schuon, The Transcendent Unity of Religions, rev. ed. (Wheaton: Theosophical Publishing, 1984).

¹⁴Joseph Mitsuo Kitagawa, The Quest for Human Unity: A Religious History (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1990).

¹⁵N. Ross Reat and Edmund F. Perry, A World Theology: The Central Spiritual Reality of Humankind (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1991).

¹⁶Coward, 101-105.

¹⁷Leonard Swidler, "Religious Pluralism and Ecumenism from a Christian Perspective," in Interreligious Dialogue: Voices from a New Frontier, edited by M. Darrol Bryant and Frank Flinn (New York: Paragon, 1989), 336.

¹⁸Robbins is a very useful introduction to the literature on interreligious dialogue; Eric J. Sharpe provided helpful historical overviews of the topic in Faith Meets Faith (London: SCM, 1977); and "Dialogue of Religions," in The Encyclopedia of Religion, edited by Mircea Eliade (New York: Macmillan, 1987).

Protestant activity and literature was surveyed by Carl F. Hallencreutz in New Approaches to Men of Other Faiths (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1970); and Dialogue and Community: Ecumenical Issues in Inter-religious Relationships (Uppsala: Swedish Institute of Missionary Research, 1977).

Roman Catholic activity and literature was surveyed by Robert B. Sheard, Interreligious Dialogue in the Catholic Church since Vatican II: An Historical and Theological Study (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 1987); and Jean L. Jadot, "The Growth in Roman Catholic Commitment to Interreligious Dialogue since Vatican II," Journal of Ecumenical Studies 20 (Summer 1983), 365-78.

Eastern Orthodox activity and literature was surveyed by Demetrios J. Constantelos, "Religio-Philosophical Issues and Interreligious Dialogues in Eastern Orthodox Christianity since World War II," chapter 16 in Religious Issues and Interreligious Dialogues: An Analysis and Sourcebook of Developments since 1945.

edited by Charles Wei-hsun Fu and Gerhard E. Spiegler (New York: Greenwood, 1989), 369-411.

¹⁹Race, 4.

²⁰For example, see John Hick, "Religious Pluralism," in The Encyclopedia of Religion, edited by Mircea Eliade (New York: Macmillan, 1987); and Robbins.

²¹For example, see Owen C. Thomas, Attitudes to Other Religions: Some Christian Interpretations (New York: Harper and Row, 1969); and Paul Clasper, Eastern Paths and the Christian Way (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1980).

²²Race's categories closely resemble those suggested several years earlier by Raimundo Panikkar: exclusivism, inclusivism and parallelism. See The Intrareligious Dialogue (New York: Paulist, 1978), xiv-xvii.

²³Exclusivist theories were surveyed in Arthur F. Glasser and Donald A. McGavran, Contemporary Theologies of Mission (Baker, 1983).

²⁴For example, see Hendrick Kraemer, The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World (London: Harper, 1938); Stephen Neill, Crises of Belief: The Christian Dialogue with Faith and No Faith (Hodder and Stoughton, 1984); and Hans Urs von Balthasar, The Moment of Christian Witness (Newman, 1968).

²⁵Inclusivist theories were surveyed in Gavin D'Costa, Theology and Religious Pluralism: The Challenge of Other Religions (Basil Blackwell, 1986); and Christian Uniqueness Reconsidered: The Myth of a Pluralistic Theology of Religions (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1990).

²⁶For example, see J. N. Farquhar, The Crown of Hinduism (Oxford, 1913); Karl Rahner, Theological Investigations (Darton, Longman and Todd; Seabury; Herder and Herder, 1966-83); and John B. Cobb, Jr., Christ in a Pluralistic Age (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1975).

²⁷Race, 71.

²⁸Paul Knitter, "Preface," in The Myth of Christian Uniqueness: Toward a Pluralistic Theology of Religions, edited by John Hick and Paul F. Knitter (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1987), vii, viii.

²⁹For example, see John Hick and Brian Hebblethwaite (eds.), Christianity and Other Religions: Selected Readings (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980); Gerald H. Anderson and Thomas F. Stransky (eds.), Faith Meets Faith (New York: Paulist, 1981); Leroy S. Rouner (ed.), Religious Pluralism (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1984); John Hick and Paul F. Knitter (eds.), The Myth of Christian Uniqueness: Toward a Pluralistic Theology of Religions (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1987); Leonard Swidler (ed.), Toward a Universal Theology of Religion (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1987); Charles Wei-hsun Fu and Gerhard E. Spiegler (eds.), Religious Issues and Interreligious Dialogues: An Analysis and Sourcebook of Developments since 1945 (New York: Greenwood, 1989); and M. Darrol Bryant and Frank Flinn (eds.), Interreligious Dialogue: Voices from a New Frontier (New York: Paragon House, 1989).

³⁰Attar Singh, "Nature and Scope of Inter-Religion Dialogue," chapter 3 in Religious Pluralism and Co-Existence, edited by Wazir Singh (Patiala: Punjabi University, 1986), 37.

³¹Margaret Chatterjee, "Religious Coexistence in the Future," chapter 6 in Religious Pluralism and Co-Existence, edited by Wazir Singh (Patiala: Punjabi University, 1986), 57.

³²Among his many works are: (ed.), Faith in the Midst of Faith: Reflections on Dialogue in Community (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1977); (ed.), Courage for Dialogue: Ecumenical Issues in Interreligious Relationships (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1981); and One Christ. Many Religions: Toward a Revised Christology (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1991).

Also see C. D. Jathanna (ed.), Dialogue in Community: Essays in Honour of Stanley J. Samartha (Balmatta: Karnataka Theological Research Institute, 1982).

³³ Among his many works are: The Unknown Christ of Hinduism (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1964); and The Intrareligious Dialogue.

³⁴ Robbins, 268.

³⁵ Among his many works are: God and the Universe of Faiths (New York: St. Martin's, 1973); God has Many Names: Britain's New Religious Pluralism (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1980); and Problems of Religious Pluralism (London: Macmillan, 1985).

³⁶ Leonard Swidler (ed.), Toward a Universal Theology of Religion (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1987), 2; "Religious Pluralism and Ecumenism," 335; "Interreligious and Interideological Dialogue: The Matrix for All Systematic Reflection Today," in Toward a Universal Theology of Religion, 7-10

³⁷ See "Ground Rules for Interreligious Dialogue," Journal of Ecumenical Studies 15 (Summer 1978), 413-14; and "The Dialogue Decalogue: Ground Rules for Interreligious Dialogue," Drew Gateway 58 (Spring 1989), 5-9.

³⁸ "Interreligious and Interideological Dialogue," 6; "Religious Pluralism and Ecumenism," 338-39 (also see "Interreligious and Interideological Dialogue," 13-16).

³⁹ "Interreligious and Interideological Dialogue," 16, 18-21, 26.

⁴⁰ Paul F. Knitter, No Other Name? A Critical Survey of Christian Attitudes toward the World Religions (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1985), 6, 7-16, 220.

⁴¹ H. Richard Niebuhr, The Meaning of Revelation (New York: Macmillan, 1941), 41.

⁴² Knitter, No Other Name?, 203, 207, 206.

⁴³No Other Name?, 146.

⁴⁴Paul F. Knitter, "Toward a Liberation Theology of Religions," in The Myth of Christian Uniqueness: Toward a Pluralistic Theology of Religions, edited by John Hick and Paul F. Knitter (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1987), 187 (I have omitted several brief, nonessential parenthetical comments in the original text of this citation).

⁴⁵"Toward a Liberation Theology," 178-81.

⁴⁶Leonard Swidler, et al, Death or Dialogue? From the Age of Monologue to the Age of Dialogue (London: SCM, 1990), vii. The book is arranged in an interesting dialogical fashion: the four authors each contributed an article, then a response to the other articles, then a response to these responses, and finally concluded the book with a list of "Consensus Statements."

⁴⁷Paul F. Knitter, "Interreligious Dialogue: What? Why? How?" in Death or Dialogue?, 25-26, 27-30, 33, 35.

⁴⁸C. K. Mathew, Interreligious Dialogue: A Means for Building in a Local Community a Common Community of Communities in a Pluralistic World, D.Min. thesis, Perkins School of Theology, 1990. The idea of a "community of communities" was developed by Wilfred Cantwell Smith; see "Divisiveness and Unity," in Food/Energy and the Major Faiths, edited by Joseph Gremillion (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1978), 71-85. Cited by Knitter, No Other Name?, 14.

⁴⁹David Hollenbach, "Human Rights and Interreligious Dialogue: The Challenge to Mission in a Pluralistic World," International Bulletin of Missionary Research 6 (July 1982), 98, 100, 101.

⁵⁰Lubbe described the beginning of the movement:

It was undoubtedly 1985 that brought interfaith dialogue and cooperation to the forefront when people of

religion joined the struggle in the streets of our country. The best illustration of this point is probably the incident which took place on the tenth of August, 1985, when people like Rev. Alan Boesak, Rev. Lionel Louw, Imam Hassan Solomon, Moulana Faried Esack and others were arrested on their way to attend a funeral in the Black township of Guguletu in Cape Town. After their arrest they were taken to the cells at the Wynberg Magistrates Court. What happened then will in years to come be regarded as a major chapter in the interfaith movement in our country. There they were nineteen people of faith, with different religious convictions, but united in their quest for a just society, guarded by twelve people in uniform. The nineteen people of faith there and then decided to have a worship service. Dr. Boesak started with Scripture reading; Rev. Louw led them in singing; Imam Hassan prayed; and Moulana Faried preached. They then rose and sang the National Anthem "God Bless Africa." At that point, one of them related afterwards, "We discovered each other, different faiths but comrades in struggle. We nineteen little people in a cold room waiting for a magistrate struck a blow for interfaith dialogue at the highest level and in a matter of hours, years of suspicion and mistrust were broken down." Several other prayer and protest meetings followed in other parts of the country. It became evident that in South Africa interfaith dialogue and cooperation took on different dimensions. Gerrie Lubbe, "Interfaith Dialogue in a Conflict Situation: The South African Scene," Dialogue and Alliance 3 (Spring 1989), 63-64.

⁵¹Lubbe, 62, 64, 66-67.

⁵²Ulrich Dornberg, "Development and Interreligious Dialogue: Some Preliminary Remarks for Discussion," Mission Studies 6/1 (1989), 108, 109, 116.

⁵³For example, see Sidney George Williamson, Akan Religion and the Christian Faith: A Comparative Study of the Impact of Two Religions, edited by Kwesi A. Dickson (Accra: Ghana University, 1965); Kwesi Dickson and Paul Ellingworth (eds.), Biblical

Revelation and African Beliefs (London: Lutterworth, 1969); Peter K. Sarpong, "Christianity Meets Traditional African Cultures," Worldmission 30/2 (Summer 1979), reprinted in Gerald H. Anderson and Thomas F. Stransky, Faith Meets Faith (New York: Paulist, 1981), 238-48; Emmanuel K. Twesigye, Common Ground: Christianity, African Religion and Philosophy (New York: Peter Lang, 1987); and Michael C. Kirwen, The Missionary and the Diviner: Contending Theologies of Christian and African Religions (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1987).

⁵⁴"Introduction," in John B. Taylor (ed.), Primal World-Views: Christian Involvement in Dialogue with Traditional Thought Forms (Ibadan: Daystar, 1976), 1, 6, 7.

Also see Taylor's earlier work, The Primal Vision: Christian Presence and African Religion (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1963).

⁵⁵Wande Abimbola, "The Need for Constant Dialogue among the Leaders of the World's Religions," chapter 19 in Interreligious Dialogue: Voices from a New Frontier, edited by M. Darrol Bryant and Frank Flinn (New York: Paragon, 1989), 177, 178.

⁵⁶Library of Congress Subject Headings, 14th ed., vol. 1 (Washington: Library of Congress, 1991), 829.

⁵⁷Vine Deloria, Jr., God is Red (New York: Dell, 1973).

⁵⁸Benjamin A. Reist, Theology in Red, White, and Black (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1975). The book jacket pointed out the unusual nature of Reist's work:

One of the most significant (and unique) features of this book lies in the attention it gives to the theological contributions of the American Indian, along with those of American blacks and whites.

⁵⁹For example, see Carl F. Starkloff, The People of the Center: American Indian Religion and Christianity (New York: Crossroad, 1974); Starkloff, "Indigenous Peoples and the Experience of Christianity," Pacifica: Australian Theological Studies 2 (October 1989), 323-332; Patrick J. Twohy, Finding a Way Home: Indian and

Catholic Spiritual Paths of the Plateau Tribes (Spokane: University Press, 1983); Antonio Gualtieri, Christianity and Native Traditions: Indigenization and Syncretism among the Inuit and Dene of the Western Arctic (Notre Dame: Cross Roads, 1984); and William Stolzman, The Pipe and Christ: a Christian-Sioux Dialogue (Chamberlain: Tipi Press, 1986).

A similar approach from a Protestant perspective was suggested by Jon M. Temme in "Contact or Conflict? Native North American Religions and Traditional Christianity," Trinity Seminary Review 11/2 (Fall 1989), 89-98.

⁶⁰John A. Grim, "Native American Religions and Interreligious Dialogue," Ecumenical Trends 14/9 (October 1985), 133, 134.

⁶¹Stanley J. McKay, "Native North American Spirituality and Inter-Faith Dialogue," Ecumenical Trends 16/6 (June 1987), 108, 109-10.

⁶²John Snow, These Mountains Are Our Sacred Places: The Story of the Stoney Indians (Toronto: Samuel Stevens, 1977), 146-47.

⁶³Snow, 146.

⁶⁴Native writers James West and William Baldrige have also pressed this point:

Theo-logos or words about Maheo (God) as a discipline is a non-Indian concept. Indian people have a long tradition of words about Maheo. But, theology as an intellectual discipline, sometimes very separated from the every day life of people, is a very foreign concept to most Indian tribal experience. Therefore, what will be discussed today are certain aspects of the spiritual way-of-life of some Indian nations as well as comparisons between these ways-of-life and Christian theology. James L. West, "Indian Spirituality: Another Vision," American Baptist Quarterly 5/4 (December 1986), 350.

Doing theology, thinking theologically, is a decidedly non-Indian thing to do. When I talk about Native American theology to many of my Indian friends, most of them just smile and act as if I hadn't said anything. So, as we start this adventure I want to make the observation that theology is not a natural nor a normal product of Native American cultures. I know that some things are reduced, not increased by too much thinking, too much analyzing and many American Indians share my attitude and conviction regarding the relative worth of entering into experience versus thinking about experience. William E. Baldrige, "Toward a Native American Theology," American Baptist Quarterly 8/4 (December 1989), 228.

Conclusions

¹Janet Hodgson and Jay Kothare, Vision Quest: Native Spirituality and the Church in Canada (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1990), 104, 106.

²Hodgson and Kothare, 107-8.

³Hodgson and Kothare, 105.

⁴Hodgson and Kothare, 1, 2-3.