the Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute (1993). An excellent introduction to the gambling issue is provided in several articles published in the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* (July 26, 1993). For the larger picture, see David Johnston, *Temples of Chance* (1993).

Peter Matthiessen's *Indian Country* is also the main source for the account of recent political issues, including the G-O Road and Point Conception controversies in California. The account of the anti-Indian backlash is based largely on Margaret L. Knox's "The New Indian Wars," an article first published in the *Los Angeles Times Magazine* and reprinted in the *San Francisco Chronicle,* November 28, 1993. See also Donald L. Parman's discussion of the backlash in his *Indians and the American West in the Twentieth Century* (1994). Two excellent accounts of the repatriation issue are Steve Heimoff, "Angle of Repose," *The East Bay Express* (July 21, 1989) and Chris Raymond, "Reburial of Indian Remains Stimulates Studies, Friction among Scholars," *The Chronicle of Higher Education* (October 3, 1990). For a complete story, see Roger C. Echo-Hawk and Walter R. Echo-Hawk, *Battlefields and Burial Grounds* (1994).

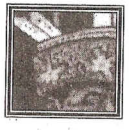
Other sources for this chapter include articles in the *New York Times, Washington Post, Arizona Republic, Seattle Times, Santa Rosa Press-Democrat, San Francisco Chronicle, San Francisco Examiner, Business Week, Forbes, Time, Newsweek, News from Native California* and *Native Peoples Magazine.*

HARBRACE BOOKS ON AMERICA

SINCE 1945

7

BETWEEN TWO WORLDS



ESSENTIAL TO THE NATIVE American struggle for self-determination in the late twentieth century was the preservation and revival of traditional Indian cultures. Underlying the battles over economic development and political power was a deep and abiding concern about the survival of traditional religions, languages, and aspects of material culture. Individual tribes and pan-Indian organizations developed a variety of new and creative ways to live successfully in the modern world while also keeping the old ways alive. Native artists produced works that balanced tradition and innovation in a fine arts movement that won widespread critical acclaim.

NATIVE AMERICAN RELIGIONS

Concern about preserving traditional cultures—and traditional religions in particular—was one of the bonds that united young activists and tribal elders in the 1960s and 1970s. This concern led to the historic meeting in Santa Fe between Native American college students and tribal elders in 1954 and to the moving encounter eighteen years later between leaders of the American Indian Movement (AIM) and Sioux elders at the Sun Dance on the Rosebud reservation in South Dakota (see chapter 5). "No one had dreamed," observed Sioux historian Vine Deloria, Jr., "that the offshoot of activism [would be] to revive the inherent strengths of basic tribal beliefs." Elders

and spiritual leaders from many tribes gathered in 1970 on the Crow reservation in Montana to form the North American Indian Ecumenical Movement. The delegates professed the sacredness of "Mother Earth," the centrality of Indian prophecy, and the importance of spiritual powers possessed by ritual specialists. Activists in the mid-1970s began to emphasize the more personal religious side of their message of Indian empowerment; Tuscarora firebrand Wallace "Mad Bear" Anderson toured the country lecturing on Indian spirituality.

Passage of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act in 1978 encouraged further the revival of traditional religions. The act directed federal agencies to eliminate regulations that prevented Native Americans from performing traditional ceremonies or deprived them of access to sacred places on government land. Access thus was guaranteed to places such as the Medicine Wheel, a circle of stones located on national forest land high in the Big Horn Mountains of northern Wyoming. Spiritual leaders from the Crow, Northern Cheyenne, and Arapaho tribes once again conducted religious ceremonies there, just as their ancestors had centuries ago. "The Medicine Wheel is our church," explained Crow elder John Hill. "We have worshipped here since before the birth of Christ." When his tribe was deeply divided in the late 1980s, Hill fasted and prayed at the Medicine Wheel for four days, seeking guidance from the Creator God *Akbaatatdia*. Following Operation Desert Storm, tribal members gathered at the Medicine Wheel to give thanks for the safe homecoming of loved ones. Crow elder Art Bigman expressed the view of many of his fellow tribesmen, "I hope and pray that the Medicine Wheel will remain a sacred place for my grandchildren and their children."

The religious revival among Native people had been prophesied many years earlier by Indian spiritual leaders. Following the massacre at Wounded Knee in 1890, a Sioux medicine man had a vision that the Dark Night of the Lakota would last 100 years. The Sacred Hoop, symbol of the Sioux nation's wholeness, would be mended in the seventh generation. Evidence of the predicted "mending" began to accumulate in the 1970s and 1980s as a new spiritual fervor spread among the Lakota. Only a few hundred of the 8,000 residents on the Cheyenne River reservation still practiced traditional Lakota religion in earlier decades, but by 1990 one out of four openly worshiped the Great Spirit and sought the services of Lakota spiritual leaders. On the centennial of the Wounded Knee massacre, 350 Sioux horsemen gathered at the site and celebrated a rite of deliverance called Wiping the

Tears of the Seventh Generation. "*Wolakota,* the peace and harmony of the world of our fathers, is coming back," said Arvol Looking Horse, a Lakota medicine man. "The Sacred Hoop is mending." Looking Horse believed that it was the unique task of his generation to restore the old values and beliefs. His own services as a spiritual leader were much in demand to conduct weddings, funerals, and naming rites; to preside at healing and house-blessing ceremonies; and to offer counseling for marital, family, and substance-abuse problems.

The strength of Native American religious beliefs and practices was also evident among the thousands of assimilated Indians who were members of assorted Christian denominations. Throughout the Northeast and Pacific Northwest, where French priests had once proselytized, and in the Southwest, where Spanish missionaries had been active for centuries, tribes such as the Flatheads and the various Pueblos were largely Roman Catholic. Flourishing Indian congregations of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (the Mormon Church) could be found in most western cities. Native American Baptists, Episcopalians, Methodists, and Presbyterians also held their own worship services on many reservations and in major cities. The largest and most active Native American church in the Los Angeles area was the Assembly of God's Indian Revival Center in Bell Gardens.

Many Native Americans successfully blended Christianity with traditional religions to produce a unique variety of new spiritual practices. The White Mountain Apaches of Arizona combined their fervent Roman Catholicism with such traditional Apache rituals as the Sunrise Ceremonial for adolescent girls. At the Sunrise Ceremonial for eleven-year-old Carla Goseyun in 1990, a local Catholic priest blessed the service with a special mass while an Apache medicine man officiated at four days of traditional dancing, singing, and praying. Prayers were offered to the Creator, *Usen,* and sacred dances were dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary. At the Old Pascua Village, near Tucson, the predominantly Catholic Yaquis still practiced the ancient Deer Dance, invoking the spirit of *Maaso.* The dance was performed on village feast days and at house blessings, as well as on Palm Sunday and Easter. "Our elders performed the Deer Dance long before the Spaniards came here in the early 1600s," explained one young Yaqui dancer in 1993. "The Spaniards brought Christian beliefs to us that we blended with our own traditions." On the Pine Ridge reservation in South Dakota, Our Lady of the Sioux Catholic Church placed traditional images of the peace pipe and the thunderbird next to its statues of