The Spirits Still Among Us: Native American Poets and the Voices of History in the Present Tense

Sydney Hunt Coffin Edison/Fareira High School

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> What is life? It is the flash of a firefly in the night. It is the breath of a buffalo in the wintertime. It is the little shadow that runs across the grass and loses itself in the sunset.¹

Overview

So spoke Crowfoot, orator of the Blackfoot Confederacy in 1890, above, on his deathbed. Even while this was not identified as poetry at the time, much of the wisdom of this Native American speaker comes across to readers poetically. Similarly, much of the poetry of Native American poets can be read simply as wisdom. Though there was a significant number of tribes, and a tremendous number of people at the time of the European invasion, each tribal language displays simultaneously a distinct identity as well as a variety of individual voices. However, the published poetry from native authors across the vast spectrum of tribal affiliations between the beginning and end of the 20th century reveal three unifying themes: (1) respecting a common reverence for the land from which each tribe came, through ceremonial poetry and songs; (2) respecting past traditions, including rituals, truths, and the words of one's elders; and (3) expressing political criticism, even activism. Editor Kenneth Rosen writes "There may seem to be a great deal of distance between the Navajo Blessing Way chants and a contemporary poem about the confrontations at Wounded Knee, but it's really not that far to go".²

In fact, this curriculum unit around Native American poetry endeavors to keep pace with the ongoing experiences of native people, whose words continue to speak to the land, its mysteries, and its voice. Roger Jack wrote in his poem "Word People":

Words, like people, travel circles around the earth

groping at imaginary eyes, ears, mouths, bodies and souls

for birth, self-satisfaction, and death.³

In this unit I hope to create a series of contemporary ceremonies around Native American poetry and the wisdom we can learn from them about living as Native people. In my classroom, and perhaps within yours, I believe that even as outsiders we can find respect for Native Americans' sense of the land, their traditions, and particularly their voices, through study and an appreciation of their poetry.

Introduction

Much of the early Native American poetry published in the "New World" was found in archival records of magazines and Christian conversion tracts. Since mainstream white published poetry of the time rhymed and followed a regular meter, so did Native poetry that had to be selected and printed in white and Christian publications. Furthermore, since Native Americans were taught to follow Christian precepts and morality, students in places like the Carlisle Indian Industrial School were taught English with the use of biblical passages and in particular, psalms.

In the creation of this unit, however, I am drawn to the voices speaking of a spiritual persistence, inspired by the common muse in a land which I, too, call my home, and to which many of my students have become native as well, though many through a more recent journey. The land is not a military march, nor does it follow the structure of a sonnet, these are oriented around regimentation and a structure that is aligned with Western civilization's emphasis on ballads following regular meter and verse akin to the music of the Germanic and Anglo-Saxon past. Modern Native authors "page art" evolved similar to the path of all poets in modern America, in free verse and blank verse forms where there is neither rhyme nor regular rhythm, but only after abandoning the more conservative publishing expectations of early pioneer American journals. Only after escaping the rigid discipline of so-called Indian schools did Native poets begin to experiment with forms more akin to the chants, songs, and prayers of their ancestors. Just

as poet Langston Hughes wrote famously, "I, Too, Sing America", the original inhabitants of our land spoke and continue to speak quite eloquently of America, and interestingly to me it is not just the mountains, clouds, and rivers of which they speak, but the streets, the cities, and the contemporary people as well. Contemporary Native poets, like contemporary poets generally, follow the serendipitous flow of personal, meandering emotions, less so than the formal manners of polite etiquette and obligatory moral strictures. Even with this transformation from tribal chants and oral "sings" to the page and now to the stage, the poetry is no less Native American and no less powerful.

My students in Philadelphia public schools claim this land as their own as well, in addition to any heritage from some distant place. In their poetry, they make this claim, as one student wrote

Philadelphia, that's my land, I've got every corner at my command...⁴

And yet they know little of the possibly millions of indigenous people who have lived in this terrain, and who continue to maintain a deep and profound connection to the place we call "America". Nonetheless, there is a profound and almost obvious connection between the poetry of Native America and the work being done in my own classroom. Let's look at a poem another one of my students wrote recently:

Nowadays kids don't see the importance of education they only see a prison that's keeping them captive... The struggle and pressure of all the bad things that keep you away from what's important.⁵

Compare those thoughts with the poem "Indian School" by Norman Russell, a Cherokee, in 1902:

In the darkness of the house of the white brother I go alone and am frightened strange things touch me I cannot breathe his air or eat his tasteless food

on his walls are pictures of the world that his walls shut out in his hands are leaves of words from dead men's mouths

he speaks to me with only the sounds of his mouth for he is as dumb and blind as the staggering old bear filled with many arrows: as the rocks that lie on the mountain...⁶

Both poems speak to an alienation from school, and as a teacher I believe it's important to bring people together through learning, not allow them to feel disconnected or isolated.

If we educators can nurture human experience through school, it is the powerful connection to past traditions in order to understand the present. Like the old adage, we are all apples that "do not fall far from the tree". Poets, however, "offer lyrical answers to the question an Indian leader asked of a now obscure President of the United States (says the Editor of this book of Native poetry): What visions are offered that will cause today's children to want tomorrow to come?"⁷ Tomorrow will inevitably come from today, and just as rivers flow with rain that lands high above on the mountains and mesas, so too does it trickle down to the ghettoes and urban centers of places like Philadelphia; and just as today comes from yesterday, perhaps from the poems of every culture comes a hope that through passing on personal insight will come collective inspiration. As an example, the voice of history spoke, perhaps quite bitterly, to James Welch in his poem "The Man From Washington":

The end came easy for most of us. Packed away in our crude beginnings in some far corner of a flat world, we didn't expect much more than firewood and buffalo robes to keep us warm. The man came down a slouching dwarf with rainwater eyes, and spoke to us. He promised that life would go on as usual, that treaties would be signed, and everyoneman, woman, and child-would be inoculated against a world in which we had no part, a world of money, promise and disease.⁸

In Native American writing we find a way around, through, and beyond a tragic "genocide of the mind". According to editor Marijo Moore: "After five centuries of Eurocentrism, many people have little idea that Native American tribes still exist, or which traditions belong to which tribes." Furthermore, she adds "America's indigenous peoples have been effectively stereotyped through different forms of media as spiritual gurus, pagan savages, Indian princesses, or pitiful burdens of society.⁹ My studies at the University of Pennsylvania Museum, the Penn library, and especially back in my own classroom, are attempts to focus attention on the variety of Native American voices speaking in the past, while simultaneously allowing for an appreciation of how these diverse voices find common themes within a very real present. Fortunately for all of us, neither the genocide of the mind, nor a body of people, has been entirely successful. The languages that speak for the human heart can never become extinct; instead, they may merely *rest*.

I read from "Grandmother's Land" by poet William Oandason, of the Yuki tribe (dedicated to his mother, the elder people, and the young):

...afternoon sunlight on the field while breezes move grass and leaves and memories with family names are waiting within the Earth, the mountains, the valley, the field, the trees.¹⁰

Traditionally, Native Americans have been seen by outsiders as more in touch with the land than the European colonists, perhaps because they in fact have been. Europeans, while agriculturalists and farmers by trade for purposes of survival in the new world, were attempting to escape from a civilization in which they had lived in closer contact with cities than any kind of actual wilderness, except maybe in biblical metaphor. Native peoples, however, lived historically and even recently in an entirely land-focused society, whether they were agriculturalists or hunters and gatherers. Contemporary Native writers find their roots in this tradition, and even in tradition for its own sake. Consider the comments of editor Kenneth Rosen in *Voices of the Rainbow* that assert this very same idea:

In the case of some of these poets the visions are drawn from a deeply emotional response to their natural surroundings...of an awareness of history that reveals a condition of harmony and individual dignity...¹¹

In the Dover Thrift Edition *Native American Songs and Poems*, editor Brian Swann suggests, "Like other poets, Native American poets write about all sorts of things, but tradition is a strong theme". Their greatest tradition seems to be a deep and profound appreciation for nature, more than anything created by Man. I did not find poems about cars and "bling", or brash prowess and material wealth like much of the poetry of popular music, instead there is a sensibility towards the Earth. For instance the poem by Lance Henson, a member of the Cheyenne tribe, "Near Twelve Mile Point":

(for his grandparents) at times the heart looks toward open fields and sees itself returning orange pall of sun the low hymn of trees

in the garden a north wind blows over dry stalks of corn birds gather there scratching over the echoing footsteps

your names have become the dark feather

to whom the stars $sing^{12}$

In addition to researching a perpetually symbiotic relationship with nature and the land, an idea persists that can be found arising in other poetry of our time: a search for self. Native poets may find the need to ask the questions that press every poet, and perhaps every being: Who am I? What do I have in common with others? What makes me unique? Digging deep, poets may ask themselves, as I ask of my research, What distinguishes Native American Poetry? According to Vine Deloria, Jr., Native American poetry can "tell you more about the Indian's travels in historical experience than all the books written and lectures given".¹³ Native poets face the age-old dilemma that faces every segregated group in our highly racially divided society: is an author a writer first or primarily a Native American writer? Clearly, it depends upon whom you ask, both inside and outside Native American communities, and the authors may not know the true answer either, even about themselves, if there even is a clear one. One matter-of-fact perspective that sheds light on this issue comes from Native author Wendy Rose, who writes, "There is no genre of 'Indian literature', because we are all different. There is only literature written by people who are Indian, and who infuse their work with their own lives the same way that you do".¹⁴ Western society seems to like its ethnicities to fit into neat, little boxes, or even multiple-choice options on a government form or standardized test, but perhaps this is the antithesis of an individual's (and even a people's) more truthful reality. In this vein, critic Jim Barnes makes the claim however that "The writer is first a writer, second a Native American, a Black, a Chicano."¹⁵

Even further down the spiritual road for writers and artists of all stripes is the sensation (and even the conviction) that we are merely a *vehicle* for the work, and not the originator or source of the expression. Duane Niatum writes "The individual voice in Native American literature would seem to be at its strongest when it is not just 'individual'...but also 'representative'. Often the individual speaks for, is spoken through".¹⁶ In harmony with Niatum, editor Kenneth Rosen argues in his preface to the 2012 edition of the collection of contemporary Native American poetry he edited, "you can still discern the communal beat beneath the varied tones and tempos of the individual

artists who now sign their names to their individual efforts".¹⁷ The beat of these artists emanates fluidly from the heart for poet Linda Hogan, a Chickasaw:

Radiant morning. The dark tunnels inside us carry life. Red. Blue. The children's dark hair against my breast. On the burning hills in flaring orange cloth men are singing and drumming Heartbeat.¹⁸

She seems to recognize a connection between the drums outside of her, on the hills, and the beat of her own internal center. This same beat pulses in the hearts of many poets all over the world, but there is also a unique quality to Native poetry that emerges with study.

A third and final aspect of Native American poetry and verse that comes to the forefront in my research is the idea of political activism. Too long, Native people have been seen as victims and losers of a now historic genocide, rather than an enduring force attempting to find balance. Unlike "Koyaanisqatsi" the orchestral two hour long composition by musician Philip Glass that uses as its title the Hopi word meaning "unbalanced life", the truth of the matter may be closer to the work of writer, activist, and film actor John Trudell. Trudell's film work includes *Thunderheart*, the fictional movie at the center of my class discussion around government intervention, internal politics, and tribal sovereignty, paralleling the documentary *Incident at Oglala*. Trudell's poetry forms the basis for an entire web page, and a documentary on his life and work is also featured in some part as an example of Native peoples' attempts to preserve nature on Earth despite the ongoing efforts to destroy, manipulate, and/or take advantage of tribal lands and culture. Trudell is probably the most outspoken and popularized activist Native voice, and as a philosopher and environmentalist, his work leads readers closer to an immediate cry for change than some other tribal poets, but he is not alone. Duane Niatum (in his role as a poet, not as an editor) wrote a poem "Stones Speak of the Earthless Sky". where he writes

Today the stones quit asking not to betray their ceremonies, our ears deaf to their winter story of mountain, river, cormorant, red-flowering

currant. Our car tracks trample their children who vanish down the street like moonlight into gutters, our abbreviated hours... ...We chose instead to shoot the spotted-owl from its borderless clarity, turn off life like a video, including ours.¹⁹

Niatum's sense of the irony of American choice making is a wry comment on the Western effort to destroy nature for human survival, rather than live in harmony with it. Consider also "This Is No Movie of Noble Savages", by Adrian Louis, whose poem, aside from lightheartedly mentioning the theft of his typewriter (he supposes by Native thieves) outlines in a serious way the dilemma of activism:

...this paper holding these petroglyphs is neither apology nor legacy but a wanted poster.

Now, dauntless before Dante's nocturnal emissions of visions of Hell I curse God and weep...²⁰

Cursing God or weeping at the sad state of affairs in this country reveals a deep frustration with life, as well as an unwillingness to accept it as it is. Digging into the past a little to 1901, De Witt Clinton Duncan, a.k.a. Too-qua-stee, writes "Truth Is Mortal" (notice how in this period, the poem has rhymes):

But "Truth" and all on her embarked Are lost in eternal sleep, (The fatal place itself unmarked) Far down in the abysmal deep.

Let fleeing Aguinaldo speak; And Oceola from his cell; And Sitting Bull, and Crazy Snake; Their story of Experience tell...

...The truth that lives and laughs a sneak, That crouching lifts the hand of power, While that that's worth the name is weak, And under foot dies every hour.²¹

His even earlier work "A Vision of the End" speaks truth to power as well, when he writes:

Their government, a monstrous form, (The sea groaned 'neath the load), A helpless mass blown by the storm, On grimy billows rode.

The bodies of great syndicates And corporations, trusts, Proud combinations, and e'en states, All beasts of savage lusts.²²

In further exploration into the political roots of Native poetry, Richard C. Adams, a Native Delaware Lenape, wrote in 1899 of his tribal people's need for representation in "A Delaware Indian's Legend":

Let the Indian have some duties, treat him as a worthy man, Give him voice in the elections, give him title to his land, Give him place of trust and honor, let him feel this yet his home, Let him use his mind and muscle, let his actions be his own, Pay him what is justly due him, let your government be his, too, He will battle with each problem, just as faithfully as you. One who proves himself a warrior and of danger knows no fear, Surely can find ways to master each new problem that draws near.²³

In 1855, at a time when the Cherokee had lost vast plots of land in their native territories for the foreseeable future, Cherokee poet C.H. Campbell wrote a hopeful, and even inspirational and motivational set of rhyming verse in "Our Tribe Could Once of Many Warriors Boast":

But war is not the business now of life, For we have long ceased from bloody strife. The pale face now are strong, and we are free; As they have progress made, so we must do-Must learn to cultivate the mind, the soil, And reconcile ourselves to honored toil. We otherwise can n'er expect to be A prosperous people, virtuous, happy, free.²⁴

Much of the poetry of this earlier period corresponds with the rise of Indian boarding schools, sponsored in part by the BIA (the Bureau of Indian Affairs) that treated First Nation individuals as a culture to be assimilated and even eradicated from the face of the Earth, no longer simply removed and relocated from desirable lands in the New World. While to some this judgment of American policy may seem extreme, or even a misunderstanding, the poetry of Native people bears strong witness to the fact of

government intent. The evidence of conditions on the reservations today is proof enough, but there is other cause to see our established leaders with suspect; but that is another project waiting to be done.

Rationale

My students in North Philadelphia are almost all living below the poverty line, and suffer silently from unutterable experiences. I believe that in order to achieve academically and learn to read, write, think and speak, they must at least begin the process of healing from their sources of trauma through finding their own voice, speaking of a malaise that the writer Betty Friedan called famously "the problem that has no name".²⁵ Nothing can match the desperation of the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota, America's poorest zip code in 2013, but at Edison High School, and generally throughout the City of Philadelphia, there is similarly a hunger for sufficient nutrition, adequate safe, affordable housing, sustainable employment in order to achieve "the good life", and even the security of personal safety from random, unpredictable and dramatic violence. There is also a virtual starvation for education supporting the search for student voice, which there can never be too much of (unless of course we are practicing Sustained Silent Reading!)

With this comparison in mind, each year I challenge my students to read the novel *The Absolutely True Diary of a Part Time Indian* by Sherman Alexie, who lived on the Spokane Indian Reservation of Washington State. Outside of this novel they are rarely exposed to the continuing presence of so called "Urban Indians" or are even aware of the historical presence of Native tribes so close to our school in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and New York State. Whether of the Lenni Lenape or of the greater Iroquois League, there is a treacherous ignorance that is ultimately harmful to kids attempting to make sense of the world in which they live, as well as the world from which they and their ancestors have come. This curriculum unit can serve to reduce that absence of knowledge, and help to understand the current experience of Native Americans. Insight into the poetry of contemporary native writers can expand students' awareness of both historical and emotional truth, and serve to help avoid the "lies my teacher told me" (such as the mythical Thanksgiving feast most Americans celebrate every November, as detailed by author James W. Loewen in his book of the same name).

In addition to the unit's purpose in deepening an appreciation of the novel by Sherman Alexie, it will also compensate for an absence of curriculum around poetry for my Poetry arts elective. I believe the introduction of such verbal variety may validate the many voices within my classroom, even if they are somehow mottled, mixed or lost by the ravages of time and the same Westward expansion that threatened to destroy the indigenous voices shared here. Dominicans and Puerto Ricans at my school will be able to identify with the clear sense of specific cultural identity that Native American poets seem to have, in that they share an equally clear and complex sense of self. We all need to search and find ourselves somewhere outside of ourselves, whether it is in lovers, books, music, or even other cultures. Looking at yourself from another perspective can be like standing on the mountain that makes the art museum's steps and looking down into

one's life; it can be like watching the sometimes muddy and strong current that makes the Schuylkill River, and seeing something of oneself in its turbulent waters, or walking a little differently upon stepping out of the potholed, pockmarked and sometimes enlightening streets of Philadelphia, where the earth sometimes shows its broad face in the wide swath of green graveyard surrounding our school, each gravestone a tooth making a many-named smile that threatens to break free and beam with mirth.

In the words of Duane Niatum, in his preface to *The Harper's Anthology of 20th Century Native American Poets*, "even without a uniformity of subject matter, metaphor, or style, Native American poets carry with them the spirit of a common cultural heritage, expressed in divergent and often stunning ways. In their individual poetry that spirit has not died. On the contrary, it has grown and is growing."²⁶ Another one of the best books I found on Native American poetry is called *Changing is Not Vanishing*. On page 7 of this largely retrospective volume, editor Robert Parker writes that "Most of the poems in this collection come from newspapers and magazines, not from books of poetry" He goes on to say

Poets' sense of the audience for newspapers and magazines influenced their poetry's style and form...Most of the poetry in this book is accessible to readers in a way that later poetry may not be...readers of this book interested in seeing early Indian poetry but who may not typically read poetry from our own age will find this poetry easier to read than much modern and contemporary poetry.²⁷

Regardless of his expectation that modern poetry is more difficult to read than that of past verse, it is an essential component to understanding Native American voices. In this spirit, the lessons that follow are an attempt to make these voices more accessible.

Objectives

Many varying themes emerge from poetry written by Native Americans; students participating in this 1-3 week unit of study will be exposed to a variety of native poets from around the country. All exercises can be appropriate for any region, given a little independent spirit from the teacher in charge. The students, however, will do the "lion's share" of the work to analyze and engage with the voices of Native Americans. The goal and essential objective is to align one's thinking with the experience of Native authors, as a means of understanding a contemporary experience of history, in both memory and current thinking. Young writers studying within this unit will hopefully begin taking upon themselves the identities of the tribes and poets they study, and in so doing will find their own stories, indeed their own voices, written between the lines. Perhaps students will also find they already have an inner affinity for the work of the writers they study, which I hope will be gradually revealed in exciting ways through the poetry in a process of inquiry and discovery.

In one sense the language and culture of certain tribal nations are not dying, but "resting" during the turmoil of the current era. Despite this fact, there is an anxiety

among students of Native societies that both language and culture could become "extinct" if nothing is done to revive their use. Just as Hopi tribal member and journalist Patty Talahongva says in her essay "Being Hopi" that "it is my responsibility to carry on the teachings, the culture, and the religion so that my children and grandchildren will also have the opportunity to be Hopi"²⁸, it is the goal of this unit that students discover and explore their own traditions, culture, language, religion, and history, paralleling those of the poet and tribal member they research, seeing what and how he/she sees. In essence, I am hoping the student will ask "*What is my tribe? What is my code? How do these find expression in my life, as in the work of this author?* They are obligated by the work of this unit to define themselves by that author, and live through their poetry, and their choice of words, in a sense becoming whomever we are through them. *Being* who we are is to leap beyond stereotype, into both a personal and a historical investigation. In order to find out who we are, where we are going, and how we will get there, students can begin with the compelling example of Native poets.

In her essay "Indians', Solipsisms and Archetypal Holocausts" writer Paula Gunn Allen states: "Native people are neither like non-Natives nor like American popular conceptions generated by New Age materials, films, histories, or other media."²⁹ In actuality, just as there have been many tribes with distinct identities, there are also many individual poets coming from Native American traditions who have distinct and truly individual identities of their own, despite being associated with a larger group of people called the Shoshone, the Apache, the Navajo, Sioux, Seneca, or Shawnee, and others. The traits of later poets tend to lean more towards the modern phenomenon of being artists, rather than "singers" or storytellers of the past (in some traditions). In very concrete ways the term "Artist", and the identity associated with it, can be broader and simultaneously more open to wider possibilities than the older role of "healer", "spiritual aspirant", or "entertainer", but artists still play the role of a shaman. The Artist may play any one, several, or many more than these roles as part of their effort at writing poetry. The great Native American poets today and in the near recent past can be a path to opening outsiders in to a new way of seeing, a new way of thinking, and a new way of being, so that a type of healing can occur. My hope is that students will take on the role of healing themselves of ignorance about this important aspect of being an American through education, and perhaps learn to help others grow in the same process.

Strategies

Students will employ a varied approach of inquiry and discovery in order to empathize with more than just poets and texts; additionally they will expand their search to include objects, in particular those available through the Native American Voices exhibit at the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. According to the PA Department of Education website "Increasing reading of various types of literature including but not limited to world literature, US seminal documents, and governmental documents", following the Pennsylvania Common Core in its page of emphasis in 9th to 12th grade classrooms of English Language Arts. Much of students'

work will focus upon, and yet not be limited to, the interweaving of literature by a specific cadre of writers through their remarkable poems, but also through their identities as tribal members, and as windows into the world of Native America. This auspicious collection of individual writers stems from my research into three anthologies (see the bibliography) I hold in high esteem, but is directly accessed through an exceptional gift of the Poetry Foundation, in the form of a list they have provided of ten poets and writers selected by the author Sherman Alexie. They have been selected as a focus group primarily due to their accessibility through YouTube, the World Wide Web, and popular publishing resources, but also due to their impressive variety of activities. This week of study will be broken down into five 90-minute periods of intense and rigorous investigation that will require Internet access for every student inside the unit's sphere. Study the lesson plans before entering into this project to see the scope and direction of the work; it is meant to be immersion of the deepest type possible, given the limitations of the page.

Classroom Activities/Lesson Plans

Day 1:

In this opening day, students will be asked to enter a ceremony. The ceremony begins with imagining someone who is not present, someone who has died: a grandparent, a great, great grandparent, or even farther back. If there is an opportunity to do so, the ceremony can begin with music by contemporary flutist R. Carlos Nakai. (*Earth Spirit 1/5*, <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Oe1_ObIkWys</u>, is about 11 minutes long). Ask students as an exercise to write what they imagine that ancestor would say to them if they could hear them speak today.

Next, ask students to imagine an object, real or imaginary, which the ancestor could give to them from their own time. If students can try to draw the object they imagine, no matter how simple or rudimental the illustration that is ideal. Depending upon the time elapsed, plan to cut off the activity when the 2nd student loses interest or puts his her pencil down.

As a third introductory activity, have students imagine or recall, verbally, the name of the ancestor whose voice came to them, and share it aloud with the classroom, simultaneously, in a chorus of voices.

From here, students should put down their pencils and receive a handout of the poem "Children in the Meadows and Wetlands" by Suzan Shown Harjo (see *appendix*) and read aloud to students, as you become the voice of an elder. Explain that some poems are not meant to be analyzed as much as felt, that there is no test on the emotions within some poems, and that the beginning of this unit is to feel and become fully aware of the sense of loss that Native students felt when they left their tribal lands and were sent to schools like the Carlisle School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Just as everyone seems to attend some "school" in almost every part of the world today, learning is much deeper and more meaningful than anything that you, the teacher, will teach them this week.

Nonetheless, explain how Native people were forbidden to speak their native languages, and that their long hair was cut off and they were removed from contact with their families and culture when they were sent to "Indian" boarding schools like the one at Carlisle. They were prohibited from practicing their religion, and often beaten and physically abused; the mentality of school leaders was that they had to "Kill the Indian in order to save the man". Explain that today we mourn the loss of every ancestor who has had to leave his homeland. Explain that today and for the rest of the week, and the rest of the unit of study, students will be on a journey to find and give voice to their own ancestors as well as to discover the voices of Native Americans today, and to speak in harmony with these voices.

Depending on the time available to you (I have block scheduling, or 90-minute periods) the next activity is to play a video. If there is a lot of time, play "Colores: In Between the Lines: Native American Poetry" (available on Youtube here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TUCXy5-yJDA), about ½ an hour long. If there isn't much time, play "Kill the Indian, Save the Man" (available on Youtube, here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TUCXy5-yJDA), about ½ an hour long. If there isn't much time, play "Kill the Indian, Save the Man" (available on Youtube, here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L6PU7eNrJnE), about 5 minutes long. If you have a little longer, play "Unseen Tears: The Native American Boarding School Experience" (available on Youtube, here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ioAzggmes8c), about 10 minutes long. (In addition, part 2 is here:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9PaqrM1iCf0.)

Finally, students should be given time to reflect on any the films, either at the end or throughout, or both. Please be open to the process of turning criticism, awkwardness, or nervousness around material of this kind into factual observations, not biased by our own experiences and preconceptions. For example, with the longer film, "Colores", "I saw a boy who was rapping in front of the desert and mountains." Your point about arriving at this observation can be: "How amazing that students in that environment are trying to speak the same language as kids in the inner city, and the same language as mainstream American culture. Why do you think that is?" Another comment I can imagine occurring could be as harsh as "That woman is ugly, I don't like the way she looks..." Your point could be: "How interesting that there are a variety of Native people who write and speak in different ways, and look different from you or me. How do you think you would appear to them?" The main focus here is to bring comments back to the core observation that there are a variety of Native peoples living today, at the same time as we are. This is, of course, only one example of tribal people, in one location; we will see others over the course of the week.

As an exit ticket, have students summarize their thoughts on the comments in class in exactly 25 words, as a type of game to get it to exactly 25. Alternatively, students can write a poem or a stanza of their own verse. If there is still time, play a video from the Santa Fe Indian School, such as "We Come From":

<u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4rpJoGjvNbw</u> If this is saved as filler for another time, so be it.

Day 2:

Today, students will choose a Native poet from the list provided inside the unit. To begin with, and as a warm-up, students will draw the object before them, chosen from the Native American Voices exhibit page, here:

http://www.penn.museum/sites/nativeamericanvoices/educational-resources.php. Focus students upon giving total attention to a real Native object, in order to observe it entirely. You can play R. Carlos Nakai's *Earth Spirit 2/5* (about 13 minutes long, found here:) while they draw.

Next, students should read "The False Face Masks and the Indian Museum Guards", a poem by Suzan Shown Harjo (see *appendix*). Discuss the tone of the poem, as well as the syntax and subject matter: Is she angry in her poem? Bitter? Why would that be? Could there be a deeper underlying emotion and complexity to the piece than your first impressions? How do you imagine museums must find a balance between displaying, teaching, and exposing Native American culture and objects, versus protecting the sacred nature and privacy of the objects and culture at the very same time?

Following discussion of the poem, allow students to move about in the room to appreciate any of the drawings done by students earlier in the class. If at all possible, teachers should provide a wide selection of objects or images in handout form for students to observe, from a variety of tribal affiliations and cultures using the link to the University of Pennsylvania Anthropology and Archaeology Museum. Any object can serve to stir up students' imaginations towards the objectification of material culture in Native America. They should be taught to understand that many of the artifacts that reside in museums today were originally sacred or of enough importance that some Native Americans find it odd or even offensive to see their culture paraded throughout the world in museum collections and taken out of context. Nonetheless, museums are now leading the effort to preserve and respect the very cultures from which they have historically stolen objects.

Beginning today, students will pursue a project involving a Native American poet of their own choice, using as a guide an interview Sherman Alexie did with public television mainstay Bill Moyers, found here: <u>http://billmoyers.com/content/sherman-alexies-top-ten-native-american-poets/</u>, and the Poetry Foundation's guide to Native American poets and culture, found here: <u>http://www.poetryfoundation.org/article/245706</u>. The majority of the class should work in teams to research and explore at least one work of poetry by a poet from these lists. Begin by having students read the essay "Indians in T-shirts", here: <u>http://www.poetryfoundation.org/article/244662</u>, which explores the history of the Institute of American Indian Arts' (IAIA) effort to teach Native poetry within a contemporary context in Santa Fe, New Mexico. Some essential questions you could be asking about the essay while they read are: What types of poetry did the students learn from? How did the students respond to the material they studied? And, How does the school serve to forward the recognition of Native Americans as a distinct and present-day culture? This could take as long as 20-30 minutes, so prepare for a brain break of some sort, with this lighthearted but incredible video by "Supaman", found on Youtube here:

<u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_0jq7jIa34Y</u>. For homework, students can begin by finding one poem by an author from the lists provided by Sherman Alexie and the Poetry Foundation in order to bring it to the next class.

Day 3:

While playing "Earth Spirit 3/5", found here:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sVtm_a2nsPw&list=PLI5AlYMoWZiIQueADqsUb mSxRi_mLvD80&index=3, warm up with another drawing exercise, using contemporary stereotypical images of "Indians" from the Native American Voices Exhibit, found here: http://www.penn.museum/sites/nativeamericanvoices/educational-resources.php. The emphasis in this activity should be upon observing stereotypes of Native Americans in order to overcome them. These are actual images from our society, and can be magnified by the short video "Proud To Be" after some drawing, found here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mR-tbOxlhvE. It is a powerful video, and you may want to take time to discuss its impact, and then segue into the poetry to follow.

And now for poetry: today's class will deal largely with stereotypes of Native Americans, so students should be made conscious of the meaning of the term *stereotype* = to believe unfairly that all people or things with a particular characteristic are the same³⁰ and then watch the spoken word video by Winona Linn called "Knock-off Native" that explores the phenomenon of our own perceptions and preconceptions: <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i_zFOsd_pqA</u>. Here is another, about stereotypes and racial slurs:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8nfir23yX08. And still another, more powerful and artistic than many, called "Bad Indian":

<u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3FUgDutdauQ</u>. Finally, one that speaks to the terminology of the military when killing Osama Bin Laden, "Geronimo E-KIA": <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y7vKu7X4aNA</u>. Use a Venn Diagram or other graphic organizer to compare the traits of each poem, as well as the stereotypical traits being explored in the performances.

Any or all of these poetry videos should serve to open the eyes of young students to the reality and complex entrenchment of stereotypes in representations of Native Americans, but some probing may be necessary: From where do stereotypes emerge? Possible responses: *The survival of European colonialism depended upon demonization and even elimination of Native American sovereignty, or possession of valuable lands; often, greed played a large part, so that with degradation of Native people's honor allowed Europeans to break treaties and ignore the value in Native peoples' culture, religions, and customs, including holding the land as sacred as an "undeveloped resource".* How can stereotypes be combatted, both on an individual micro-scale, and institutionally on a macro-scale? Possible responses: *Through confronting individuals with factual rather than presumptive evidence of Native peoples' rights, honor, dignity, history, and sovereignty; through public media campaigns and educational outreach; through respecting and even honoring or empowering Native voices in our society and in* *our personal lives*. What are the intended and unintended consequences of stereotypes on Native American peoples? Possible responses: *Many tribal people in our country and abroad have high rates of inadvertent consequences, such as alcoholism, suicide, diabetes, low self-esteem, poverty, etc. Just watch the video here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lqCYfTeP1_w.*

As an exit ticket, have students write about a time they themselves were stereotyped, and the unintended or inadvertent consequences that resulted from such treatment.

Day 4:

Begin with R. Carlos Nakai's "Earth Spirit 4/5" (found here:

<u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=33nLuc_MQsw&list=PLI5AlYMoWZiIQueADqsUb</u> <u>mSxRi_mLvD80&index=4</u>) while students draw from Tlingit art designs, found on Google images, here:

https://www.google.com/search?hl=en&site=imghp&tbm=isch&source=hp&biw=1016& bih=504&q=tlingit+art+designs&oq=tlingit+art&gs_l=img.1.2.0110.1838.4576.0.9102.11 .8.0.3.3.0.144.708.6j2.8.0...0...1ac.1.48.img.0.11.713.JDerxs7ZyoU . While some of the art may not be contemporary, most students will find it pretty cool to look at, and Tlingit art has been the inspiration for a lot of current tattoos. Additionally or alternatively, you can show images of Navajo/Dineh textiles, found here:

https://www.google.com/search?q=navajo+textiles&tbm=isch&source=lnms&sa=X&ei= PwC4U9OmOZKHqgaC4oLYBQ&ved=0CAgQ_AUoAQ&biw=1016&bih=470

Next, launch into independent student work. If each group or individual can have access to a computer, or perhaps they have done their homework (or you've done it for them!) and printed a copy of a poem by their poet, they should all read the poem and follow a series of steps: (1) Decide if the poem is any good for your purposes-is it right for you? If not, move on to another poem. (2) Re-read the poem and decide if it fits into the 3 categories: about the land, about tradition/heritage/ancestors, or about activism. If the subject of the poem isn't any of these three, that's fine-figure out what it is about. (3) Break the poem down structurally: is it free verse, rhyming, or some combination of the two? Is it lyric, dramatic, or narrative? Does it have rhythm? Stanzas? Refrains? Repetition? Why would the poet choose these forms, based on the subject? (4) Are there any interesting words, phrases, or lines (called an author's use of *diction*)? Why did the author use these words? What are the connotations and denotations of these words? A dictionary or computer will be very useful during this exercise. Finally, (5) connect the poem with larger issues around Native American identity: As a group, discuss the possible ways that the poem speaks to who the poet is. Can you make inferences about the voice of the poet in the poem? How does all the information from the earlier steps tie together to form an understanding of the piece of writing? Combine all your ideas together into a type of constructed response that answers the essential question-What makes this poem distinctly Native American? How is it unique to a Native American *identity (or not)?* Students should write their own reflection piece on the poem, but you

might choose to scaffold their note taking activities on the poem with a graphic organizer; a simple 4-5 column worksheet will do fine.

As an exit activity you could have students come together as a group, share some of their reflections and insights into their poems, and watch a video. I suggest a poem by the Santa Fe Indian School poetry team, if there's time, called "Evolution" (found here: <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IiII3VN8NPE</u>), or return to try "We Come From" (found here: <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4rpJoGjvNbw</u>).

Day 5:

In this final day of the unit (unless you choose to spend more time on any aspect of this curriculum), you can begin with the song "Earth Spirit 5/5" by R. Carlos Nakai while students read the first 3 stanzas of the poem "Sacred Ground II" (in Appendix 4) by Suzan Shown Harjo. By this time your students should be pretty accomplished at performing a "close reading" of a poem, and that is what they should do here, with one twist: rather than having them take notes or write a constructed response, use this time as a sounding board for airing interesting comments and insights into the work, both specifically to this poem as well as generally to the field. Use the poem as an opportunity to let your students' voices come out; try to draw something from each one of them; sit in a circle if possible, to facilitate more active engagement in the process of sharing thoughts aloud. Ask students to summarize the work they have been doing in poetry, and have them prepare to write their own poetry.

Every poet has his or her own method for writing poetry, and frequently I have heard my students in Philadelphia say that a classroom is NOT where it happens for them. However, by now you may have created a type of space for this process. I want to caution you here, that there is a fine line between New Age faux spirituality and the kind of mood necessary for employing this type of climate in any room, and it can become all too easy to seem corny, fake, derivative, or even patronizing to students; hopefully your students (and mine) will enter into a creative mood when they hear the writer's statement by Arthur Sze, the Director and lead poetry teacher at the Santa Fe Institute of American Indian Arts, found here: (you can read it aloud to them)

I never start my own poems by using a dictionary, but I sometimes find it helpful in the process of creation. For instance, I wrote a poem in nine sections, Quipu, that was recently published in "Conjunctions". Quipu is the Quechua word for knot, and it turns out the Incas used bundles of string, or quipus, to record all sorts of critical information: how many potatoes were stored in bins in the mountainside, or the population of Cuzco, or historical information, or even poems. A quipu had a main string and then subsidiary strings that were dyed different colors, and different knots were used to encode the information. When I was writing my poem, I looked up the simple word, as, in the dictionary, and wrote out all of its possible meanings. I didn't force myself to use all of them, but I consciously used many of them. The varied meanings enabled me to layer and

charge the poem in an unusual way. The word as appears so innocuous, but each time it's used, it has a knotting effect.³¹

In addition, or in place of the above, students can listen to and watch a 2 minute interview by Bill Moyers with author Sherman Alexie, who describes his writing method for the poem "Ode to Gray", found here: <u>http://fallsapart.com/poetry/</u> at the bottom of the web page. Primarily, and most importantly, students should feel ready to write, so you may want to brainstorm with your students for a few writing topics that have arisen through the unit, such as: *the land, place, heritage, ancestry, tradition, relocation, poverty, creativity, spirituality, dispossession, prayer, mythology, stereotype, colonialism, oppression, genocide, persistence, memory, song, chanting, activism, alcoholism, politics, history* (inspired by a discussion on Native aesthetics between Linda Hogan, Allison Adelle Hedge Coke, and Sherwin Bitsui at the Poetry Foundation, found here: http://www.poetryfoundation.org/features/audioitem/3352).

After a period of silent writing, please encourage students to share a favorite line, or simply the topic they have chosen, if not the whole poem. In my own class I would allow students to take their beginning work home with them to polish independently, but it's up to you. I plan to compile their poems into a small pamphlet or book of student work.

End class, and this unit, with a reading/recitation of the quote by Crowfoot that begins this unit:

What is life? It is the flash of a firefly in the night. It is the breath of a buffalo in the wintertime. It is the little shadow that runs across the grass and loses itself in the sunset.³²

Annotated Bibliography/Resources

Foss, Phillip. *The Clouds Threw This Light: Contemporary Native American Poetry*. Santa Fe, N.M.: Institute of American Indian Arts Press, 1983. *An oversized book rich in poet's biographies and 1-2 poems each.*

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Loewen, James W. *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong*. Touchstone trade pbk. ed. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2007. *A popular contrast to the misinformation of American textbooks, for lay readers.*

Moore, MariJo. *Genocide of the Mind: New Native American Writing*. New York: Thunder's Mouth Press/Nation Books, 2003. *This is an excellent reader for understanding authentic contemporary Native thought*.

Nerburn, Kent. *The Wisdom of the Native Americans*. Novato, CA: New World Press, 1999.

A beautiful composition of writings, speeches, and philosophy from primary texts.

Niatum, Duane. *Harper's Anthology of 20th Century Native American Poetry*. San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988. *A thrift edition of collected Native Poetry, this book is perfect for use in schools*.

Parker, Robert Dale. *Changing is Not Vanishing: A Collection of Early American Indian Poetry to 1930.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011. *This a lengthy exploration of some popular & obscure Native poetry & its significance.*

Tapahonso, Luci. *Blue Horses Rush In: Poems and Stories*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997. *A beautiful collection of short writing (not just poetry) by the iconic verse artist.*

Treuer, Anton. *Everything You Wanted to Know About Indians But Were Afraid to Ask.* Saint Paul, MN: Borealis Books, 2012. *A brief layperson's guide to the history of the "Indian" in the United States of America.*

Williams, Lucy Fowler, William S. Wierzbowski, and Robert W. Preucel. *Native American Voices on Identity, Art, and Culture: Objects of Everlasting Esteem.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2005.

An elegant coffee table book with full-color photos and informative essays on each object by Native specialists; a terrific companion to the Native American Voices exhibit.

Online Resources

http://aboutfallout.blogspot.com/2007/11/poem-by-john-trudell.html https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rbCar3aGadc = John Trudell/The Tribes of Europe/slides https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IiII3VN8NPE = SFIS Spoken Word: "Evolution" https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4rpJoGjvNbw = SFIS Spoken : "We Come From" https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i_zFOsd_pqA = Winona Linn: "Knock-off Native" https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9BHvpWP2V9Y = "I'm An Indian Too" (spoof) https://www.google.com/search?q=tlingit+and+haida+art&tbm=isch&ei=TO20U5fMpDuoATRy4CQDQ = Tlingit art on Google images https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lqCYfTeP1_w = "Redskins" debate on ESPN https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uYNrt1oz70E = "Redskins" on "Democracy Now!" https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EMGhnOa5eZU = Native American "Redskins" debate (comedy)

Appendices

Appendix 1/Standards (<u>http://www.pdesas.org/Standard/PACore</u>) (accessed 4/7/2014)

- Drawing connections between texts (CC.1.2.9-10.I) (CC.1.3.9-10.E) (CC.1.3.9-10.G)
- Analyzing author's word choices and the impact on meaning and tone (CC.1.2.9-10.F) (CC.1.3.9-10.F)
- Analyzing shades of meaning: connotation, nuance, detonation. (CC.1.3.9-10.J)
- Recognizing and addressing alternate or opposing claims and their relationship to stated position, argument or claim. (CC.1.4.9-10.I) (CC.1.4.9-10.J)
- Developing narratives using real and imagined experiences (CC.1.4.9-10.M)
- Write informative/explanatory to convey complex ideas (CC.1.4.9-10.A)
- Strengthening writing through the process of revision and the considerations needed to strengthen writing. (CC.1.4.9-10.T)

Appendix 2/"Children in the Meadows and Wetlands" by Suzan Shown Harjo

There are children in the meadows and wetlands

Native children ran there to hide

When teachers pulled and butchered their hair

When teachers stole their medicine bags

When teachers collected their moccasins

When teachers dressed them in strange clothes

When teachers beat them with boards and belts

When teachers starved them for being bad Indians

The children ran to the meadows and wetlands

There are children in the meadows and wetlands

Hostages who were taken to Haskell

Who never saw their families again Who never saw nine or eleven or tomorrow Who didn't make it home for summer vacations Who couldn't stop whooping and coughing Who couldn't learn English fast enough Who wouldn't fall to their knees often enough

They ran 'til they fell in the meadows and wetlands

There are children in the meadows and wetlands Hostages who were taken to Chilocco

Where they ran from teachers fists and boots Where they ran from bounty-hunters' cages Where they ran from high collars and hard shoes Where they ran from lye soap in their mouths Where they ran from day and night Where they ran until wolves outran them Their teeth in the meadows and wetlands

There are children in the meadows and wetlands Hostages who were taken to Carlisle Who go to build the school buildings Who got Christian burials without coffins Who got a mass grave with their friends Who got plowed under for a football field Who got embedded in concrete for the stadium Who got to be the practice site for the Washington Redskins Because they ran to the meadows and wetlands

There are children in the meadows and wetlands Native children ran there to hide

You can see their clothes in museums You can see their pipe bags at the opera You can see bands marching on their hallowed ground You can see mascots dancing over their dead bodies You can imagine their hair long and beautiful again Safe from teachers and scissors at last These children in the meadows and wetlands

Appendix 3/ "The False Face Masks and the Indian Museum Guards" by Suzan Shown Harjo

The Indian museum guards were tired They'd been on their feet for hours This was the time, after midnight To sit by the main entrance and rest

The false facemasks were tired They'd been stuck behind glass for decades This was the time, between dusk and dawn To take their medicine and escape

The guards didn't look at the glass cases anymore The mummified woman gave them the willies The shrunken heads seemed to look at them The baby cords in beaded turtles moved around

The faces missed the smell of burning tobacco And the songs and rattles that went with smoke Today, someone scattered tobacco leaves under the case And the faces had their first good meal in years

The guards got yelled at for the leaves on the floor When they said no one was in the vicinity They grumbled while sweeping the exhibit area And noticed that someone had been smoking there

The ancestors of the guards were from Africa And their families told them about some magic things They had not seen many Indians in the Indian museum But they still had seen some Indian magic things

The ancestors of the faces were Haudenosaunee visions One was older, with more of a twist to his nose and mouth Both were dressed with small buckskin pouches Filled with medicine from their last healing dance

The faces were doctors and they missed curing people They worked at night and always finished by dawn The younger one knew how to mend war wounds The elder specialized in unexplained pain

The faces missed the society of humans in longhouses And the company of Faces carved in trees in the woods They were excited to hear the man with the tobacco say "We need your help; it's time to come home"

The faces left the museum that night, without disturbing anything Except the guards, who left right behind them The exhibit cases had been closed for 30 years And showed no signs of being opened that night

The guards said nothing moved but the masks and swore that They heard a sound like heavy rain on plastic, maybe a signal They saw the masks float through the glass of the exhibit case And through the revolving door, and disappear outside The guards said the masks just walked out of the museum They did not look to the left or to the right The masks left like they were never going back The guards swore they would not go back either

The Indian museum never explained the incident The guards never returned to the Indian museum The faces never returned to the Indian museum The faces in the woods at Onondaga are smiling

Appendix 4/ "Sacred Ground II" by Suzan Shown Harjo

eagles disappear into the sun surrounded by light from the face of Creation then scream their way home with burning messages of mystery and power

some are given to snake doctors and ants and turtles and salmon to heal the world with order and patience

some are given to cardinals and butterflies and yellow medicine flowers to heal the world with joy, with joy

some are given to bears and buffalos and human peoples to heal the world with courage and prayer

Messages for holy places in the heart of Mother Earth deep inside the Old Stone Woman whose wrinkles are canyons

in the roaring waters and clear blue streams and bottomless lakes who take what they need

in the forests of grandfather cedars and mountains of grandmother sentinel rocks who counsel 'til dawn

Messages for holy places

where snow thunder warns and summer winds whisper this is Sacred Ground . . .

Many special thanks to Suzan Shown Harjo for the gift of these poems for educational use.

Endnotes

⁵ in Foss, Phillip. *The Clouds Threw This Light*⁴ Proctor, Isaiah. *University City High School*, 2012
⁵ Rosa, Davita. *Edison High School*, 2014
⁶ in Parker, Robert Dale. *Changing is Not Vanishing*⁷ Nerburn, Kent. *The Wisdom of Native Americans*⁸ in Foss, Philip. *The Clouds Threw This Light*⁹ Moore, MariJo. *Genocide of the Mind*¹⁰ in Foss, Philip. *The Clouds Threw This Light*¹¹ in Rosen, Kenneth. *Voices of the Rainbow*, xix
¹² in Foss, Philip. *The Clouds Threw This Light*¹³ Deloria. Vine. Ir

http://www.lehigh.edu/~amsp/2006/02/betty-friedan-quote-and-brief.html
 ²⁶ Niatum, Duane. Harper's Anthology, ix
 ²⁷ in Parker, Robert Dale. Changing is Not Vanishing, 7
 ²⁸ Talahongva, Patti. Expedition Magazine, Winter 2013 issue, 27

- ²⁹ by Allen, Paula Gunn in Moore, MariJo. *Genocide of the Mind*, 305
- ³⁰ Merriam Webster online dictionary, http://www.merriamwebster.com/dictionary/stereotype ³¹http://www.thedrunkenboat.com/szeview.htm ³² in Mcluhan, Terry C. *Touch The Earth*

¹ in Mcluhan, Terry C. *Touch The Earth* ² Rosen, Kenneth. *Voices of the Rainbow* ³ in Foss, Phillip. *The Clouds Threw This Light*

¹³ Deloria, Vine, Jr.

¹⁴ Rose, Wendy.

¹⁵ Barnes, Jim.

¹⁶ Niatum, Duane. *Native American Songs and Poems*,

¹⁷ Rosen, Kenneth. Voices of the Rainbow,

¹⁸ Hogan, Linda.

¹⁹ Niatum, Duane S'Klallum. *Native American Songs and Poems*, 48

²⁰ Louis, Adrian.

²¹ in Parker, Robert Dale. *Changing Is Not Vanishing*, 208-9

 ²² in Parker, Robert Dale. Changing is Not Vanishing, 200 5
 ²³ in Parker, Robert Dale. Changing is Not Vanishing, 194
 ²⁴ in Parker, Robert Dale. Changing is Not Vanishing, 129

²⁵ Friedan, Betty. *The Feminine Mystique*, in