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Constructing Culture: Contesting Beliefs and Searching for Identity in Native  
American Groups of Western Pennsylvania

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## **PREFACE**

My research on Native Americans in Pennsylvania began in my sophomore year of college. For my History Workshop class, I researched the pattern of skirmishes between Native

Americans and colonists and Native American land cessions during the 1700s. In my paper, titled *On Borrowed Lands: The Removal of Native Americans from Pennsylvania's Frontier during the 1700's*, I concluded that frontiersmen resorted to violence after 1763 under the pretext of revenge for Native Americans' raids during the French and Indian War and Pontiac's War in an effort to coax Native Americans to seek retribution through violence as well. The ultimate aim of the frontiersmen was to acquire Native American land. They accomplished this goal by goading Native Americans to react violently against settlers, which prompted the government to remove them from the coveted lands.

My research for the History Workshop class was historical. However, for a long time I wanted to do research on Native Americans in contemporary Pennsylvania. My Anthropology Research Seminar, one of the culminating classes of the Anthropology and History major, provided me with this opportunity to perform original fieldwork in the Native American community of Western Pennsylvania. I began studying Native American identity in the fall of 2002 semester, and I continued researching and refining my work during the spring of 2003 semester through the Senior Honors Thesis program.

Initially, I stumbled several times in an attempt to find a thesis for this paper. I started my research for the paper thinking that I would work solely with the Lenni Lenape tribe. I planned to research the changing meanings of cultural practices among the Lenape over time. I soon found myself discouraged at my first powwow when I encountered no Lenape. Frustration overcame me as I realized that my trip to Kinko's to make fifty photocopies of a letter introducing myself and explaining that I planned to research Lenape cultural traditions was pointless.

Along with finding no Lenape at my first powwow, the reactions I received from the

Native Americans shook my confidence in my abilities to perform fieldwork. I introduced myself to a young man named Chris and told him of my intentions to research Native American identity in Western Pennsylvania. He shrugged off my enthusiasm snapping, “go read a book.”<sup>i</sup>

Eventually, after two more powwows, Chris warmed up and gave me an interview. At about this time, I finalized a new thesis for my paper as well. I theorized that the reason Pennsylvania housed Native Americans of so many different tribal affiliations was because of Carlisle, the Indian boarding school, in Eastern Pennsylvania. I thought that many graduates must have remained in Pennsylvania. Therefore, I aimed my research at discovering what made them stay, and how they expressed their heritage here.

Things looked good for my intended plan. One of my first informants revealed that her grandmother escaped from Carlisle. However, I soon found out that most of my informants did not specifically know who their native ancestor was, and they themselves began practicing Native American culture late in their lives. At first, I saw these new revelations as major setbacks. I then decided to just continue my fieldwork and allow a thesis to emerge from the evidence.

## **METHOD**

My research is based mainly on interviews with Native Americans in Western

Pennsylvania, informal conversations, and my own observations of the Native American community. I formally interviewed eleven people; however, I informally conversed with other Native Americans at events like powwows. I attended five powwows, as well as the Battle of Bushy Run re-enactment and the Grand Council Meeting of the United Eastern Lenape Nation. Also, I wanted to compare Native American culture in Western Pennsylvania to Native American culture on a reservation. I chose to visit Cherokee, North Carolina, which is the reservation for the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians. I spent from March 23rd to March 29th on the reservation talking with Native Americans and observing the community.

In this study, I focus on my fieldwork and allow the voices of the people to predominate. However, this paper is somewhat biased with my personal views on the Native American community of Western Pennsylvania. Still, I utilized the voices of the people as much as I could, thus, allowing the reader to come to his or her own conclusions. This work is also somewhat biased by the fact that I met all of my informants at community events. Hence, only those Native Americans who choose to participate in the community shaped my perceptions. Also, I worked a great deal with members from one organization (without knowing this initially). Still, from my observations and interviews with other Native Americans, my feelings are that working with several members of one particular group did not harm the validity of this paper.

In my work, I attempt to show that Native American identity is fluid, contested, and, often, ideals and realities contradict each other. I also attempt to show the role pan-Indian movements, mainly “fraternal,” play in shaping images of Native Americans, and, consequently, how these images, in turn, shape Native American culture and identity. Through the voices of my informants, I then show how the individuals adapted these images in their efforts to become Native American.

**PART I:**

**INTRODUCTION: A CONCISE HISTORY ON PAN-INDIANISM AND ITS ROLE IN  
SHAPING NATIVE AMERICAN CULTURE**

Who is an American Indian? This question plagued both the U.S. government and Native



Americans alike for centuries. Since the 1800s, the U.S. government has attempted to develop criteria for defining who is an Indian and who is not. For example, in 1869, the Supreme Court of New Mexico Territory ruled that the Pueblos were not Indians because they were ““a peaceable, industrious, intelligent, honest, and virtuous people.”” Sarcastically, William T. Hagan, a professor of history at the University of Oklahoma, pointed out that “. . . if they had been militant, indolent, stupid, dishonest, and immoral, they would have qualified as Indians.”<sup>ii</sup> As recent as 1980, the government continued to grapple with the concept of Indian, prompting the Department of Education to spend \$90,000 in an attempt to establish an acceptable definition.<sup>iii</sup>

By the end of the 1800s, the government shifted the burden on to Native Americans themselves, making tribes the final authority on determining who qualified as a tribal member and who did not.<sup>iv</sup> However, this task proved problematic to tribes as well. Some tribes identified Indians as those with 1/16th Native American blood, while others said 1/2, and still others 1/4. Yet, another complication arose for Native Americans in the late-1800s. The government forced Native American children to attend boarding schools far from reservations. At these schools, children were forced to cut their hair and give up their native clothing for “white” clothes. They learned to speak English at the expense of their native language. At Carlisle, the boarding school in Pennsylvania, children lived with “good Christian” families nearby the school in order to further assimilate the children into American culture.<sup>v</sup> Hence, after learning how not to be Indian, when these boarding school graduates returned to their reservations, they felt torn between mainstream American culture and Native American culture. Feeling caught between two worlds, many boarding school graduates migrated to the cities. Yet, several wished to retain their Native American roots. Wishing to retain their Native American

identity and advocate for their rights, these Native Americans formed pan-Indian reform organizations.

Boarding school graduates did not invent pan-Indianism. Native American pan-movements occurred before the Europeans came to the Americas and continued to develop in the first decades of colonization. For example, Pontiac's War of the 1760s united several eastern tribes, some of which were previously enemies, under the common goal of pushing back white intrusion. Later in the mid-1800s, reservation life helped spur the modern pan-movements. Enemy tribes, forced to live in close proximity on reservations, shared the common experience of losing their homelands, living with white brutality, and coping with the squalor of reservation life. Out of these deplorable conditions, a shared sense of identity emerged, which stimulated modern pan-religious movements.

One of the first pan-Indian religions to come out of reservation life was the short-lived Ghost Dance, which swept tribes in the 1880s and 1890s. However, a more lasting pan-religion soon emerged, the Peyote religion. The Peyote religion was not only one of the most popular pan-movements to develop, it was also the only one created by Native Americans living on reservations.<sup>vi</sup> Initially, the Ghost Dance played a significant role in spreading the Peyote religion. The spread of the Ghost Dance between tribes created lasting channels, which Native Americans utilized to spread the Peyote religion.<sup>vii</sup> By 1918, Native Americans, forced by government threats to ban the use of peyote, created a church in order to receive religious protection under the constitution. They named the church the Native American Church in order to emphasize “the intertribal solidarity” of the new religion.<sup>viii</sup> The Peyote religion today remains influential, attracting more followers than any other pan-movement.

The Peyote religion brought on a new sense of community among reservation Indians. On

the other hand, urban Indians still felt isolated from their culture and identity. Nevertheless, most urban Native Americans shared the desire to maintain their heritage, the experience of attending boarding schools, a sense of living between two worlds, and, unlike previous generations, a common language; English.<sup>ix</sup> Hence, urban Native Americans who longed to thrive in American culture while at the same time hold on to their Native American heritage, came together to form reform and fraternal pan-Indian organizations.<sup>x</sup> In 1910, Native American leaders, predominantly Carlisle graduates, created the Society of American Indians, a reform organization. The original purpose of reform pan-organizations like the SAI, included promoting citizenship, establishing legal departments to investigate complaints, supporting education, and promoting aspects of assimilation while still emulating the “distinguishing virtues” of the Indian “race.”<sup>xi</sup> As urban Native Americans lost ties with the reservations and their tribes, this “racial identification largely replaced tribal identifications,” creating not a mixture of Sioux, Cheyenne, Blackfoot, and Crow, for example, but a solidified group of Native Americans.<sup>xii</sup>

At the same time, organizations with quite different purposes emerged. Based mostly at the local level, fraternal pan-organizations captured the imagination of white society. While reform pan-organizations battled to debunk myths about Native American culture, promoting an image of the progressive, professional Indian, fraternal pan-organizations embraced the romanticized white version of Native American culture. The aim of fraternal pan-organizations encompassed mainly social activities. It is important to note that fraternal pan-organizations flourished at the same time Americans’ interest in camping, the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, and enjoying nature in general grew.<sup>xiii</sup> Hence, whites eagerly embraced membership into clubs run by “real” Indians. According to Hazel Hertzberg, “[m]uch of the white support of fraternal pan-Indianism came from men and women who dreamed of a lost world of wilderness.”<sup>xiv</sup> These

“real” Native Americans that ran fraternal pan-groups usually lacked formal education, unlike their reform counterparts, were of mixed descent, and were removed from tribal life in varying degrees.<sup>xv</sup> White members of fraternal organizations saw these Indians, who promoted a romanticized version of Native American culture, as authorities on Native American culture, hence, reinforcing whites’ preconceived notions of Native Americans.

At the same time, Hertzberg explained that the white image of Native Americans “. . . was so pervasive that it affected . . . how Indians thought about themselves.”<sup>xvi</sup> Hence, Native Americans intertwined positive aspects of the stereotyped Native American image into their own culture. Many advocated for a return to their pure traditions. James Clifford pointed out in his book, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*, that “[s]uch claims to purity are . . . always subverted by the need to stage authenticity in opposition, to external, often dominating alternatives,” which explains the relationship that developed between Native Americans and the greater population.<sup>xvii</sup> In differentiating themselves from the broader population, Native Americans redefined their culture as the opposite of American culture. In turn, Americans, longing for a return to nature and simplicity, attributed what they felt was lost in their own culture to Native American culture. Thus, both Native Americans and whites who criticized their own culture tended to see American culture as “. . . oppressive, individualistic, competitive, self-delusional, contrived, artificial, spurious, [and] neurotic” while viewing Native Americans as possessing “. . . perennial models of authenticity, serenity [and] equality . . .”<sup>xviii</sup> This dichotomy was perpetuated by fraternal pan-organizations.

Although fraternal pan-organization membership declined in the 1930s, 40s, and 50s, by the 1960s and 1970s, membership boomed again and fraternal pan-organizations proliferated across the country. According to William T. Hagan, “[t]he activism of Red Power militants had

inspired new pride among Native Americans, while at the same time the Indian image profited from their portrayal in the television commercials and popular writings as the first conservationists.”<sup>xix</sup> Now that being Indian was in vogue, Native Americans of mixed descent, with little connection to Native American culture, proclaimed their identity to the country. In what Clifford described as the “latest wave of pan-revivalism,” fraternal pan-organizations popped up everywhere. According to Clifford, this “new sense of Indianness” brought on the proliferation of organized shows of Indian-ness, such as “fair like powwows, costumes, and folkloric dances,” which emerged in Western Pennsylvania during this period, as well.<sup>xx</sup> Several Native Americans, in Western Pennsylvania, discovered their roots, and fraternal pan-Indian organizations, like the Council of Three Rivers American Indian Center, surfaced.

Most Native Americans in Western Pennsylvania, however, faced a significant problem. They discovered their Native American ancestry later on in life. Hence, they did not grow up identifying as Native American or practicing Native American culture. Therefore, after deciding to identify as Native Americans, an important question necessitated immediate attention. What is Native American culture? With no reservations or predominant Native American communities in Pennsylvania in which to observe and learn the culture, these new Native Americans latched on to what they knew to be Native American: the image that earlier fraternal pan-organizations promoted. As more Native Americans surfaced in Western Pennsylvania, several different fraternal pan-organizations developed. However, with no concrete, cohesive culture to compare and build upon, Native Americans in Western Pennsylvania brought their own unique viewpoints to being Native American. Individuals joined organizations that shared their viewpoints. However, these different interpretations of being Native American have led to dissention and bickering among the groups over authenticity. Yet despite their quarreling, fundamentally, all of

the organizations promote the same image of Native Americans as nature loving, caring, sharing, harmonious beings, in contrast to the materialistic, greed driven, earth hurting, cheating, miserly members of greater American culture. In turn, this “influential network of information producers, image promoters, and opinion shakers” teach the public this romantic version of Native American culture, hence, continuing the production cycle of what James Clifton referred to as “the preferred story-line about the Indian.”<sup>xxi</sup>

## **PART II:**

## **THE NATIVE AMERICAN COMMUNITY IN WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA**

### **Overview of the Western Pennsylvanian Native American Organizations**

For a state with no official reservations, Pennsylvania maintains a wealth of Native American organizations. The purpose of most organizations in Pennsylvania centers on education and building a community for drifting Native Americans. All of the groups are pan-organizations; however, none are religious or reform organizations in the true sense. Although some groups in Pennsylvania maintain elements of spirituality, that is not their main focus. On the other hand, some of the groups do try to better the lives of Native Americans like the reform organizations of previous years. However, the main focus of Native American organizations in Western Pennsylvania closely compares to that of fraternal pan-organizations of the early 20th century. For example, although the Council of Three Rivers American Indian Center (COTRAIC) had the potential to be a reform organization, it ultimately became fraternal. In 1969, the founders came up with the idea for a Native American center because “a place where Indian people could call there [sic] own, where they could gather for fellowship and understanding without being ridiculed or harassed” did not exist in Western Pennsylvania.<sup>xxii</sup> Initially, the organization aimed to serve as a center for Native Americans who “sought to overcome the feeling of ‘floating’ in the mainstream” and felt “the need to maintain a sense of Indian-ness, recapture roots, and become more conscious of their rights as Native Americans.”<sup>xxiii</sup> Over the years, the organization expanded and now provides a network of services for both Native Americans and non-natives. The organization boasts an elders program, a children's' program, a day care center, a cultural program, adoption services, and a Head start

program. Although the founders initially envisioned an organization that provided a stronghold for “Indian Advocacy” and “protection of rights,” the organization’s programs are now geared more towards social activities.

All pan groups in Western Pennsylvania, including COTRAIC, emphasize providing a community for Native Americans to practice their beliefs while educating the public about Native American culture. For example, the aims of the United Eastern Indian Alliance (UEIA) are to educate the public on Native American history, provide aid to Native Americans living on reservations, and follow “the beliefs of our people, as well as function in the manner of our ancestors.”<sup>xxiv</sup> Being true to its pan-identity, membership in the group is open to persons of any tribal affiliation, with or without Native American blood. Although the UEIA intended to provide assistance to reservation Indians, a member confided in me that the only members who actively provide aid include the chief and she.<sup>xxv</sup> The member benefits, described on their web page, provide further insight into the group’s aims. As a member, “you will learn about Native American cultures, how tribes function, [and] basic Indian crafts” on top of being a part of “a tribe, a family, and a group of close friends” who “always have fun.”<sup>xxvi</sup>

The Native American Indian Coalition of Pennsylvania (NAICP) shares almost the same goals as the UEIA. The purpose of NAICP is to “unite Native Americans and . . . educate the public in an effort to put to rest many of the misconceptions about Native American Indians,” while “continuing the traditions of our ancestors.”<sup>xxvii</sup> The Turtle Island Chautauqua pan-organization also shares a similar purpose. However, the organization harbors more aggressive overtones. Like the previous organizations, their main goal is to “establish an education facility to promote philosophical and cultural exchanges of information regarding indigenous peoples of the Eastern Woodlands, specifically in the Pennsylvania area.”<sup>xxviii</sup> Membership is open to



anyone, and there are currently 71 members (including me). What gives this organization a slightly militant quality is their secondary purpose, which is “[t]o act as an advocate for the indigenous peoples of the Pennsylvania area whenever it is deemed that their philosophical and/or cultural ideals are in danger of being overshadowed or buried without thought to the end result of such action.”<sup>xxix</sup> Although this purpose has a reformatory flare to it, the group has not yet deemed it necessary to “advocate” for specific rights.

Aside from organizations, there are nations. The difference between a nation and an organization is that a nation bands together as one tribe instead of a set of loosely tied together groups. Nations that I encountered include, Thunder Mountain Lenape Nation, in Saltsburg Pa, the United Eastern Lenape Nation (UELN), centered in PA but encompassing members from other states, and the Eastern Lenape Nation (ELN), which is based in Maryland but maintains membership in Eastern Pennsylvania. Even under the umbrella of the Lenape nation, these nations are still pan-organizations. For example, Thunder Mountain Lenape Nation is a “non-profit traditional Native American community” consisting of “Lenape families either by ancestry or adoption currently living in Pennsylvania. . . .”<sup>xxx</sup> As with Thunder Mountain, one does not necessarily have to be of Lenape or even Native American descent to join the UELN. The UELN boasts 300 to 700 members. However, about 35 participated at their Grand Council meeting in November of 2002. All of these organizations, including the nations, promote a welcoming social environment for those who wish to identify with pan-Native American culture.

### **A Closer Look At the United Eastern Lenape Nation**

Although the UELN will be signing treaties of alliance with the Lenape Nation, the Mohawk, and the Cherokee in order to curtail “infighting” among the nations and “put a solid front up against the United States government,” their main purposes are to provide a social community for Native Americans and to educate the public.<sup>xxx1</sup> I spent a great deal of time with members of this organization. Although, I focus mainly on this organization, the Thunder Mountain Lenape and the United Lenape Nation have the same organizational framework as the UELN. Moreover, all three nations share members with each other, which creates additional congruity.

The UELN closely resembles early 20th century fraternal organizations, specifically, the Teepee Order. The Teepee Order was originally a children’s group organized, in 1915, by Reverend Red Fox Frances St. James. St. James claimed to be 1/16th Native American and a graduate of Carlisle, although there is no record of him ever attending the school.<sup>xxxii</sup> He held no connection to the Native American community and was ““raised the same as any child born of white people.”<sup>xxxiii</sup> Since “St. James belonged neither to the Indian world nor in the white, he would create a third: a Pan-Indian society, which offered a solution to his precarious status by legitimizing it.”<sup>xxxiv</sup>

The Teepee Order, which eventually became an adult organization, was modeled after the Improved Order of Red Men (IORM). The IORM, founded in 1813 by whites that claimed descent from the Sons of Liberty, ironically barred Native Americans from its membership.<sup>xxxv</sup> The purpose of the organization was to conserve the history, customs, and virtues of the “aboriginal Americans.”<sup>xxxvi</sup> The organization had an elaborate system where each branch took the name of an Indian tribe. Officers included sachems, prophets, chiefs, and a keeper of the

Wampum. Members followed special calendars referred to as “Great Suns” and “Moons,” and they even boasted a women's branch called Daughters of Pocahontas.<sup>xxxvii</sup>

Modeled after IORM, the Teepee Order was originally an “Indian-led alternative society, addressed largely to white youngsters.”<sup>xxxviii</sup> However, by the 1920s, the Teepee Order aimed at attracting adult membership. Emulating the organizational framework and the “Native American values” promoted by the IORM, a group of white men gallivanting around as the authorities on Native American customs, encouraged the Teepee Order to view Native American culture with “a strong dash of romanticism.”<sup>xxxix</sup> It based its practices on the assumed characteristics that were supposedly general throughout all Native American tribes: “dignity, fidelity to one’s word, love and reverence for nature, cooperation, artistic expression, respect for age and wisdom, bravery, belief in a higher being, an aversion to crass materialism, independence, self-respect, pride, and other such aboriginal virtues.”<sup>xl</sup> Adding to the romanticism and mystique of their Indian organization, the Teepee Order bestowed its members with Indian names, everyone wore “Indian dress”, and the organization maintained a plethora of titles, from chiefs to princesses, so that everyone held a position of importance.<sup>xli</sup>

The UELN mirrors the Teepee Order to a great extent. Like the Teepee Order before it, the UELN aims at attracting membership outside of the Native American community, it has few ties to Native American culture, it promotes a romanticized view of Native American culture, and is run by a man with questionable Native American heritage. Like St. James of the Teepee Order, Billy Blue Feather, the man who founded the UELN, has no ties to reservation life or Native American culture, in general. In fact, some Native Americans in the Pennsylvania community claim that Billy Blue Feather possesses no Native American ancestry. Alan Two Bears, a Cherokee from the reservation in North Carolina, alleged that Billy is Italian and claims

to be an “adopted” Indian.<sup>xlii</sup> Thus, men with questionable Native American ancestry and virtually no ties to Native American culture assumed leaderships positions in the Teepee Order and the UELN.

Also like the Teepee Order, the UELN provides members with a wealth of titles to choose from, which adds a romantic flair to Native American culture. For example, at the Grand Council meeting of the UELN, the twelve heads of the nation included:

1. War Chief (Billy’s son)
2. Chief of the Falling Leaf Society (Spirit Wolf, Billy’s close friend’s wife)
3. Nation’s Chief (Billy)
4. Wampum Keeper who is also a Turtle Clan Mother
5. Second Nation’s Chief (who owns a business with Billy)
6. Nation’s Peace Chief
7. Keeper of the Inner World who is also a Nation’s Turtle Clan Mother,
8. Turtle Clan Chief for the Village of General Hartman who is also the Nation’s Turtle Clan Chief
9. Nation’s Wolf Clan Chief (Spirit Wolf, Billy’s close friend),
11. Turkey Clan Chief (the Second Nation’s Chief’s wife),
12. Second Clan Mother who used to be the Nation’s Clan Mother (Billy’s wife).<sup>xliii</sup>

And, those in attendance who did not hold a position on the Grand Council held positions as chiefs, clan mothers, and war chiefs of their villages. Those still lacking a position enlisted as 2nd chiefs for the village chiefs. Still, if one missed out on chieftom, he or she became a warrior in training.

The Teepee Order and the UELN share similar structures and practices, as well. Like the Teepee Order, the UELN divides its membership. The UELN has three categories for members. The first is “Blood,” which are “those of Lenape descent or any others fully adopted into the Nation.” This means that a person who is not genetically Native American can be adopted and become Native American.<sup>xliiv</sup> The second form of membership is “Affiliate,” which defines those from other nations who choose to retain their original tribal affiliation. Thirdly, there is “Associate,” a group that consists of non-Indian people who have not been fully adopted.<sup>xliv</sup> In

order to become fully adopted, one must go through a one-year probation period, in which he or she has to learn the laws of the nation, learn a craft, make his or her own regalia, learn the songs, and learn how to drum. And, “once you are adopted in, you’re no longer English. You’re Lenape.”<sup>xlvi</sup> However, gaining membership is no easy task. The UELN is not in the business of recruitment. According to Billy’s wife, Pam Morning Sky, those who want to join the UELN are closely scrutinized. Billy made this clear saying, “You see a person who wants to play John Wayne, shootn’ pony Indians. They don’t put in the time to help the Nation grow, we’ll just get our reports back and say you’re on probation a little longer. After a few more months, if they’re not productive, bye! We don’t want losers. I hate to put it this way. We don’t want nation’s pee pee. We want the best that’s out there.”<sup>xlvii</sup> Although the UELN does not recruit members, Billy offered me membership application papers at the Grand Council meeting. This was only the second time Billy had met me (the first time that I met Billy, I spoke to him for about three minutes to introduce myself and ask for his phone number). During my interview with Spirit Wolf, he, too, attempted several times to coax me into joining the UELN.

Also, like the Teepee Order, the UELN membership includes primarily whites with little or no Native American heritage. As a result, the UELN version of Native American culture is closely based on white images of Native American values and practices. For example, the UELN members virtually summarize all of Native American culture with one value, respect. At the Grand Council meeting, members constantly interrupted each other to harangue someone else for not showing enough respect. The Grand Council chiefs also relentlessly hammered the importance of respect into the UELN members. For example, Billy stressed the importance of respect saying

I don’t want to see anybody disrespecting our chiefs, clan mother, women, children, or each other anymore. Not going to happen anymore. Tighten up guys. I’m not going to put up with it anymore and I know that council

isn't going to put up with it. This is 2002; this is not 200-300 years ago. You've got to live in this society. You've got to wear shoes and drive a car and work a job, unless you're rich like me. If you're going to live the life, follow the red path, respect Creator, respect each other. I don't want to hear no more guys [sic] screaming at their wives around me. It's none of my business or anybody on this council's how you run your meetings in your village as long as you follow basic rules, which are very simple, respect. Don't come up with some off the wall idea we're going to try to redo this. Don't ask council if it's not something to do with protocol. It's as simple as that.<sup>xlvi</sup>

Another example of the reiteration of respect is the process that the Grand Council chiefs declared proper for addressing them. When asking a chief a question, one must show respect “or [the chief] won't answer.” According to Billy, the correct way to address a chief is, “honorable chief, it would be an honor if you could show me how to do this.”<sup>xlix</sup> Early Colonists tended to liken Native American government bodies to their own, and therefore, placed importance on chiefs. This image of chiefs as almighty potentates lingered in American culture, and obviously influenced the UELN's treatment of their own chiefs. Granted, Native Americans showed various forms of respect to those in leadership positions. However, the lavish treatment Billy received from members of his tribe distorts Native American culture by exaggerating the importance of respect. In fact, historian Paul A. Wallace, quoting Col. James Smith, specifically pointed out that in Lenape culture, “the chief . . . is neither a supreme ruler, monarch or potentate . . . the chief of the nation has to hunt for a living, as any other citizen.”<sup>l</sup> Because none of the UELN members grew up practicing Native American culture, they created their own set of values for the culture based on white assumptions of Native American beliefs.

The UELN's aims include education and providing a community for Native Americans, which resemble the Teepee Order's aims as well. The exact goals and aims of the UELN, which reflect the white perceptions of what it means to be Native American, are as follows:

1. To return to the “Old Ways” (as much as is practical).
2. To revive and retain as much of our cultural and religious heritage as possible.
3. To study, learn, and practice the “Iroquois Law of the Great Peace,” the “M'Dwinin,” and the “Big House” code of life and ethics.

4. To live with nature, to practice ecology, and conservation - never exploit our fellow man, or Mother Earth, or our animal brothers and sisters.
5. To own our land in common - to create food storages - to operate co-op food stores - to operate small co-op enterprises and business.
6. To respect our ancestors, our elders, and each other in all ways.
7. To pool our resources for the common good of all.
8. To help and come to the aid of individuals, families, bands, tribes, and nations of Indian Peoples - to lend our support, financially, morally, and physically.
9. To provide food and shelter to all our members.
10. To support our elderly, our children, and our ill.
11. To encourage our young people, to develop the talents of each, to fund their schooling . . . .
12. To elect chiefs, councilmen and councilwomen, to hold elections and meetings on any issue that concerns the well being of our members and our land holdings, enterprises, etc. Each member of age having his or her say, each being represented in council by their Clan Chief.
13. To establish common goals and aims, to conduct sessions (all social) and classes on each phase of life, sex, child care, religion, ecology, farming, cooking, etc.
14. To fit each member into our community's society, looking for and developing each member's talents and resources for the good of all.
15. To provide a farming (crops and livestock) economy - also supple-mented [sic] with small industry (trading post, garage, print shop, etc.) *All* operated on a community, co-op basis.
16. To channel *All Profits* and *Goods* back into our tribal funds for the future security and need of our tribe and communities.
17. To instill in each and every member, as sense of worth, as sense of security, and a sense of belonging, each member contributing his share as to his capabilities, etc.
18. To return to the less complex, simple society, avoiding monetary and materialist concepts of success - to our people, success should be achieved by what he or she can accomplish and contribute to their people and their community.
19. To unite, work cooperatively, to be of "One Mind," and a sincere desire to live in peace and brotherhood with *all* our "Makers" living creatures - to revere the simple, honest, "Old Ways" of life - Let Love be supreme.

Thus, even a nation aiming to adhere to the beliefs of a single tribe, in this case the Lenape, reproduces the images that both whites and Native Americans played a role in shaping of Native Americans as loving, communal, respectful of Mother Earth and their "animal brothers and sisters," artistic, and uncomplicated.

Indeed, little has changed in the representation of Native American culture over time. In the 19th century, the Improved Order of Red Men consisted of white men (Native Americans were prohibited from joining) acting out what they imagined to be Native American values. St. James then modeled the Teepee Orders' aims, values, and cultural representations of Native Americans after the IORM. Thus, the white romanticized version of Native American culture continued to be perpetuated by fraternal organizations in the 20th century. Promoting the same

stereotyped Native American image as the IORM and the Teepee Order did, the UELN and the other fraternal pan-organizations of Western Pennsylvania perpetuate the cycle in the 21st century.

### **“They’re Hokey:” Who are the “Real” Indians?**

Although the Native American organizations of Pennsylvania do maintain loose connections with each other, and individual Native Americans like to consider themselves as belonging to a cohesive unit, the Native American community in Pennsylvania remains fragmented, especially on the topic of who is Native American. For example, Wendy Wind Dancer, from the United Eastern Indian Alliance, explained that if I talked to members of the Thunder Mountain Lenape Nation, they would tell me that the UEIA is not a credible group. She also explained that the group of Lenape re-enactors at the Battle of Bushy Run at Bushy Run Battlefield tend to stick together because they see themselves as more “hardcore” than the rest of the Native American community.<sup>li</sup> I visited the re-enactment, and the Native American re-enactors did indeed maintain an intimidating warrior presence. However, this could be attributed to the fact that they portrayed warriors in the midst of a battle.

Other organizations, like the United Eastern Lenape Nation, assert that certain organizations are not Native American enough. For example, White Raven, an affiliate member to the UELN complained that “some of the ways I was approached there weren’t very native-like. They were more being like the white people’s world.”<sup>lii</sup> Another UELN member, Spirit Wolf, said that the Council of Three River American Indian Center is too interested in grants and money. He also said, “[w]e don’t go to Three Rivers anymore because they dance on pavement. I



refuse to go there. A lot of natives refuse to go there. A lot of people refuse to go there because of their ways.”<sup>liii</sup> While one group acts too “hardcore,” another does not seem native enough.

On the other hand, Wolf and his friend Two Bears, a member of COTRAIC and the American Indian Movement, adamantly dislike the UELN and its members. Two Bears, in reference to the UELN, explained, “I don’t like to hang around with what they call their little tribes and stuff . . . because I haven’t found one yet. All I can find is Italians, or white people, or black people saying they’re Indians and they are going to start tribes. What are they going to do, try and populate Pennsylvania all on their own? How can you start a tribe? How can you start an Indian nation? You can’t.”<sup>liv</sup>

Along with disliking UELN members in general, Two Bears fervently detests its leader, Billy Blue Feather. In reference to Billy and his actions, Two Bears alleged that, “There’s a lot of phony stuff out there.”<sup>lv</sup> For instance, Two Bears claimed that before Billy became Native American, he headed an organization called Witches in the Woods. According to Two Bears, Billy created a local scandal with his actions in this organization, which eventually forced him to move to a different part of Pennsylvania. Billy and his witches triggered this local scandal when they performed a ceremony on a thirteen-year-old girl, in the middle of the forest. Allegedly, witches placed the girl “on a big slab out [in the woods], and [she] was naked and everything, and they were cutting her.”<sup>lvi</sup>

Because Two Bears and other Native Americans of COTRAIC know of Billy’s dubious past as well as his questionable Native American ancestry, “[Billy] doesn’t go to Three Rivers because if he goes to Three Rivers, they’re going to kill him down there.”<sup>lvii</sup> At first, I imagined death threats against Billy to be an exaggeration. But Two Bears, in fact, alleged that he had tried to kill Billy before. Two Bears declared to me that “[Billy] doesn’t like me, and I don’t like him.

He puts up with me because I grabbed him and threw him up against the wall, and there's a scar on his neck where I cut him." Startled by this revelation, I asked Two Bears why he cut Billy. He replied, "I was going to kill him." I then asked why he wanted to kill Billy. Frustrated, he retorted, "because I got tired of him running his mouth. He tried to tell people that there was no more Indians around here but him."<sup>lviii</sup>

Wolf, Two Bears' close friend, also had trouble with Billy. Wolf explained that Billy knowingly sells hides to the public that are not tanned correctly, which eventually causes the hides to rot. Simply put, Wolf concluded that Billy's "ethics aren't right."<sup>lix</sup> Wolf also complained about the members of UELN, Billy's group. He said that they form their small groups, name someone chief (which Wolf deemed sacrilegious because of the honor of the position), and sometimes, new groups split off of the old groups "like a bad disease."<sup>lx</sup> Wolf prefers to associate himself with more "credible" organizations like the Red Hawk Society, an organization based in Ohio.<sup>lxi</sup>

Ironically, Two Bears also lambasted the Council of Three Rivers American Indian Center, an organization in which he holds membership. He explained that those who run COTRAIC are African Americans and whites, and they need his membership in order to receive government money because he is full-blooded. He added that the "real" Native Americans in COTRAIC stay away from the organization as much as possible. According to Two Bears, "the only time they have Native Americans there is at powwows. And we're the ones that get thrown up in the paper because they have to take pictures of Native Americans."<sup>lxii</sup>

The United Eastern Lenape Nation not only confronts outside attacks from other Native Americans, but suffers from internal strife, as well. For example, leaders among the UELN disagreed over how one should go about being Native American. Therefore, a faction broke off

of the UELN, becoming the Eastern Lenape Nation. Presently, the Eastern Lenape Nation and Turtle Island Chautauqua are distinct organizations. However, “collectively,” they are “known as Turtle Island Chautauqua and the Eastern Lenape Nation” because they share the common interests of “teaching, art, music, storytelling, dance, singing, and drumming, [as well as encouraging] respect for the Earth and the “People” through dialogue.”<sup>lxiii</sup> After the Eastern Lenape Nation separated from the United Eastern Lenape Nation and became affiliated with Turtle Island Chautauqua, the United Eastern Lenape Nation again suffered from internal friction. In an unsuccessful coup, Chief Silver Fox attempted to seize power from Billy Blue Feather and his high council of family members and close friends.<sup>lxiv</sup> Much to the chagrin of Chief Silver Fox, his efforts proved fruitless. However, that did not stop Chief Silver Fox and his followers from breaking off and starting their own tribe. Still, Spirit Wolf reassured me that most of the members of Silver Fox’s band, which was originally Spirit Wolf’s band, came back to him. Spirit Wolf explained what happened saying, “[a]s they came in, each one of them hugged me, kissed me, and said we follow the wolf not the fox. So, I’ve got them all back, but not in the nation, but I’ve got them back with me.”<sup>lxv</sup>

Clearly, as members of the Native American community in Western Pennsylvania search for their identity, they form groups, dissipate groups, split off from groups, form alliances, join bands affiliated with alliances, or, simply, associate themselves with those who they view as most authentic. Nevertheless, all of the organizations and bands promote exactly the same image of Native American culture to the public, which mirrors the image that fraternal pan-organizations promoted in the early 20th century.

### **PART III:**

## BECOMING NATIVE AMERICAN

### **Discovering the Native Inside**

“European Americans and African Americans who desire to be Indians proclaim they are ‘part Indian’ without assuming any of the real social, economic, and political struggles that real Indians endure on a daily basis.” Devon Mihesuah, author of *American Indians: Stereotypes & Realities*.<sup>lxvi</sup>

The majority of Native Americans residing in Western Pennsylvania were not raised in families that practiced Native American culture. Instead, they grew up as whites or African Americans. However, many claim that Native American-ness was an innate part of them even before they “discovered” their Native American ancestry. For example, Turtle Woman remembered being drawn to Native American culture as a child. She recalled that “my mother always thought it was funny that I always wanted to be the Indian when we played cowboys and Indians. And, every time I could get my hands on something to read [about Native Americans], I would.”<sup>lxvii</sup> Later on in her life, Turtle Woman began pursuing her interest in Native American culture, still without knowing that she had any Native American blood. In order to pursue her interests, Turtle Woman crafted a Native American style dress out of cowhides. The hides, shaped like a woman’s body, beckoned Turtle Woman to chose a design for her dress which accentuated this shape. When she wore the dress to a powwow, a man, named Two Moons, approached her and said, “you’re Blackfoot aren’t you?” She replied, “No sir, I was adopted Sioux. I really don’t have any Native American blood.” Insisting that she was Blackfoot, he explained to her that the reason she designed her dress in such a way was because, “the skins told [her] that [she] was Blackfoot.” A month later, Turtle Woman’s great aunt confessed to Turtle

Woman on her deathbed that their family has Blackfoot ancestry.<sup>lxviii</sup> White Raven, another woman who discovered her Native American roots later on in life, recalled a similar childhood affinity towards Native Americans. As a child, she visited the theaters to see “cowboy and Indian” movies. Recalling these movies, she exclaimed to me, “[g]uess who this kid rooted for when she went to see the cowboys and Indians movies? I was rooting for the Indians. I was the only one in the theater. When the Indians would get somebody, I’d be yelling and screaming. And I’d get looked at like I’m weird. Well, maybe I was weird. But, I knew in my heart that [whites] were doing wrong.”<sup>lxix</sup> As an adult, White Raven took up more of an interest in Native American life by constantly traveling to powwows. At these powwows, natives started to approach White Raven asking her what tribe she belonged to. White Raven answered saying, “I’m not native. I’m just a white person who really cares about native culture.” She remembered one native replying, “Come on honey . . . you can admit it now.” Distraught, White Raven explained to her friend, “I’m not denying it. I can’t prove it. Believe me, I have tried because most of my life I have lived the native way<sup>lxx</sup>.” In both the cases of Turtle Woman and White Raven, some innate force from within drew both women into Native American culture. Furthermore, both cases suggested that other Native Americans could sense the intrinsic native inside others.

Speaking of the innate native, on several occasions, my informants tried to convince me that I, too, am Native American. Spirit Wolf explained to me that the Creator willed me to perform research on Native American culture in an effort to show me my true self. Later in the same interview, he asked me how many powwows I had attended thus far. I told him about five. Convinced that I am native, he pointed at me and exclaimed, “. . . you have native blood. You are drawn into this. You are drawn into it. You, people here say I don’t have any blood. Ah,

wrong, [you] could have blood. You're getting drawn in."<sup>lxxi</sup> Along these same lines, Two Bears told me that I am interested in Native American culture because it is a part of me. He then declared to me that he knew I was native "because a skin can tell a skin."<sup>lxxii</sup> Actually, my maternal grandmother's family of rural English descent lived in a Moravian missionary town for Delaware Indians for several generations, and she claims to have a small percentage of Native American blood. However, I never identified myself as Native American because of this. On the other hand, I am unsure of my biological father's ancestry. Perhaps, Two Bears can see something I do not.

## **Bloods and Adoptions**

After deciding to become Native American, many Indians in Pennsylvania have to deal with several problems, such as not being able to prove their Native American ancestry and not having grown up culturally as a Native American. However, Native Americans in Pennsylvania overcome these obstacles in several ways, and attempt to prove their authenticity to themselves and others. First, most Native Americans in Pennsylvania are unable to prove their ancestry. For example, White Raven diligently searched genealogical records in an effort to find a Native American ancestor with no success. In our interview, I asked Chris if he had any proof of his ancestry, and he replied, "not by paperwork no, but hearsay, yes."<sup>lxxiii</sup> I also talked to a man at the first powwow that I attended who claimed that he was "still searching" for his Native American ancestry.<sup>lxxiv</sup> Most of the Native Americans that I interviewed lack actual proof of their ancestry.

Because most of the Native Americans in Western Pennsylvania lack genealogical proof,

they can never register with the government as Indian. Not being a registered Indian thus creates problems of authenticity. However, Devon Mihesuah explained that most people solve the problem of having no proof by claiming that no documentation exists because “the ancestor was ‘ashamed’ of her/his Indian-ness,” and therefore, hid his or her identity.<sup>lxxv</sup> The hidden identity scenario tackles two problems. First, it explains why there is no proof of one’s Native American ancestry. Second, in order for the Indian ancestor to hide his or her identity, he or she did not practice Native American culture or pass Native American values on to future generations. Thus, hidden identity also provides justification for Native Americans in Western Pennsylvania who did not grow up practicing Native American culture.

Several Native Americans that I interviewed explained to me that their Native American ancestor hid his or her identity because he or she was ashamed. For example, Wind Walker explained that her family denied their Native American heritage, and she did not find out that she was Native American until later in life.<sup>lxxvi</sup> Turtle Woman’s family forbade her grandmother to practice, or speak of, her Native American identity because it was “shameful.” Turtle Woman explained that “most of her life, [my grandmother] didn’t even speak about it until she became very ill and then she started telling my aunt about it.”<sup>lxxvii</sup> Spirit Wolf suffered from a similar experience saying, “[m]y parents would not acknowledge their blood. My father on his deathbed told me who I was and what I was.” After learning of his heritage, Spirit Wolf remembered that “my family told me if I came out and said who I was, they would turn their back on me. I said, I’m turning my back on you. I will never speak to you again because you’re denying my heritage, you’re denying my past life, and you’re denying what I could have been learning all these years.”<sup>lxxviii</sup> Although She Who Heals knew that she was Native American, she did not grow up practicing Native American culture. She explained to me that “I’m proud of who I am

because for a long time my mother didn't allow us (her family) to say. But we always knew who we were."<sup>lxxxix</sup> Hidden identity remedied not having proof of one's ancestry, as well as not growing up practicing Native American culture.

Once Native American ancestry is discovered or assumed, no matter how minute or whether proof is available or not, it enables a person to claim Native American identity. The term used for being part Native American is "blood." Most Native Americans in Pennsylvania claim to be "bloods." All of my informants, excluding Two Bears, are either blood or not biologically Native American at all. Spirit Wolf, for example, is blood. He recounted a conversation that he shared with another man, in which the man scoffed at Spirit Wolf saying, "... you're not a full-blood." In response, Spirit Wolf proclaimed, "no, but that little bit of blood in me runs stronger than the white blood because this, I feel comfortable with."<sup>lxxx</sup> However, "blood" Native Americans are not unique to Pennsylvania. In fact, Devon Mihesuah attributed the 37.9% rise in the number of Native Americans in the 1990 census to "bloods" choosing to identify as Native Americans as opposed to Caucasian, African American, etc.<sup>lxxx</sup> Giving Mihesuah's "blood" theory credence, Spirit Wolf, will, for the first time, identify himself as Native American on the 2010 census.<sup>lxxxii</sup>

Although claiming Native American descent gives an impression of authenticity, one does not necessarily require it in order to claim Native American identity. In fact, many pan-Indians face the problem of not being hereditarily Native American. However, according to Hazel Hertzberg, they solved the problem by affirming that, "... anyone who is 'culturally' an Indian should be considered Indian, or even if a person chooses to identify himself as Indian, he should be so considered."<sup>lxxxiii</sup> The phenomenon of becoming an Indian because one considers him or herself to culturally be an Indian is quite common in Pennsylvania. For example, Wolf is



not hereditarily Native American. When I asked him about his ancestry, he explained to me that he dances for the family of Harley Green Leaf, a full-blooded Sioux. Normally, Wolf cannot wear face paint because he is not Native American. However, Harley passed away and his sister painted Wolf's face, asking him "to carry her family's paint on." What made this event significant was the fact that because of it, Wolf now considers himself Native American. In essence, the family of Harley adopted him. He alluded to his legitimacy declaring that, "I couldn't say, I'll wear this for your family, she had to put it on my face."<sup>lxxxiv</sup> Thus, he could not declare himself Native American, but she, being a Native American, could.

Chris, unsure of his own ancestry, explained to me that being Native American is in the heart, which is "the main important thing."<sup>lxxxv</sup> She Who Heals also emphasized the importance of a "red heart" saying, "there's some people who say I'm not native, but I'm native in my heart, and I follow the red road. And sometimes, they seem more native than the people who are native."<sup>lxxxvi</sup> Once someone is adopted into the United Eastern Lenape Nation, he or she is considered Native American despite his or her actual heredity and heritage. Spirit Wolf explained the UELN's process saying, "you don't have to be blood to get in. The Lenape nation will adopt you. You can have white blood and get in. They adopt you . . . and you have to spend a full year learning our ways. Then you're adopted. And once you're adopted in, you're no longer English, you're Lenape."<sup>lxxxvii</sup> Spirit Wolf later told me, quite simply, that "if you have a red heart, you're native." He then revealed the reason that so many red hearts exist saying that ". . . the spirits of the past natives [are] entering white people and giving them a red heart so we can reform the multi-culture nation under the Native American and survive this time."<sup>lxxxviii</sup>

One member of the UELN exemplified having a "red heart." Born in Ireland, he recently immigrated to the United States and felt drawn to Native American culture. Therefore, he joined

the UELN, which adopted him, and he now considers himself Native American, and no longer Irish.<sup>lxxxix</sup> White Raven, soon to be adopted into the UELN, explained that once she is adopted “I guess I will say I’m Lenape even if I don’t know it.”<sup>xc</sup> Hence, for those in Western Pennsylvania with no Native American ancestry, practicing Native American culture entitles one to be Native American.

### **Physically Appearing Native American**

Claiming Native American identity not only creates a problem when proof is lacking but also when one does not “look” Native American. Not physically appearing to be Native American creates a significant obstacle for most Indians in Western Pennsylvania. As Hertzberg pointed out, “many Americans who are of partial Indian ancestry, or ‘blood’ . . . are indistinguishable in appearance from other Americans.”<sup>xcii</sup> Several Native Americans in Western Pennsylvania face the dilemma of being indistinguishable from the greater population. For example, I spoke with Wendy Wind Dancer on the telephone, and I asked her if we could meet for an interview. In an anxious tone, she pointed out to me that she appears Irish and not Native American. She explained that she does not have the well-known Native American features like “dark hair, high cheekbones, and a sculpted nose.” However, she told me that if I interviewed her in December, when people lose their tans, I would see that her skin is slightly darker than everyone else’s is.<sup>xciii</sup> During my interview with Two Bears, he reassured me that although his son has blond hair, he is a registered Native American.<sup>xciii</sup> Thus, several Native Americans in Western Pennsylvania face the problem of not “looking” Native American, which many are self-conscious about.

In order to overcome the problem of physical appearance, Native Americans in Pennsylvania adopted several strategies. First, several Native Americans explained to me that not all Native Americans had dark hair, dark skin, high cheekbones, etc. She Who Heals considered Native Americans to be “the invisible minority because we either blend in with whites or we blend in with blacks. And the government likes to keep it that way.” She explained why she felt that Native Americans make up an invisible minority saying, “a lot of people don’t know that the woodland native people were fair . . . . We’re not all dark. As a matter of fact, I read some of the things that Columbus wrote and he was amazed how there were blond haired blue eyed natives, red hair green eyes, [and] brown hair green eyes. We are completely all different.”<sup>xciv</sup> Chris, who has black curly hair, clarified for me that some Native Americans had “curly hair, but brownish black. So, you know how everyone says you have to have straight black hair and everything, it was never true.”<sup>xcv</sup> Coincidentally, Chris has brown curly hair.

However, if one of my informants possessed any stereotypical Native American feature, he or she attributed it to his or her Native American heredity. For example, Wendy Wind Dancer credited her slightly darker complexion to her Native American-ness. Others mentioned that they could tell that Smiling Turtle is “blood” because of her dark complexion and hair. Two Bears attributed his short stature and “pudgy” nose to his Cherokee ancestry. He also mentioned that he could tell that I am Native American because of my dark complexion, high cheekbones, and “pudgy” nose, which he felt, looked exactly like his nose.<sup>xcvi</sup> And, because of my physical characteristics, he explained, “that’s why I said you have Native blood in you, it shows.”<sup>xcvii</sup> By claiming that not all Native Americans looked “Native American,” and attributing certain aspects of their appearance to their Native American ancestry, the Native Americans of Pennsylvania validated to the public and themselves their own non-native appearances.

Nevertheless, Native Americans rarely receive the opportunity to clarify to the public that not all Native Americans possessed the stereotypical native features. Therefore, they developed ways to differentiate themselves from the greater population by altering their physical features and clothing. For example, wearing regalia at powwows provided the Native Americans of Western Pennsylvania an opportunity to publicly proclaim their identity. Regalia is the Native American clothing that most Native Americans wear at powwows and other events, and it includes, but is not limited to, leather shirts and leggings with fringe, beadwork and embroidery, and moccasins. Most accessorize their regalia with headdresses or feathers in their hair. Grass dancers wear bright colored cloth outfits decorated with long strands of vibrant yarn. Fancy shawl dancers dance with an ornately decorated cloth or leather shawl.

Even while not dressed in regalia, Native Americans in Western Pennsylvania usually wear some form of clothing or accessories that characterizes them as Native American. While in public, White Raven wears her moccasins, dresses in “Native American shirts,” and wears her hair in braids, accentuated with beaded barrettes.<sup>xcviii</sup> She dressed in one of her “Native American shirts” for our interview. The shirt’s rich blue background flickered with lightening bolts and shadowy figures of wolves. Amidst the bolts and wolves, a handsome, stoic Native American man sat on his horse. Chris also sports “Native American shirts” while he is out in public.<sup>xcix</sup> Two Bears displays his Cherokee heritage by placing his Bureau of Indian Affairs’ card where people can see it, along with wearing Cherokee t-shirts.<sup>c</sup> Wolf met me at a Denny’s for our interview adorned in a jacket with Navajo style print. He also wore dangling, silver and turquoise feather earrings in both ears.

Others adjust both their clothing and physical appearance. For instance, every single Native American that I met, both men and women, had long hair. My informants usually styled

their hair in braids or parted down the middle, as well. Several of the women that I met, including Turtle Woman and Wind Walker, dyed their hair very dark brown or black (noticeably darker than their natural shade). Native Americans in Western Pennsylvania overcame the problem of not looking physically Native American by informing people that not all Native Americans fit the physical stereotype that the public gave them. At the same time, they attributed their physical features that resembled the Native American physical stereotype to their Native American-ness. They also adjusted their appearance as much as possible to resemble, and in essence project, the stereotype.

### **Native Americanizing All Aspects of Life**

To legitimize the process of becoming Native American, the Native Americans of Western Pennsylvania acquire a new Native American name. James Clifton emphasized that new Native Americans often take a Native American name because it “increases the sense of authenticity.”<sup>ci</sup> Everyone I interviewed, except Chris who has yet to receive his Indian name and Two Bears who was born with his name, chose a new Native American name once they joined the community. Several people are usually involved in choosing someone’s Native American name. For example, Black Hawk originally gave Silent Dog the name Man Who Protects Women. However, other natives teased Silent Dog, calling him a woman. Therefore, his elders decided to bestow him with a new name. Turtle Woman told me that “Spirit Wolf said, you know, he’s always so quiet and shy,” hence, *silent* in Silent Dog. Turtle Woman then explained the second part of his name saying to me, “I don’t know if you’re familiar with who the dog soldiers are. The dog soldiers are those men who are willing to give their life to protect the

women. And that's how he got the name dog because of his willingness to take in women and protect them."<sup>cii</sup>

After adopting a name and new Native American physical appearances and attire, many Native Americans in Western Pennsylvania continue to legitimize their claim by Native Americanizing their belongings. For example, many of the Native Americans that I met proudly decorated their automobiles with Native paraphernalia. Some, hung small dream catchers from the rearview mirror. Others decorated their automobiles with bumper stickers that read "on the powwow trail," "sure you can trust the government, ask any Indian," "tread softly on my tradition," "walk your talk," with pictures of decorated feathers beside the inscription, and "this van runs on fry bread."<sup>ciii</sup>

Further expressing their identity, Indians in Western Pennsylvania also adorned their homes with Native American articles. For instance, Turtle Woman and Silent Dog decorated their home with caribou hides, tomahawks, sea shells, and Native American trinkets, not to mention a buffalo hide stretched across their garage door, a wooden sweat lodge and sacred stone circle in their backyard. Spirit Wolf and Smiling Turtle decorated their home with similar articles and several turtle shells. While walking through their backyard, one will also find a sacred circle and sweat lodge. In her three years as a Native American, White Raven bedecked her entire downstairs with a plethora of Native American jigsaw puzzles, dream catchers, posters, and Native American figurines. She also decorated all her walls with plywood to give the downstairs a earthier feel.

Native Americans in Western Pennsylvania also legitimized their new identity by becoming skilled in a Native American "craft." For example, Smiling Turtle and White Raven both do Native American beadwork. Spirit Wolf hand paints hides with Native American styled

artwork, along with crafting wooden items like pipes. Turtle Woman creates regalia for people, as well as, making toy drums to sell. Morning Sky became skilled in the art of prayer cloth making (a piece of burlap with felt designs sewn on to it). Even I was taught the skill of prayer cloth making. Billy reminded me that if I wanted to participate in the UELN's Grand Council Meeting, then I had to work on my prayer cloth crafting abilities.<sup>civ</sup> Finally, Wolf helps his father carve personal pipes.

Of course, the Indians of Western Pennsylvania usually joined a pan group or affiliated with those in an organization because, as historian, Nancy Shoemaker, has pointed out, a key way to legitimize and express ethnic identity is to join an organization.<sup>cv</sup> For example, when I first met Spirit Wolf, he pulled out his UELN membership card right away, thus, displaying to me that he is a "real" Native American.<sup>cvi</sup> White Raven desperately wanted to join the UELN because she cannot prove her Native American ancestry. Once she completes the membership process to the UELN, she automatically becomes Native American. Therefore, she will no longer need to worry about proving her ancestry. Wolf pointed out to me that, although he does not belong to any organizations yet, he associates with Native Americans who are members of AIM and the Red Hawk Society.<sup>cvi</sup>

**PART IV:**

**CROSSING CULTURES: BECOMING PART OF THE NATIVE AMERICAN  
COMMUNITY THROUGH THE POWWOW**

**The Powwow**

Thus far I have mainly described the process through which some Native Americans in Western Pennsylvania have changed their lives in order to identify with and be perceived as Native Americans. However, part of belonging to a specific culture is maintaining and sharing a group identity. Even after many Native Americans become Native American in Western Pennsylvania, they still lack this sense of shared identity. Hence, many search for ways in which they can become more deeply integrated into Native American culture, and their search usually starts with the powwow.

A powwow is a social gathering for Native Americans and the general public where Native Americans come together to dance, drum, sing, and vend their crafts. Boy Scouts also often participate as both hosts and dancers at powwows. The public also participates in certain dances called inter-tribals. Vendors normally set up tents and sell Native American style crafts at powwows, as well. When the weather permits it, one can find powwows almost any weekend



throughout Pennsylvania.

The powwow is the most significant social event for Native Americans in Western Pennsylvania, and it serves several functions. Powwows function as the starting point for joining the Native American community; they serve as commercial venues; they offer natives a way to publicly display their native identity and receive recognition; and, finally, powwows function as both social and religious events. In essence, the powwow both creates and provides the backbone for the Native American community in Western Pennsylvania.

### **Joining the Group**

Before becoming a member of an organization, Native Americans usually first familiarize themselves with the community in Western Pennsylvania. And, the powwow serves as the starting point for both familiarizing oneself with the community and becoming a member of the community. In fact, the more powwows one attends, the more accepted one becomes by other Native Americans. For example, Chris just started to explore his Native American heritage, and the powwow is his method for involving himself in the community. For Chris, powwows are “the only time that [I] really meet a lot of the people.” He explained that after attending a few powwows, the people began to recognize him, and because of this he said, “I’m starting to get email addresses so I can find out more about [Native American culture].”<sup>cvi</sup>

Turtle Woman also began her journey into Native American culture by hopping on the “powwow trail.” After attending several powwows, Spirit Wolf’s group approached her, asking her to join them for dinner, which she did. Since then, she has become close to Spirit Wolf, and has made him her elder.<sup>cix</sup> Like Turtle Woman, White Raven, too, began her transformation by

attending powwows. She remembered her first powwow saying, “I cried when I had to leave there because I felt like I was leaving part of me behind. I didn’t want to leave, but I had to because, unfortunately, . . . I wasn’t part of the group.” However, she added that “I kept going. And, I started having Natives come up to me. . . .” Her devoted powwow attendance convinced the UELN of her seriousness, therefore, prompting them to ask her to join their nation.<sup>cx</sup> Even I became more accepted as I attended more powwows. I am currently at the point where I am no longer required to pay the entrance fee for certain powwows. I simply say that I am with Spirit Wolf, and I get into the powwows free of charge.

### **The Commercial Aspects of The Powwow**

Most contradictory to explicit Native American beliefs is the commercial function of the powwow. Vendors, selling an assortment of “native” paraphernalia, encircle most powwows. Many of my informants, in fact, craft items to sell at powwows. Items that I have seen for sale at powwows include handcrafted pipes, dream catchers, painted hides, plastic Native American baby dolls, pictures of proud warriors decorated with gigantic headdresses or beautiful maidens caressing a wild animal, plastic drums, sewing patterns for creating one’s own native regalia, headdresses adorned with colorful feathers, as well as handcrafted native beadwork and jewelry.

Why have Native Americans allowed the powwow to become commercialized to such a great extent when they claim that they do not believe in conspicuous consumption, consumerism, and materialism? Native Americans in Pennsylvania justified the contradiction of not being materialistic yet allowing the spirituality of powwows to be overshadowed by commercialization in several ways. Spirit Wolf explained to me that his vending, which he claimed not to profit

from, is a means of meeting people and sharing Native American culture with them. At powwows, Spirit Wolf explained that the public often asks him questions like, “[h]ow do you make a dream catcher? How do you do beadwork? How do you paint feathers?” When the public asks these questions, Spirit Wolf and Smiling Turtle, “. . . sit down and talk to them. We explain our history. We explain our traditions. We’ll teach them. . . .” Not only does Spirit Wolf explain how to make Native American crafts, but he supplies those who ask about the crafts with materials, as well. However, Spirit Wolf’s altruism has a clear purpose: “[w]e give [the public] material to [make crafts] because we know this draw[s] them in. And we give more away more than we sell, usually. We usually just cover expenses.”<sup>cxix</sup>

I also wondered if Native Americans ever felt offended by the transformation of sacred items like peace pipes, drums, and headdresses into cheap plastic trinkets, clearly made for a non-native audience. Items like bows and arrows, fake headdresses, and posters of mystical women caressing wild wolves embody some of the very stereotypes that all of my informants wish to dissociate themselves from. Thus, to me, it seemed as if the proliferation of these items worked against my informants’ attempts to educate the public. I questioned Turtle Woman as to whether the commercialization of her culture offended her, and I specifically asked what she thought of cheap, plastic, toy drums. She replied, “[n]ow, the little drums, I make them myself to sell. And I’ll make them out of anything just like the Native Americans would make it out of anything they found because we like the sound of the drum. Some of the drums are made of plastic, and that’s okay. But you will never find an adult native using plastic for anything, unless it’s to be given or sold to white people who don’t know any better.”<sup>cxix</sup>

### **Creating Stars: The Interplay Between the Public and Native Americans at Powwows**

Powwows also function as a way in which Native Americans can publicly display their identity. Powwows provide the Native Americans of Western Pennsylvania with an opportunity to showcase their Native American-ness to the public. At the same time, the public ventures to powwows to see “real” Native Americans, and the interplay between Native Americans and the public is significant in reinforcing the Native Americans’ identity. By showcasing their culture to the public, the Native Americans in Pennsylvania affirm their Native American-ness. By acknowledging their identity, the public authenticates the Native Americans’ Native American-ness. In a culture where Native Americans challenge the authenticity of other Native Americans constantly, public acknowledgment of one’s identity is often reassuring.

Native Americans in Pennsylvania go so far for public reassurance of their identity that some dress in regalia not historically true to their actual tribe because that is what they believe the public expects Native Americans to dress like. For instance, Chris claimed Pueblo ancestry. However, at a powwow, he confessed to me that “what I have on is not really my true way that I should be if I would go to Pueblo . . . . So its like what I have on is totally different, but I mean this is what people are more familiar with and this is what I do like.”<sup>cxiii</sup> Instead of wearing traditional Pueblo regalia, Chris wore the stereotypical “Plains Indian” tan leather shirt with fringe. Like Chris, Two Bears does not wear regalia traditional to his tribe, the Cherokee. Instead, he explained to me that “I wear buffalo skins. I wear a tail bustle, and a headdress, it’s a coyote. I wear my hair in braids. I wear moccasins.” When I asked him why he wore traditional Plain’s regalia he responded “[i]t’s the traditional way that the white man sees Native Americans.” I then asked him why the public’s opinion mattered, and he snapped, “because being Cherokee means nothing to people.”<sup>cxiv</sup> William Stedman acknowledged that Indians,

themselves, add to the public's misconceptions "when they disregard their own heritage and dress up like Plains Indians to please the tourists."<sup>cxv</sup> Hence, to seek the public's validation of their identity, some Native Americans in Western Pennsylvania willingly change their apparent identity. However, Native Americans in Pennsylvania are not alone in the practice of dressing in another tribe's regalia. On the Cherokee reservation in Cherokee, North Carolina, "road-side chiefs," donned in Plains Indian regalia, pose for pictures with tourists for a fee.<sup>cxvi</sup>

Not only does the public's presence reaffirm the Native Americans' cultural identity, but the public also provides the Native Americans at powwows with their "15 minutes of fame." Most Native Americans in Western Pennsylvania, come from a lower socioeconomic background, are not well educated, and work in unskilled or semi-skilled labor positions. All of my informants fit at least one of the three descriptions just mentioned. Hence, day to day, they go through life like any ordinary, average-Joe. Strangers, for example, do not approach the auto-mechanic asking for his or her cultural advice and expertise or to pose for a picture. However, public opinion changes when the auto-mechanic dons Native American regalia. James Clifton argues that as soon as a person asserts his or her "Indianness, even if such an identity is merely hinted at, the question of believability is automatically blunted, even set aside entirely," therefore, ". . . audiences assume that [professed Indian performers] are inherently, rightfully, fully possessed of the heritages they represent in public."<sup>cxvii</sup> The phenomenon of the general public accepting Native Americans' projected identity as authentic occurs quite often at powwows. People come to powwows to see Native Americans, talk to Native Americans, dance with Native Americans, buy Native American made crafts, and even get their picture taken with Native Americans. All of my informants, in turn, told me that they love talking to the public. Talking to the public about Native American culture validates their own identity while giving

them a sense of importance.

As Clifton suggests, the public rarely questions the authenticity of the natives. They imagine the natives to be more in tune with nature and the cosmos than themselves; hence, they give the auto-mechanic unyielding attention in the hopes of gaining some knowledge or insight. For example, at the Council of Three Rivers American Indian Center powwow, I stood by Wolf, who was dressed in full regalia, for some time watching the dancers. In the half an hour that I stood there, several people took his picture. Parents even approached Wolf, asking if he cared to pose for a picture with their child.

After chatting with Wolf at the COTRAIC powwow, I ventured over to the Birds of Prey exhibit. Bystanders interrupted my conversation with the two Native Americans running the exhibit several times to ask them which herbs do they prefer for healing certain ailments, do they feel like they have a spiritual connection with the birds, as well as other questions, which gave me the impression that the public expected Native Americans to have mystical knowledge. I next chatted with Chris. As I tape recorded an interview with him, about ten people formed a semi-circle around us, straining to hear what he told me. People rushed to take his photograph. I asked him how he felt about people snapping pictures of him like he was Mickey Mouse. With a hint of embarrassment, he responded, “well, wouldn’t that kind of feel good getting your picture taken? You feel like your famous. People want to talk to you. People want to see you. Wouldn’t you feel good if you were getting your picture taken and people are looking at you?” Actually, after some time, I did start to feel rather important for being among the “inner-circle” with the “natives.”

### **The Social Side of the Powwow**

In addition, the powwow serves as a social event. Native Americans do not reside in or occupy a specific town, city, or neighborhood in Western Pennsylvania. They instead live all across the state. Hence, the powwow provides Native Americans with an opportunity to rekindle relationships with others. In short, the powwow attracts Native Americans from all across the state, and sometimes the country, welding them together for a brief time. Natives gravitate towards this cultural cohesion, in part, to verify that they do belong to a group with a shared identity since, on a day to day basis, they are rather isolated from each other. White Raven explained to me that “[i]t’s fun. It’s a blast” at powwows. She continued saying that the Natives at powwows are like “one big family. It’s like extended family.”<sup>cxviii</sup> Turtle Woman illustrated the social aspects of powwows saying that “[w]e just love to have a good time. So, instead of going to bars and dancing, we do it out there in the sunshine, in powwows.”<sup>cxix</sup>

### **“Our Connection to the Creator:” Religion and the Powwow**

Finally, powwows hold religious significance to Native Americans. Many Native Americans compared the powwow experience to attending church. When I asked Silent Dog why he attends powwows, in an offended tone he asked me “[i]s there a reason why you go to church?”<sup>cxx</sup> Turtle Woman added that the powwow “. . . is our connection to the Creator. Now, we can dance and sing and drum anywhere. But when we get together in a group like that, it’s like you guys going to church. Only our church lasts from Friday night to Sunday afternoon. And, we sing and dance together to honor Creator . . . .”<sup>cxxi</sup> White Raven expressed a similar thought explaining to me that for her, going to a powwow would be like me “going to church to

honor Jesus Christ.”<sup>cxxii</sup>

In order to honor the Creator, Native Americans dance in the dance arena, which is considered hallowed ground. Spirit Wolf illustrated the significance of the dance arena saying that “[t]he dance circle is sacred to us. Once we smudge it, you can’t cross under the line. That’s our church.”<sup>cxxiii</sup> For Silent Dog, dancing in the arena enables him to experience a direct link with the Creator, making him “at one with the Creator.”<sup>cxxiv</sup> White Raven also told me of a powwow where she felt the Creator’s power. White Raven’s knees are in a state of deterioration and cause her great pain. Despite her handicap, she somehow managed to dance every dance at a powwow. While she danced in the circle, she felt no pain. However, she explained that “[i]t hurt like heck when I came out of [the circle]. But as long as I was in there dancing, I didn’t hurt because this is something that the Creator wanted me to do. He was helping me not really feel the pain so I could do this.”<sup>cxxv</sup>

Not only do the dancers share a direct link with the Creator while dancing, but collectively, the dancers generate an intense spiritual energy. Part of the reasoning behind inviting the public into the arena to dance is so that they, too, can feel the spirituality created in the arena.<sup>cxxvi</sup> However, negative emotions brought into the arena harms the energy of the circle. Silent Dog warned me that “. . . if you have bad feelings and stuff before you go in there, you have no business being in that arbor.”<sup>cxxvii</sup> Turtle Woman exclaimed that negativity impacts the way people dance because while dancing, “. . . you’re actually sharing your feelings, your power, [and] your beliefs with others.” Hence, negative energy, “can actually turn others sour.” She recalled a powwow where negative vibes in the dance arena caused her to experience physical ailments. She summarized the event saying, “[w]e went to a powwow once where it was a beautiful day but there was some fighting going on. And, I went into the arbor to dance



and I got through one dance and almost passed out. And yet, as soon as I walked out of the arbor and away from the people who were fighting, I was okay. To us, there's a lot of power involved there and you can feel it."<sup>cxxviii</sup>

The dancers generate the energy found in the dance arena for the Creator, the people, and themselves. Spirit Wolf explained that "the people" include not only Native Americans, but the whole world. He revealed the reasoning behind dancing for the people saying, "[w]e want this whole world to settle down. And we can do this. And [if] we just get ten people to straighten up and start going to the right direction, then that dance was worth it."<sup>cxxix</sup> Thus, powwows provide spirituality, validate identity, offer a sense of power and importance to Native American participants, and create community.

**PART V:**

**REJECTING THE PAST AND LIVING THE NEW CULTURE: BEING NATIVE**

**AMERICAN, NOT AMERICAN**

**Dancing Between Identities**

After making the commitment to become part of the Native American community, many Native Americans in Western Pennsylvania end up vilifying the culture they once belonged to. However, a precarious balance exists between whites and Native Americans. White stereotypes of Native Americans as noble, spiritual, nature loving, communal people help define how Native Americans see themselves. In essence, “. . . to understand what it means to be an Indian in the contemporary world requires also knowing what it means to be a white man . . . . What is depicted as the culture of native peoples represents the absolute opposite of what is thought of as ‘western culture’ . . .”<sup>xxxx</sup> Hence, a strange dance evolved between Native American culture and American culture with both partners playing an integral role in shaping the choreography.

Initially whites saw Native Americans as either wicked savages or noble children of nature. Many Native Americans, in turn, saw whites as greedy, cheating, lying, stealing savages.

Thus, Native Americans appropriated some of the positive aspects of the white images of Native Americans in order to demonstrate that their culture was the polar opposite of white culture. This dichotomy existing between white and Native American culture factors into how Native Americans have come to identify themselves and their culture, in Western Pennsylvania.

### **“If You Don’t Need It, Give It Away:” Rejecting Materialism**

All of my informants rejected the materialistic habits of American culture. According to them, materialism plays no role in their life. Turtle Woman and Silent Dog, for example, “don’t hoard materialistic things because they ground your spirit.” She added that “[o]ur main principle is, if you don’t need it, give it away.”<sup>cxxxix</sup> Apparently, however, one’s spirit does not become grounded from ordering expensive undergarments and perfumes from the Victoria’s Secret catalogs, which littered Turtle Woman’s kitchen table. Nevertheless, Spirit Wolf explained to me that the white world is “just all-monetary, look at me, the big house, and I got this position, and I make this amount of money.” He emphasized that whites and Native Americans live in “two different societies; one operates on the monetary value” while his society just believes that “money’s nice.”<sup>cxxxix</sup>

### **Native Americans Do Not Waste**

Aside from materialism, Native Americans of Western Pennsylvania abstain from wastefulness, as well. For example, Spirit Wolf turns discarded bones into decorations. He told a story where a white person thought a dead bird was garbage. The person told Spirit Wolf “it’s a

dead bird.” And Spirit Wolf replied, “no, it’s not dead.” And the person asked, “what do you mean?” Spirit Wolf then explained that, “it might be dead, but it’s beauty is still living on in our work. And people don’t understand that. I take a dead animal, and through my work, [I] make it a thing of beauty. So the bird is still alive.”<sup>cxxxiii</sup> Two Bears told of another example where Native Americans found a use for what others discarded as trash. He explained that “we don’t waste nothing. Everything counts. A white man throws a piece of paper away, a native will go pick it up and use it for something. Why waste it? You throw a tin can down. What can you use it for? There’s a million and one different uses for a tin can.” He then remembered a specific event where a friend of his threw away old compact discs. However, Two Bears took the compact discs, and used them to create the shiny centerpiece of his tail bustle.<sup>cxxxiv</sup>

### **“When Native Brothers Need Your Help, You Just Go Do”**

Native Americans in Pennsylvania also created a society which values generosity, sharing, and supporting one another. For instance, Spirit Wolf proclaimed that “loving, caring, and sharing, and being there for people, that’s what the nation’s about.”<sup>cxxxv</sup> Silent Dog displayed his generosity by sharing his home, food, and money with countless battered women.<sup>cxxxvi</sup> Spirit Wolf also shared his home with people who needed a chance to get back on their feet.<sup>cxxxvii</sup> At powwows, Wolf takes the time to teach anyone interested how to dance.<sup>cxxxviii</sup> The UELN, as a group, shares a communal farm. The Second Nation’s Chief, who owns the farm, urged everyone at the Grand Council meeting to make use of it because “with what’s going on in the world, we will [need the farm] to take care of ourselves.”<sup>cxxxix</sup> Turtle Woman recalled an experience where several natives gave up their time to help her. She told her native friends

that Silent Dog and she could not make it to a powwow because they needed to finish building their garage. Cheerfully, she then boasted to me that,

[w]e had 15 natives show up here with hammers and nails and ready to go to work. And we got [the garage] up in one weekend except for the shingles because they all showed up here to help us instead of going to a powwow. When native brothers or sisters need help, you just go do. Everybody in the village works. It was really nice to have that. Family, in what we call the white world, a lot of them don't join together as groups to work together. They used to. But that's the traditional native way also, and they still do that today. You'll see that with the Amish but you won't see it in the white world very much at all anymore and that's a shame.<sup>cxl</sup>

Here, Turtle Woman expressed the perceived polarity that Native Americans coexist in solidarity, Americans living in mainstream society are more individualistic and less likely to help one another.

### **The Native Connection to Nature**

Native Americans in Western Pennsylvania also pride themselves on their mystical connection with nature. Both Two Bears and Turtle Woman claim that “Native Americans can talk to the animals [and the] trees.”<sup>cxli</sup> Turtle Woman explained to me that “everything that exists on this earth has a voice and is capable of speaking to you, if you're capable of listening.”<sup>cxlii</sup> Other Native Americans experienced close bonds with animals. For example, Spirit Wolf received his name because of his experience on a vision quest. Spirit Wolf, while on the quest, stayed in the woods for a number of days without food or water. When he returned from the quest, he remembered that, “I walked down and the elders greeted me and said what did you see? I said it wasn't what I seen. I was there, and I wasn't there, but wolves were licking

me.” His elder then asked if the wolves were eating him, and Spirit Wolf replied, “[n]o, they were licking me and . . . keeping me warm.” Spirit Wolf then walked back to the spot where he slept that night and saw wolf prints surrounding the area.<sup>cxliii</sup> Therefore, his elders proclaimed that he possessed the spirit of the wolf, hence, giving him the name Spirit Wolf. Spirit Wolf’s bond with canines also allows him to hand feed a wild coyote in the woods. Not only does he have his coyote in the woods, but Spirit Wolf s also shares a close bond with his “artic wolf.” Apparently, owning a wolf is a marker for authenticity. A Native American from the Cherokee reservation explained to me that all “real” Native Americans own “real” wolves.<sup>cxliv</sup>

Spirit Wolf’s wife, Smiling Turtle, and her female native friends also share a bond with nature. Smiling Turtle and her friends participated in a ceremony called a lady’s long dance, and as they performed the ceremony, “coyotes came up to them. The raccoons came up to them, and they just sat there and listened to the drum. They didn’t want to attack or anything. They just wanted to come up and be there.”<sup>cxlv</sup> Not only do hawks constantly fly over Spirit Wolf and Smiling Turtle’s home, but a blue jay appears every time Billy Blue Feather is about to call. Because the blue jay is Billy Blue Feather’s spirit guide, he signals to Spirit Wolf when Billy is about to call by “bitching” at him on the front porch.<sup>cxlvi</sup>

Wolf also shares a bond with nature, though he maintains a special affinity for wolves. According to Wolf, wolves seem naturally attracted to him. He illustrated this saying “everybody always brings their wolves up to me. They’re always friendly with me. They always want to come over and see me, and I’ll play around with them and stuff.” In one instance, a wolf communicated with Wolf. Wolf recalled the situation saying, “Friday evening the wolf was playing with me, no problem at all. Saturday night I did something wrong, nothing real major, you know . . . . And come Sunday morning, the wolf did not want nothing to do with me. He’d

walk ten feet away and go into the woods. He wouldn't come near me or nothing." Wolf continued saying that the wolf was "telling me straighten this up, clear this affair up, this situation, clear it up, make it right, and we can be together again."<sup>cxlvii</sup>

Other Native Americans that I interviewed experienced connections with other animals such as hawks. For instance, Chris contemplated whether he wanted to begin a relationship with the woman who is currently his fiancée. One day, Chris asked the Creator to show him two red tailed hawks as a sign that the Creator blessed the relationship. And behold, Chris saw two red tailed hawks that day.<sup>cxlviii</sup> White Raven also encountered a hawk at a pivotal moment in her life. At a powwow, she became very ill and was rushed to the hospital. There, she discovered that she had blood clots in her lungs. In her hospital room, she prayed for help from the Creator. After praying, she looked out her window and saw a hawk. However, according to White Raven, "the hawk wasn't spiraling down to kill something. It was spiraling up to the Creator. And as long as I could see it through that window, it kept going up. To me, that hawk was taking my spirit to the Creator and asking for help. And now every time I see a hawk, I always say a little prayer because my friend the hawk." She added that "my name is Raven . . . so I guess I have a special little glitch with the birds."<sup>cxlix</sup> Unlike mainstream America, Native Americans in Western Pennsylvania feel that they share a unique and direct communication link with nature and wildlife.

### **"We Look At Our Creator:" Native American Religion in Western Pennsylvania**

Native Americans in Western Pennsylvania do not practice a single, organized religion. The religious practices vary by person. However, in general, common themes emerge. None of

my informants follow the Native American Church or specific tribal religions. Rather, Native Americans in Pennsylvania's religious beliefs are drawn from pan-Indian concepts, white images of what Native Americans believe in, and contemporary popular culture. Generally, all believe in a God-like entity called the Creator or Great Spirit. To different Native American tribes, the Creator, or Great Spirit, encompasses different meanings, and he did not necessarily create the world. However, most Native Americans in Western Pennsylvania were raised Christian, hence, they intertwine their Christian roots with their new religious beliefs. Thus, all of the Native Americans that I interviewed believed that the Creator created the world. For instance, Wolf explained that Native Americans "respect everything that [the Creator] put on this earth including us, animals, trees, [and] the earth itself."<sup>cl</sup> Further suggesting the Creator's similarities with God, Spirit Wolf explained that Native Americans have "no concept of hell," but the Creator "decides what's done with us when we go up there." "Up there" alluded to a heaven-like place where the Creator, like God, passes judgment on the deceased. The Native Americans of Pennsylvania also believe in another spiritual entity called Mother Earth. Essentially, Mother Earth is the spirit of the Earth, and people are the custodians of her. However, one cannot own her as White Raven explained saying, "you can own a house, you could own a horse, but you can't own ground, the land, because the land is Mother Earth. It's hers. It's not yours to own."<sup>cli</sup>

Finally, Native Americans believe that everything, both inanimate and living, possesses a spirit. Spirit Wolf explained that "everything's got a spirit. A tree is a living entity. The bark's the skin, the wood is its bone, [and] the sap is its blood."<sup>clii</sup> Because everything has a spirit, Native Americans bless and give thanks to the animals and plants that they kill to sustain their own life. Turtle Women compared the practice of giving thanks to a plant or animal to the Christian practice of saying grace. She explained to me that "when we take an animal's life or a



plant's life, we actually thank that animal or plant for giving its life to sustain ours. It's like, I don't know whether you say grace before meals, but we do that with everything that we eat, with everything that we do, with every tree that we have to cut down to provide the fire to cook our meals and so forth, [and] the wood that goes into building things." Ideally, Native Americans take life only to sustain their own lives.<sup>cliii</sup> However, sustenance living does not include some dubious uses of nature. For example, White Raven felt she was doing no harm in killing several trees for the decorative wood paneling in her living room, while Turtle Woman and Silent Dog recently finished building a lavish, wood, two-car garage, in which to sustain their Chevrolet truck.

Native Americans also make use of herbs in their religious practices. The top four herbs used are sweet grass, sage, cedar, and tobacco. In general, the herbs are mixed together, burned, and then the smoke created from the smoldering herbs acts as a body purifier. The process of purifying one's body with the smoke is called smudging. In Turtle Woman's smudge, sweet grass is for peace of mind, and "it's supposed to clear all the bad thoughts in your head so you're not thinking any bad thoughts about anybody or anything when you go to dance, or to start your day. Sage is to clear the soul, clear all those bad feelings out and make you feel at peace with yourself and the world. Tobacco is used to carry your prayers to the Creator. And cedar is used to ground your spirit so that you don't leave before it's your time."<sup>cliv</sup> After purifying themselves with this herbal mixture, Native Americans are prepared for the day. Turtle Woman added that "One of the most famous sayings of the Indians, once they've had their smudge in the morning, it [is] a good day to die, cause I'm ready."<sup>clv</sup>

Aside from smudging, Native Americans of PA involve themselves in other forms of prayer. One form of prayer is done through what is called a prayer cloth. A prayer cloth

synthesizes contemporary culture with Native American beliefs. The cloth is a piece of burlap with a picture sewn onto it. The picture includes a path sewn in red yarn, which is symbolic of “following the red path.”<sup>clvi</sup> Then, there is a sun made of twelve stitches because there are twelve steps to climb in order to reach the Creator. Next is a tree, which symbolizes life. Detailed prayer cloths include felt leaves on the tree, flowers, embroidered animals, and grass. The person stitching the cloth prays with each stitch. The cloth, and all of its prayers symbolized in the embroidery, is then presented to someone in need of prayer. At the UELN’s Grand Council meeting, I assisted with a cloth that, when finished, will go to a single mother struggling to get by while her husband is in jail.

Native Americans of Western Pennsylvania not only pray silently through the prayer cloth, but openly as well. Spirit Wolf explained that Native Americans pray to the Creator much like Christians do to God. However, he pointed out differences between Christian and Native American prayer. When I asked how Native Americans pray, Spirit Wolf responded, “Open hands looking up at the sky. We’re not afraid to look our Creator in the eye.” Assuming that I was perplexed by this notion, he continued saying, “Christians don’t understand. Best way I can explain it to them, I say why should I, you say hell is down below, then why should you bow your head and pray to hell? Are you afraid to look the Creator in the eye and hold your hands up for his blessings?” Hence, the Native Americans of Western Pennsylvania simply intertwine and substitute some of their Christian beliefs with Native American beliefs. Instead of praying to God, they pray to the Creator. Instead of bowing, they look upward. However, the meaning of prayer remains the same.

**PART VI:**  
**CONCLUSION**

In 1976, as James Clifford has described, the Mashpee Wampanoag Tribal Council, Inc. sued for 16,000 acres in Massachusetts. The suit came down to whether the Mashpee encompassed an actual tribe or just a loose-knit group of people with Native American ancestry. For forty-one days, experts bickered over who was an Indian and the definition of tribe. In a conversation on the stand with the judge, Jack Campisi, an anthropologist, attempted to explain that although many of the Mashpee were practicing Baptists, they maintained “viewpoints and value systems which are identifiable as Mashpee Indian or generically as Indian.” Perplexed, the judge responded saying, “I haven’t got that clear, yet. What are those value systems which you identify as being characteristically Indian which you say are retained even among Mashpees who are Baptist?” Campisi answered, “Well, the attitude with respect to the reverence for the earth, which is a large concept that Indian people deal with, that you use the earth and you return to the

earth, that you don't waste, that you are put on the earth to sustain yourself, and you owe an obligation to sustain the earth . . . .” Still perplexed, the judge then said, “I don't mean to be facetious about this, I'm trying to get it defined. Do you see a distinction between a Mashpee Baptist who holds these things, and, say, a Sierra Club Baptist who feels the same way; is there some difference in attitude?”<sup>clvii</sup>

What puzzled the judge puzzled me during my fieldwork experience, as well. What are Native American values? Who can be a Native American? If one is not genetically Native American, what makes him or her Native American? What is Native American culture? These questions perplexed me. I needed to clarify for myself exactly what the values of Native American culture are. Like the judge at the Mashpee trial, I wanted concrete answers. I decided that it would be best to search for my answers in a hub of Native American culture. Therefore, I traveled to Cherokee, North Carolina, which is the reservation for the Eastern Band of the Cherokee Nation.

I chose Cherokee for several reasons. Unlike other reservations, for example Pine Ridge, Cherokee, North Carolina is relatively close to Pennsylvania. One can drive from Pittsburgh to Cherokee in about twelve hours. I also chose Cherokee because one of my informants, Two Bears, grew up there. I learned from him that Cherokee has a tight-knit community that actively practices Cherokee culture. Children learn from an early age, in both school and at home, the language, dances, crafts, and values of the Cherokee people.<sup>clviii</sup>

There are 12,500 enrolled members in the Eastern Band of the Cherokee Nation that live both on and off the reservation.<sup>clix</sup> The reservation itself is situated in a deep valley in the heart of the Smoky Mountains. Crystal Clear waters flow through the center of the bustling downtown section. The downtown section of Cherokee boasts two state of the art cultural museums, two

small theme parks for local children, lighted basketball courts for recreation, picturesque parks, a recreated Cherokee village from the 1800s, and a casino. The Harrah's Cherokee Casino opened in 1997, which caused a rapid influx of tourism on the reservation.<sup>clx</sup>

In late March of 2003, I spent a week on the reservation talking with people and observing the community. I wanted to find out how the people of Cherokee, born and raised Native American, felt about individuals who "become" Native American later in life. However, I found something quite unexpected. Two levels of culture exist on the reservation. The first, I classify as the deep culture, which encompasses the values and practices of the Cherokees on the reservation, which Two Bears informed me of. However, the residents of the reservation are very reserved and cautious with outsiders. Therefore, outsiders rarely come into contact with this level of Cherokee culture on the reservation.

On the other hand, another level of culture exists solely for outsiders, which I classify as the Native American myth. At this level, certain Native Americans (not all) partake in producing the romanticized mythical Native American image, which they promote as authentic Native American culture. Thousands of tourists come into contact with this level of culture each year. The Harrah's Cherokee Casino attracts people from up and down the east coast to the reservation. After the casino opened, hotels shot up all over the once sleepy little town. Tourist shops soon flooded the downtown area. Tourists can choose from countless shops that line a two mile strip of the reservation. The outsides of these stores are decorated with teepees, Totem Poles, and men and women dressed in Plains' regalia. The stores range in name from "The Shaman," "The Cherokee Trader," "Chief Henry's Gift Shop," "The Teepee," and "Little Bear's Native American Gift Shop."<sup>clxi</sup> All of the stores carry the same items, which one can also find for sale at powwows in Pennsylvania. Native American figurines, plastic dolls, statues of men

wearing headdresses, dream catchers with feathers of every color imaginable, headdresses in an assortment of styles, t-shirts decorated with wolves, horses, and Native Americans, bows and arrows, spears, Navajo style jewelry and pottery, and, oddly, leather toy whips pack store shelves. Items unique to Cherokee include handmade Cherokee wicker baskets and artwork. Because most Cherokees distance themselves from tourists, tourists come into contact the most with the romanticized Native American image.

The Native Americans that tourists do come into closet contact with embody the Native American stereotype. These Native Americans are called “Roadside Chiefs.” An excerpt from the Museum of the Cherokee Indian on Roadside Chiefs explains that,

“One local tourist attraction is a group of Cherokee who dress in the more colorful war bonnets and regalia of the Plains Indians. They are the ‘Roadside Chiefs’ and they represent the ‘generic’ Indians which many tourists expect to see. Standing along the roads or beside ‘tipis’ in front of downtown shops, they pose with tourists who want photographs of themselves with ‘real’ Indians.”<sup>clxii</sup>

Aside from a few others, the only Native Americans willing to talk to me were Roadside Chiefs. However, I had to purchase a compact disc from one man and pay for a picture with another in order for them to talk to me. These men both stood in front of teepees dressed in the Plains regalia. The one chief had a life-size fake stuffed buffalo for tourists to pose by for a picture. The other had extra headdresses, leather beaded shirts, and leggings so that tourists could “dress up” for a picture with him. I discovered this because he asked me if I would like to “dress up” for a picture with him.<sup>clxiii</sup>

Historically, the Cherokee never lived in teepees. They did not carve Tlinglit style Totem Poles. They did not dress in the stereotypical Plains’ regalia. And, they wore a headpiece that resembled a turban, not a feathered headdress. Thus, what tourists come in contact with on the reservation is not the Cherokees’ “deep culture.” The excerpt from the museum claimed that

Roadside Chiefs “represent the ‘generic’ Indians which many tourists *expect* to see.” However, tourists may visit the reservation to learn more about Cherokee culture. However, what they learn from Roadside Chiefs misrepresents that culture. Of course tourists will expect Native Americans to wear headdresses if they *see* Native Americans wearing headdresses.

The Native American myth is produced both on and off the reservation. If Native Americans in Western Pennsylvania traveled to the Cherokee reservation hoping to learn and observe Native American culture, they would leave the reservation believing that what they already knew about Native American culture (the myth) was authentic Native American culture.

This myth grew out of the creation of both whites and Native Americans. Colonists saw Native Americans as noble children of nature or savages. Early critics of American culture looked at Native American culture as the model for what they felt their own culture lacked or had lost. Native Americans, caught between two cultures, attempted to differentiate themselves from their oppressors. As a result, they embraced some of the more positive stereotypes in order to define their culture as the opposite of American culture. Over time, a Native American romanticized image developed. This image encompassed the opposites of what were the perceived qualities of mainstream American culture. Thus, Native Americans became noble, spiritual, communal, and altruistic children of nature.

Historically, fraternal pan-organization members of the early 20th century embraced the stereotyped Native American image as authentic. Members of fraternal pan-organizations had little contact with Native American culture and reservation life compared to those in the pan-reform and religious movements. Native Americans of fraternal pan-organizations lived among the general public, which aided in the dissemination of this image throughout the country. This romanticized version of Native American has thus become permanently woven into the fabric of

American culture. Fraternal pan-organizations of today picked up where their predecessors left off and perpetuate and recycle this image.

Most of the members of fraternal pan-organizations in Western Pennsylvania today, like their predecessors, have little contact with Native American culture. Growing up white or African American, many of my informants embraced all they knew to be Native American, which was the romanticized image. They transformed their lives by rejecting the culture that they grew up in and projecting the perceived polarity between Native American and mainstream American culture. Though, their cultural ideals are not always congruent with their practices. Still, they strive to legitimize their claim of Native American identity by changing their physical appearance, donning new styles of dress, displaying items identifiable with Native Americans publicly, and adopting what they view are Native American values.

Almost all of the Native Americans in Western Pennsylvania prescribe to the same notions of what constitutes Native American culture. With no preexisting culture to learn from, observe, and compare, (most Native American tribes were forced out of Pennsylvania both before, during, and after the Revolutionary War) they constructed a culture modeled after the romanticized version of Native American culture that both Native Americans and whites molded over time. Not having a concrete Native American culture in Pennsylvania allowed each individual to consider their own viewpoints in shaping the constructed collective culture. The inherent fluidity of Native American identity created by these individual interpretations of what being Native American entails causes a great deal of bickering over authenticity. Arguments over authenticity cause organizations to form, ally against each other, splinter off from one another, and cope with infighting among members.

However, Native Americans in Western Pennsylvania are not the only ones who face



indecision over what creates an authentic Native American. Certain Native Americans on the reservation resented individuals who “became” Native American verses being born Native American. One man berated those who were not raised Native American but who become Native American as “wannabes.”<sup>clxiv</sup> However, some saw nothing wrong with it. Another man explained to me that it did not matter whether someone was born Native American or not because “being Indian is a state of mind.”<sup>clxv</sup> Who is Native American is just as contested on the Cherokee reservation as it is in Western Pennsylvania.

Despite arguments of authenticity, all who identify as Native Americans are welcome into the Native America culture in Western Pennsylvania. The differing interpretations and the ambiguity that surrounds the issue of who is be Native American and what is Native American culture create tension within the community over authenticity. All members attempt to present themselves as authentic Native Americans while berating other members of the community as inauthentic. However, James Clifford argues that individuals caught between cultures are “always, to varying degrees, ‘inauthentic’ . . . .”<sup>clxvi</sup> Thus, in their search for a Native American identity, Native Americans in Western Pennsylvania strive for an ambiguous, perhaps nonexistent, authenticity within their fluid, often contested, constructed culture.

I close with a poem written by J.C. High Eagle on being Native American.

BEING INDIAN IS...  
observing your children watching  
a cowboy and Indian TV western movie  
and cheering for the cowboys.  
.....  
BEING INDIAN IS...  
having your non-Indian friends  
go on a Vision Quest,  
led by a white man to the mountains,

but leaving you home because  
you can't make the \$300  
registration fee to attend.

BEING INDIAN IS...  
listening to your well-intentioned white brother  
try to tell you about your native spirituality.

....  
BEING INDIAN IS...  
listening to people tell you about  
their grandmother or great-grandmother  
that was a Cherokee Indian Princess.

....  
BEING INDIAN IS...  
being greeted by non-Indians  
with pseudo names from real ancestors of your tribe.

BEING INDIAN IS...  
having to prove with documentation that you are one,  
when other races and people in the country  
don't have to.

....  
BEING INDIAN IS...  
buying "authentic" Indian jewelry  
made in Taiwan or Japan.

BEING INDIAN IS...  
learning of people becoming Indian  
without having an Indian mother or father.

....  
BEING INDIAN IS...  
trying to relate to people who say they are  
(mathematically) 1/4, 1/8, 1/16, etc. degree of blood.

....  
BEING INDIAN IS...  
knowing the word "Indian"  
is not your true name.

....  
BEING INDIAN IS...  
being human, with human thoughts and feelings  
like your non-Indian brothers and sisters.

....  
BEING INDIAN IS...  
living in two worlds.

BEING INDIAN IS...  
seeing other Indians  
in search of an Indian identity.<sup>clxvii</sup>

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<sup>i</sup> Old Stone House Powwow, Old Stone House, 14 September 2002.

<sup>ii</sup> Hagan, William T. "Full Blood, Mixed Blood, Generic, and Ersatz: The Problem of Indian Identity." *The American Indian: Past and Present*. 5th ed. Ed. Roger L. Nichols. (New York, McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc., 1999), 2.

<sup>iii</sup> Hagan, 2.

<sup>iv</sup> Hagan, 2.

<sup>v</sup> Hertzberg, Hazel W. *The Search for an American Indian Identity; Modern Pan-Indian Movements*. (Syracuse, Syracuse University Press, 1971), 18.

<sup>vi</sup> Hertzberg, 282.

<sup>vii</sup> Hertzberg, 241.

<sup>viii</sup> Hertzberg, 272.

<sup>ix</sup> Hertzberg, 20.

<sup>x</sup> Hertzberg, 79.

<sup>xi</sup> Hertzberg, 80.

<sup>xii</sup> Hertzberg, 20.

<sup>xiii</sup> Hertzberg, 302.

<sup>xiv</sup> Hertzberg, 303.

<sup>xv</sup> Hertzberg, 235.

<sup>xvi</sup> Hertzberg, 319.

<sup>xvii</sup> Clifford, James. *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1988), 12.

<sup>xviii</sup> Simard in Clifford, 358.

<sup>xix</sup> Hagan, 6.

<sup>xx</sup> Clifford, 301.

<sup>xxi</sup> Clifton, James A. "The Indian story : a cultural fiction." *The Invented Indian: Cultural Fictions and Government Policies*. Ed. James A. Clifton. (New Brunswick, Transaction Publishers, 1990), 19.

<sup>xxii</sup> *Five Hundred Years of Myths and Misperceptions: Fall 2002 Powwow Program*. Council of Three Rivers American Indian Center, 2002, 15.

<sup>xxiii</sup> *Five Hundred Years of Myths and Misperceptions: Fall 2002 Powwow Program*. Council of Three Rivers American Indian Center, 2002, 15.

<sup>xxiv</sup> United Eastern Indian Alliance <http://wind-dancer-1.tripod.com/>.

<sup>xxv</sup> Wendy Wind Dancer, Interview with author, 25 September 2002.

<sup>xxvi</sup> United Eastern Indian Alliance <http://wind-dancer-1.tripod.com/>.

<sup>xxvii</sup> Native American Indian Coalition of Pennsylvania <http://catawa.tripod.com/naicpa/id1.html>.

<sup>xxviii</sup> Turtle Island Chautauqua:  
[http://www.lanccounty.com/servlet/community\\_ProcServ/dbpage=page&GID=01207001040991751865966846&PG=01207001040991751866112662](http://www.lanccounty.com/servlet/community_ProcServ/dbpage=page&GID=01207001040991751865966846&PG=01207001040991751866112662)

<sup>xxix</sup> Turtle Island Chautauqua:

<sup>xxx</sup> Thunder Mountain Lenape Nation: <http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Forum/4438/>.

<sup>xxxi</sup> Spirit Wolf, Interview with author, 26 October 2002.

<sup>xxxii</sup> Hertzberg, 214.

<sup>xxxiii</sup> Hertzberg 214.

<sup>xxxiv</sup> Hertzberg 215.

<sup>xxxv</sup> Hertzberg 216.

<sup>xxxvi</sup> Hertzberg 216.

<sup>xxxvii</sup> Hertzberg 216.

<sup>xxxviii</sup> Hertzberg 214.

<sup>xxxix</sup> Hertzberg 227.

<sup>xl</sup> Hertzberg 308.

<sup>xli</sup> Hertzberg 226.

<sup>xlii</sup> Alan Two Bears, Interview with author, 10 October 2002.

<sup>xliii</sup> United Eastern Lenape Nation Grand Council Meeting, 10 November 2002.

<sup>xliv</sup> United Eastern Lenape Nation membership form.

<sup>xlv</sup> United Eastern Lenape Nation membership form.

<sup>xlvi</sup> Spirit Wolf, Interview with author, 26 October 2002.

<sup>xlvii</sup> United Eastern Lenape Nation Grand Council Meeting, 10 November 2002.

<sup>xlviii</sup> United Eastern Lenape Nation Grand Council Meeting, 10 November 2002.

<sup>xliv</sup> United Eastern Lenape Nation Grand Council Meeting, 10 November 2002

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<sup>1</sup> Wallace, Paul A. *Indians in Pennsylvania*. 2nd ed. Anthropological Series No. 5. (Harrisburg, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania), 1981, 53.

<sup>li</sup> Wendy Wind Dancer, Interview with author, 25 September 2002.

<sup>lii</sup> White Raven, Interview with author, 28 October 2002.

<sup>liii</sup> Spirit Wolf, Interview with author, 26 October 2002.

<sup>liv</sup> Alan Two Bears, Interview with author, 10 October 2002.

<sup>lv</sup> Alan Two Bears, Interview with author, 10 October 2002.

<sup>lvi</sup> Alan Two Bears, Interview with author, 10 October 2002.

<sup>lvii</sup> Alan Two Bears, Interview with author, 10 October 2002.

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lix Wolf, Interview with author, 8 October 2002.

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<sup>lxxiv</sup> Old Stone House Powwow, Old Stone House, 14 September 2002.

<sup>lxxv</sup> Mihesuah, 99.

<sup>lxxvi</sup> Wind Walker, interview with author, 10 November 2002.

<sup>lxxvii</sup> Turtle Woman, Interview with author, 29 September 2002.

<sup>lxxviii</sup> Spirit Wolf, Interview with author, 26 October 2002.

<sup>lxxix</sup> She Who Heals, Interview with author, 28 October 2002.

<sup>lxxx</sup> Spirit Wolf, Interview with author, 26 October 2002.

<sup>lxxxii</sup> Mihesuah, 100.

<sup>lxxxiii</sup> Spirit Wolf, Interview with author, 26 October 2002.

<sup>lxxxiv</sup> Hertzberg, 322.

<sup>lxxxv</sup> Wolf, Interview with author, 8 October 2002.

<sup>lxxxvi</sup> Chris, Interview with author, 28 September 2002.

<sup>lxxxvii</sup> She Who Heals, Interview with author, 28 October 2002.

<sup>lxxxviii</sup> Spirit Wolf, Interview with author, 26 October 2002.

<sup>lxxxix</sup> Spirit Wolf, Interview with author, 26 October 2002.

<sup>lxxxix</sup> United Eastern Lenape Nation Grand Council Meeting, 10 November 2002.



<sup>xc</sup> White Raven, Interview with author, 28 October 2002.

<sup>xc<sup>i</sup></sup> Hertzberg, 322.

<sup>xc<sup>ii</sup></sup> Wendy Wind Dancer, Interview with author, 25 September 2002.

<sup>xc<sup>iii</sup></sup> Alan Two Bears, Interview with author, 10 October 2002.

<sup>xc<sup>iv</sup></sup> She Who Heals, Interview with author, 28 October 2002.

<sup>xc<sup>v</sup></sup> Chris, Interview with author, 28 September 2002.

<sup>xc<sup>vi</sup></sup> Alan Two Bears, Interview with author, 10 October 2002.

<sup>xc<sup>vii</sup></sup> Alan Two Bears, Interview with author, 10 October 2002.

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<sup>xc<sup>ix</sup></sup> Chris, Interview with author, 28 September 2002.

<sup>c</sup> Alan Two Bears, Interview with author, 10 October 2002.

<sup>ci</sup> Clifton, 31.

<sup>c<sup>ii</sup></sup> Turtle Woman, Interview with author, 29 September 2002.

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<sup>cvi</sup> Old Stone House Powwow, Old Stone House, 14 September 2002.

<sup>cvii</sup> Wolf, Interview with author, 8 October 2002.

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<sup>cxv</sup> Alan Two Bears, Interview with author, 10 October 2002.

<sup>cxvi</sup> Stedman, William. *Shadows of the Indian: Stereotypes in American Culture*. (Norman, University of Oklahoma, 1982), 243.

<sup>cxvii</sup> Notes from Cherokee Reservation, Cherokee, North Carolina, 22 March 2003.

<sup>cxviii</sup> Clifton, 30.

<sup>cxviiii</sup> White Raven., Interview with author, 28 October 2002.

<sup>cxix</sup> Turtle Woman, Interview with author, 29 September 2002.

<sup>cxx</sup> Silent Dog, Interview with author, 29 September 2002.

<sup>cxxi</sup> Turtle Woman, Interview with author, 29 September 2002.

<sup>cxxii</sup> White Raven., Interview with author, 28 October 2002.

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<sup>cxxviii</sup> Turtle Woman, Interview with author, 29 September 2002.

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<sup>cxxxix</sup> Turtle Woman, Interview with author, 29 September 2002.

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<sup>cxxxiv</sup> Alan Two Bears, Interview with author, 10 October 2002.

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<sup>cxxxvi</sup> Turtle Woman, Interview with author, 29 September 2002.

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clxvii J.C. High Eagle [http://www.compusmart.ab.ca/deadmantalking/higheagle\\_beingindian.htm](http://www.compusmart.ab.ca/deadmantalking/higheagle_beingindian.htm)

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## **Events**

Old Stone House Powwow, Old Stone House, Butler. 14 September 2002.

Gathering of Nations Intertribal Unity Powwow, Cooper's Cabin, Butler. 21 September 2002.

Council of Three Rivers American Indian Center Powwow, Dorseyville, 28 September 2002.

American Indian Gathering Powwow, Beaver Community College, 13 October 2002.

Fall Spirit Festival Powwow, Harrisville, 26 October 2002

United Eastern Lenape Nation Grand Council Meeting, Hermitage, 10 November 2002

Week of observation at The Eastern Band of the Cherokee Nation Reservation, Cherokee, North Carolina, 21 March 2003 - 29 March 2003.

## **Interviews**

Wolf. Interview with author. 14 September 2002.

Alan Two Bears. Interview with author. 14 September 2002.

Wendy Wind Dancer. Interview with author. 25 September 2002.

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The Eastern Band of the Cherokee Nation: <http://www.cherokee-nc.com/>

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United Eastern Indian Alliance: <http://wind-dancer-1.tripod.com/>.