

# Native American and Indigenous Philosophy



SPRING 2018

VOLUME 17 | NUMBER 2

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Agnes B. Curry

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APA NEWSLETTER ON

# Native American and Indigenous Philosophy

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AGNES B. CURRY, EDITOR

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## FROM THE MANAGING EDITOR

Agnes B. Curry  
UNIVERSITY OF SAINT JOSEPH

This edition of the newsletter continues a focus on pedagogy and outreach—of teaching Native American and Indigenous philosophy and of creating supports for Native American and other underrepresented students so that more see college and further study of philosophy as live options for themselves.

The first article, by Andrea Sullivan-Clarke of Bellevue College, details Native students' responses to their experience at the Inclusive Summer High School Institute for Philosophy (ISHIP) a week-long summer enrichment program in philosophy designed for underrepresented high schoolers held in 2017 at DePauw University. The insights offered by these students support Sullivan-Clarke's claim that "if institutions of higher learning are serious about encouraging Native youth to pursue their academic goals, they should create and support more opportunities pre-college enrichment programs like ISHIP."

The second continues our project of highlighting innovative syllabi designed to bring Native American and Indigenous philosophy into undergraduate philosophy classrooms. Alexander Guerrero of Rutgers University details the genesis of his course combining African, Latin American, and Native American philosophy and designed to raise for philosophical consideration the issues, themes, and challenges these perspectives share.

Finally, Rachel Phillips offers a detailed review of Delphine Red Shirt's study of the warrior narratives of George Sword and makes the case that these narratives could be seen as primary source material for examining issues in ontology and epistemology, as well as philosophy of language, philosophy or literature, and philosophy of culture. George Sword was an Oglala Lakota (1846–1914) who learned to write in order to transcribe and preserve his people's oral narratives. Phillips is an independent scholar and musician in the San Francisco Bay area; her presentations include "Joint Intentionality at a Pow Wow" given at the Berkeley Social Ontology Group in fall 2014. Phillips also assists in communication projects for Lakota Red Nations (<http://lakotarednations.com/>) and wants to note her indebtedness to both Lakota Red Nations founder Kelly Looking Horse and author Delphine Red Shirt, as well as to Jennifer Hudin and John Searle "for their insight and constancy in fusing rigorous philosophical thought with contemporary concerns."

As opening the doors to our profession certainly counts as an urgent contemporary concern, we hope you find the perspectives offered in this issue useful for sparking your own thinking. We welcome responses to these or past articles.

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## SUBMISSION GUIDELINES

We invite you to submit your work for consideration for publication in the fall 2018 newsletter.

We welcome work that foregrounds the philosophical, professional, and community concerns regarding Native American philosophers and philosophers of all global Indigenous nations. We welcome comments and responses to work published in this or past issues. Editors do not limit philosophical methods, modes, or literatures, as long as the work engages in substantive and sustained re-centering of the philosophical conversation to focus on Native American and Indigenous concerns. Nor do we limit the format of what can be submitted: we accept a range of submission formats, including and not limited to papers, opinion editorials, transcribed dialogue interviews, book reviews, poetry, links to oral and video resources, cartoons, artwork, satire, parody, and other diverse formats. In all cases, however, any references should follow the *Chicago Manual of Style* and include endnotes rather than in-text citations except for extensive reference to a single source.

For further information, please see the Guidelines for Authors available on the APA website. **The submission deadline for the fall 2018 newsletter is June 15, 2018.** Please submit copies electronically to Agnes Curry at [acurry@usj.edu](mailto:acurry@usj.edu).

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## ARTICLES

### *Listening to Our Future: On Pre-College Outreach and Enrichment for Native Youth*

Andrea Sullivan-Clarke  
BELLEVUE COLLEGE

With the generous support provided by a Diversity and Inclusion Grant from the American Philosophical Association (APA), I—along with a dedicated team at the Janet Prindle Institute for Ethics—spearheaded the development of a

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summer enrichment program for high school students from social groups historically underrepresented in philosophy. Affectionately dubbed the *Inclusive Summer High School Institute for Philosophy* (ISHIP 2017), the program took place on the campus of DePauw University from June 25 to July 2, 2017. The primary goal of the program was to introduce the discipline of philosophy and its utility to a select group of high school juniors with the hopes of encouraging students to apply to college, especially those who were first-generation students. ISHIP created a philosophically inclusive space for all of its participants, and the program especially benefited from the expertise of a diverse faculty—Rachel McKinnon (College of Charleston), Robin Dembroff (Yale University), and Timothy Brown (University of Washington)—who engaged students through classes, activities, and their own research. The student participants of ISHIP 2017 not only learned about what philosophy has to offer, but they also enjoyed the college experience by attending courses, living in the dorms, and using the dining facilities.

Of the eighteen students who participated in ISHIP 2017, two students identified as Native American, Amy (Navajo Nation) and Ellen (Muskogee Nation).<sup>1</sup> Making space for Native students in pre-college enrichment programs is important if we want to see more Native students attending college. According to the most recent report from the National Center for Education, the numbers concerning Native students—such as whether they live in poverty, actually graduate from high school, are accepted into college, and graduate with a two- or four-year degree—are disheartening but understandable.<sup>2</sup> The effects of colonialism have been devastating. Most of us are familiar with the general history: tribes were removed to remote areas of the country, and a lack of opportunities coupled with the psychological effects of abusive social policies have left Native communities to deal with depression, PTSD, alcoholism, substance abuse, and violence. In addition, policies that contributed to the creation of urban Indians or Native people without tribal affiliation/support (like termination and tribal relocation) have made it difficult for Native high schoolers to know their own culture and language, let alone provide the opportunities to interact and learn from other Native students. For these reasons—the need for comradery, cultural exchange, and the development of cultural capital regarding academia—I actively sought Native participants for ISHIP 2017 by advertising in Native American media, tribal education offices, and social media groups.

In this paper, I present the feedback and viewpoints of Amy and Ellen.<sup>3</sup> As we shall see, each has a unique perspective regarding the benefits of ISHIP, but they both agree that participating in ISHIP positively contributed to their personal identity as Native Americans. After considering the multiple advantages of the program, I suggest that if institutions

of higher learning are serious about encouraging Native youth to pursue their academic goals, they should create and support more opportunities for pre-college enrichment programs like ISHIP.

Amy and Ellen both identify as being mixed-race Native American, and although each retains membership in her tribe, neither lives in the local area of the tribe’s community. Amy resides in an urban area in Arizona, and Ellen is the daughter of a military family and has never lived in the lands (eight counties in Oklahoma) of the Muskogee Nation.<sup>4</sup>

Both students are active both in and outside of their schools. Amy is a member of the Morning Star Leaders, Inc. (MSL) and has served as president of the MSL Youth Council.<sup>5</sup> An aspiring activist, she has previously condemned the use of “Redskin” as a team mascot in the National Football League and has been critical of others using this issue to divide Native peoples. After completing ISHIP, Amy planned to travel, speaking on other issues facing Native Americans today.

Like most high schoolers, Amy had only a brief introduction to Western philosophy; she was quick to point out that the traditional canon seemed so different from the teachings in her tribe. She further noted that her parents were not familiar with the materials she was studying at school. She looked forward to attending ISHIP and expressed an interest in learning more about philosophy, particularly to compare it with the traditional ways of her people.



One of the attractions of ISHIP for Amy was to join other, like-minded students from different cultures and experiences to exchange information and work toward “making the world a better place” for everyone.<sup>6</sup>

Students attended small group “classes” during the day, and these conversations often spilled over into meal times. The dining hall was a hub for the exchange of ideas and philosophical discussions on topics like argumentation, free will, and epistemic injustice.

Amy appreciated not only having another Native student to exchange ideas with, but she also noted that having a Native American faculty member serve as a role model and mentor was inspiring. I had the opportunity to have one-on-one dinner conversations with several of the students at ISHIP. During one of these conversations, Amy and I talked about my impression of teaching Native American philosophy for the first time and what my non-native students did not know about history. I shared some of my research on Native identity and how a distinctly Native American philosophy exists in the creation stories of Native tribes. We talked about the divisiveness that often appears in tribal membership practices.

Amy is very interested in researching what tribes might overlook if they focus strictly on the movement to indigenize

and decolonize practices and thoughts. She notes, “sometimes we get so caught up in trying to decolonize that we ignore the Western knowledge out there”—knowledge that may be useful to those whose daily life involves navigating the Western and the traditional ways of being. She is optimistic that Western knowledge has its uses for learning to maintain the balance that Native youth have to do regularly. Not only is it important to have Native faculty as role models, but “they can give insight into a Native student’s background . . . understand where they’re coming from and advocate for them.”<sup>7</sup>

The need for a diverse and inclusive space was the primary attraction for Ellen. In her application, Ellen wrote that she had been introduced to philosophical concepts, like utilitarianism or deontological ethics, at her high school but had not had formal training in philosophy. For example, a teacher might introduce trolley problems to motivate a discussion, but they did not venture into the theories underwriting the motivations for choosing whether or not to pull the switch. Ellen plays a leadership role in the high school jazz choir and she is a member of an after-school service organization and works part-time at a fitness club. Her reason for applying to ISHIP was that it offered the opportunity to learn about a novel subject in a nonthreatening and welcoming environment. She was not sure what to expect. After all, school counselors, parents, and teachers often talk about attending college, but for a high schooler, the thought of college can be overwhelming. ISHIP was a chance to make applying and attending college a little less threatening.

Living in an upper middle-class suburban area, Ellen attends a predominantly white high school. As Ellen observes, her school lacks substantive diversity in terms of faculty, students, and even curriculum. Because she is mixed-race, any claim to Native heritage is often greeted with, “you don’t look like an Indian.” At her school, Ellen notes that it isn’t easy holding certain views given the homogeneity of the student body. “We talk about diversity all the time, but we are not a diverse place.”<sup>8</sup> For example, student groups that support historically marginalized individuals (like the Queer Student Alliance) struggle to keep attendance, and the school has experienced some racial tension, such as “It is okay to be white” posters appearing on or near school grounds.

Another benefit of ISHIP was that it afforded Ellen the chance to participate in her first ethics bowl. As part of the program, ISHIP students were separated into three teams and provided with the training to compete in an ethics bowl at the end of the program. Students in the teams formed close bonds throughout the week by “helping develop each other’s thoughts and responses to the case studies” and “anticipating the responses from other teams.”<sup>9</sup> The positive experience at ISHIP gave Ellen the confidence to establish an ethics bowl team at her own school. Even though it is only in the development stage, such a project provides leadership opportunities as well as confidence.

Like Amy, Ellen appreciated having conversations with both Native faculty and another Native student, especially one from a different tribe. According to Ellen, “having another

Native American was so cool because talking to them and listening to their experiences made you open up your mind to other ways of thinking.” In addition, Ellen added, “I think more Native students would be interested in participating in this program if they thought there’d be at least one other Native American there.” Through the grant provided by the APA and the Prindle Institute, ISHIP generously covered travel expenses for our students; Amy and Ellen both traveled from the Western US to attend. They risked trying something new, and they were rewarded with the friendships and mentors they discovered in the program.

For Amy and Ellen, ISHIP not only enabled them to interact with students and faculty in an informal environment, it also helped them prepare for their college applications. All ISHIP students were asked to create a short list of their prospective colleges and to research the essay requirements of each. The assistance given concerning writing the essay for the college application was particularly useful for students who were the first in their family to apply to college.

When talking to students and faculty about the college application process at the end of the program, both described how valuable and worthwhile it was. For example, Ellen was not sure what to expect when writing an essay for the college application. Being introduced to the Common App questions and how to organize an outline was very helpful. While in small groups, students were able to share their initial apprehensions about writing for an unfamiliar audience; most had only written papers for their high school instructors. The faculty proved themselves invaluable by providing one-on-one attention to their students. If we think about the number of Native students that graduate from high school and continue on to college, in addition to the number of those who are first-generation college students, the additional assistance with preparing college applications is one way to help ensure the success of our Native students. It is easy to see how philosophy could be useful in this area, and what better way to encourage more majors than by introducing the discipline to students before they come to college?

In general, the ISHIP program was well received by its student and faculty participants. The faculty was amazed at the cohesiveness of the group. In fact, ISHIP students have created their own ISHIP Snapchat and they have a Facebook page. The involvement of ISHIP faculty was not limited to the weeklong program. They have maintained contact with and have provided encouragement to their students as they send off their college applications. Currently, we are waiting to hear our students report on the status of their college applications.

In the future, I envision other programs, like ISHIP, to help Native students learn about philosophy and how to use it to achieve their dreams. I am currently teaching at a local college, and I have had a couple of students come up to let me know that they are Native and very excited to read works from Native philosophers. Wouldn’t it be great to meet these students before they come to college? Personally, I want to be able to provide them the support that I did not have when I first applied to college. Pre-college enrichment programs are one way in which we can support and follow

the success of our Native students. As I excitedly await the reports from our students concerning the colleges they will attend next year, I am also thinking of the future students who might apply to a summer program and receive the boost they need to begin their higher education.

**NOTES**

1. While this seems like a very small number, bear in mind that often the Native population at a typical university is one student (less than 1 percent). In addition, the students' names have been changed to protect their identities.
2. According to a 2008 report using data from 2006, 27 percent of American Indian and Alaska Natives live in poverty as compared to only 13 percent of the general US population. Seventy-five percent of Native American and Alaska Natives receive the High School diploma as compared to 91 percent of their white peers and 93 percent of Asian Pacific Islanders. At 78 percent, fewer Native American students have access to a computer at home; other groups range from 82 percent to 96 percent. Although enrollment is on the increase, Native Americans and Alaska Natives are only 1 percent of the total enrollment at colleges and universities and less than 1 percent are on the faculty of degree granting universities. See <https://nces.ed.gov/pubs2008/nativetrends/highlights.asp>.
3. I wish to thank these wonderful students for taking time from their busy schedules to provide this information. When told that this article and others would be used to garner support for future ISHIP programs, their response was overwhelming.
4. Full disclosure, Ellen is related to the author.
5. Morning Star Leaders, Inc. is a multi-tribal organization that serves as "a vital community resource to support tribal youth who lived off-reservation residing in urban areas" (Morning Star Leaders, Inc.). See <https://morningstarleaders.org/aboutus/>.
6. Stated in her ISHIP application.
7. Recent conversation, January 2018.
8. Per after ISHIP feedback questionnaire.
9. Recent conversation, January 2018.

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## *A Brief History of a New Course at Rutgers University: Philosophy 366—African, Latin American, and Native American Philosophy*

Alexander Guerrero  
 RUTGERS UNIVERSITY

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Let me start by saying something very general about philosophy. I am with Socrates in thinking that everyone can be a philosopher. You can go up to anyone and start talking philosophy, doing philosophy. Not because it is easy, but because we all are, at least sometimes, trying to understand the world and our place in it, to make sense of our lives, to consider what is meaningful and valuable and beautiful, to evaluate how we ought to live with other people and the other creatures of our world, what is right, fair, good, and to question and scrutinize the answers we give to these questions, and to ask how it is that we can come to know any of these things.

Related to this, we should expect to find philosophy—in various forms and guises—in every place and every time

that we find people. Some might dispute this. They might say things like, in some societies, free thinking about these matters is or was discouraged; conformity to traditionally held beliefs is or was required.

It is true that we could place specific historical and contemporary communities along a kind of continuum: on one end, a very traditional, conformity-encouraging, critical-thinking-discouraging approach; on the other end, a kind of each on her own, figure-it-out-as-you-go-for-yourself approach to answering these questions. Call the former "traditionalist" communities. Call the latter "critical questioning" communities. There are a few things to note, even if we accept this picture. First, it is an empirical question where any particular community ought to be placed on this continuum, and there is a history of racist assumptions about different historical and contemporary communities in this regard. Second, even in relatively traditionalist communities, there may still be individuals who press against this general cultural norm or expectation—there may still be philosophers everywhere, even if they are required to be secretive or subtle in how and when they develop their philosophical ideas. Third, even in relatively traditionalist communities, there is still significant philosophical work to be done in developing the tradition, assessing what the tradition actually holds or what guidance it should be understood to provide as new cases are presented, testing whether parts of the tradition come into conflict, and figuring out what the right response is in the case of conflict. Finally, traditionalist answers to these questions are still answers, and we should be open to the possibility that they are correct, perhaps reflecting subtle refinement over time, as we might think in the case of our own local values and views.

Along with thinking that there are philosophers everywhere, engaging with foundational questions about the world and human existence in recognizably philosophical ways, my own view is that there are better and worse answers to these foundational philosophical questions. There might even be correct and incorrect answers to them. As soon as one goes in for that, though, some worries emerge. Do I think what I do about these issues just because of the way I was raised, the people and schools and society and culture around me, the testimony and other kinds of evidence I have encountered just by walking an ordinary path through this time-slice of the world? Why think that I will have found the truth along the way, along this very *particular* way? How lucky that would be!

There is a familiar joke (or parable, or thought experiment) that goes like this. A police officer sees a drunk person searching for something under a streetlight. The officer asks the drunk person what he is looking for. The drunk person says he is looking for his house keys. The two look under the streetlight together for a while. After a few minutes, the officer asks whether the drunk person is sure he lost them here by the side of the road under the streetlight. The drunk person replies, "no, I lost them in the park across the street." The officer, puzzled, asks why he is searching here in the road. The drunk person replies, "this is where the light is."

The “streetlight effect” is the name of a kind of observational or investigational bias that occurs when people are searching for something but look only where it is easiest, rather than all the places where the thing might be.

There may be many reasons to study and teach and engage with African, Latin American, and Native American philosophy. My reasons have been connected to the above ideas: the best, most interesting, and even the correct answers to philosophical questions that interest me might be found anywhere. They might be found in places that others have not spent much time looking. If we think there are genuine answers here, we should be concerned about parochialism. And we should be concerned about the streetlight effect.

There are other reasons that might resonate with students and professional philosophers. Work in these philosophical traditions has been ignored or neglected for racist reasons, and so engaging with this work has a political dimension. Perhaps a person has personal ties to African, Latin American, or Native American people or traditions and so the work is of personal interest. Also, it is genuinely enjoyable and exciting to encounter perspectives that are significantly different from one’s own, and it is similarly exciting to see significant commonality across apparently very different communities—at least that has been my experience.

## 2

This is the short description for the course (which I believe is the first of its kind):

*This course is an introduction to indigenous and contemporary philosophical work from Africa, Latin America, and Native America, covering topics in ethics, metaphysics, epistemology, philosophy of mind, aesthetics, social philosophy, and political philosophy. This philosophical work has largely been excluded from the study and practice of philosophy in North America, Europe, and Australia. The course aims to give work from these traditions greater exposure and to provide a chance for students to encounter work that might spark an interest in future research. We will cover in some depth philosophical views from the Akan, Andean, Aztec/Nahua, Dogon, Igbo, Iroquois, Lakota, Maya, Navajo, Ojibwa, and Yoruba traditions.*

When I talk to people about the course, I get three main reactions.

First, people seem interested. Maybe people are just being nice, but I generally sense genuine interest and excitement. Others are interested, but it seems to come from a more skeptical place: Are these philosophical topics, traditions, subfields, what? But there is a lot of emotion and engagement.

Second, people often say something like, how is it that you are competent to teach this? Where did you learn this material? People say this, too, with varying degrees of suspicion.

Third, people often want to know why teach all of these three—African, Latin American, and Native American philosophy—together.

Let me say here what I have said to people in person.

On the first, let me just comment that I think there is a great deal of potential interest in these subjects, both among professional philosophers and students. (I think there is a supply problem, not a demand problem—a point I will come back to.) Some of that is the feeling that interesting ideas might come from anywhere. A bit of it might be a troubling form of exoticization. But I think much more comes from the feeling that racism and imperialism and Eurocentrism have played a large role in explaining why many people working in philosophy have never encountered work from any of these traditions. Philosophy is far behind other academic and humanistic fields such as literature, art, religion, music, and history on this front. I think a big part of the reaction I get is just, I’ve never heard of work in these areas; I’ve never encountered it in a class; what is it all about? So my sense is that there are real opportunities here. At both the University of Pennsylvania (where I first was developing the idea for the course) and then at Rutgers University (where I moved last year), the idea for the course was met with nothing but interest and enthusiasm from everyone to whom I spoke: students, other faculty, and those responsible for approving new courses.

On the second, the question of how I am qualified or competent to teach this course, the short answer is that I’m not. At least not if the requirement for being competent to teach a course is that one is researching in an area or at least that one has taken a course or two in the area. Happily, there aren’t any requirements quite like that in any official sense. One reason that is a good thing is that we would otherwise be in a bit of a catch-22 situation, since far too few people have been exposed to African, Latin American, or Native American philosophy in their own philosophical educations. There will need to be a generation or two of professors who teach the subjects while being a bit out of their depth. Or at least that is my thinking in teaching the course. I was fortunate enough to learn much of what I know about African philosophy from K. Anthony Appiah. He very generously offered to teach an independent study course to a few undergraduates, including me, on the subject. What I know of Latin American and Native American philosophy I have learned through my own reading and talking to experts. There are many wonderful resources out there, including the *APA Newsletters*, the *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (which is slowly getting more coverage of these areas), a number of fantastic edited anthologies, and syllabi that have been posted online and in venues like this one. After that, it’s just a matter of digging in and doing one’s best to learn and engage with the material.

On the third question—Why these three areas together?—I think there are two main sets of reasons. The first are boring practical reasons: I think all of this material is very interesting, but there are few, if any, places where there might be courses regularly offered on each of the three areas. My hope is to give people some basic framework

and orientation to each of the three areas so that they might go further in depth if their interest is piqued.

But the second set of reasons is more philosophically motivated. There are interesting interconnections, issues, themes, and obstacles that help justify teaching a course covering all three of African, Latin American, and Native American philosophy together. In particular, there are a number of related meta-philosophical issues that emerge with work from all three areas, allowing for interesting cross-discussion. Some of these issues are as follows: Are these really proper subfields of philosophy? How do we make sense of the idea of African (or Latin American, or Native American) philosophy as a field? Are there philosophically important differences between oral traditions and written traditions? What kinds of texts and artifacts can present philosophical views? How should we understand “ethnophilosophy” and cultural worldviews as philosophical contributions? How should we distinguish philosophical views from religious ones? How should we think of the “sage” figure in relation to philosophy? How do these traditions engage discussions of identity, authenticity, autonomy, and postcolonialism? Should this work be incorporated into the mainstream philosophical canon?

I don’t think there are simple answers to these questions, but I do think that engaging in a detailed way with this work is a necessary first step to thinking about them in a serious way and helps us to think more about what philosophy is and ought to be. I will be teaching the course for the first time this upcoming year; I would welcome questions or comments on the syllabus or related issues. There are many choices that I expect to revisit after offering the course a few times, including whether it makes sense to integrate discussion of philosophical views from these different traditions on specific topics more throughout the course.

### PHILOSOPHY 366: AFRICAN, LATIN AMERICAN, AND NATIVE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHY

**Catalog Description:** Introduction to contemporary and indigenous philosophy from Africa, Latin America, and Native America, covering topics in ethics, metaphysics, epistemology, mind, and social and political philosophy. Philosophy from Akan, Andean, Aztec/Nahua, Dogon, Igbo, Iroquois, Lakota, Maya, Navajo, Ojibwa, and Yoruba traditions will be discussed. Meta-philosophical issues will also be discussed, including: written v. oral traditions, ethnophilosophy v. individualism, parochialism v. universalism.

**Professor Alexander Guerrero**  
 Email: alex.guerrero@rutgers.edu  
 Office: Department of Philosophy, 106 Somerset,  
 Office 516

#### COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course is an introduction to indigenous and contemporary philosophical work from Africa, Latin America, and Native America, covering topics in ethics, metaphysics, epistemology, philosophy of mind, aesthetics, social philosophy, and political philosophy.

This philosophical work has largely been excluded from the study and practice of philosophy in North America, Europe, and Australia. The course aims to give work from these traditions greater exposure and to provide a chance for students to encounter work that might spark an interest in future research.

We will cover in some depth philosophical views from the Akan, Andean, Aztec/Nahua, Dogon, Igbo, Iroquois, Lakota, Maya, Navajo, Ojibwa, and Yoruba traditions.

We will read work by a variety of authors and philosophers, including:

*African Philosophy:* Kwame Gyekye, Barry Hallen, Ptah-hotep, Paulin Hountondji, Julius Nyerere, Nkiru Nzegwu, Henry Odera Orika, J. Olubi Sodipo, Zera Yacob

*Latin American Philosophy:* Gloria Anzaldúa, Enrique Dussel, Jorge J.E. Gracia, James Maffie, Alexus McLeod, Susana Nuccetelli, Mariana Ortega, Carlos Alberto Sanchez, Ofelia Schutte, José Vasconcelos

*Native American Philosophy:* Sa-Go-Ye-Wet-Ha, John (Fire) Lame Deer, Vine Deloria, Jr., Frank Black Elk, Gregory Cajete, Irving Hallowell, George Hamell, Kent Nerburn, Marianne Nielsen, Anne Waters

Throughout, we will also engage with related meta-philosophical issues that emerge with work from all three areas, allowing for interesting cross-discussion. Are these really proper subfields of philosophy? How do we make sense of the idea of African (or Latin American, or Native American) philosophy as a field? Are there philosophically important differences between oral traditions and written traditions? What kinds of texts and artifacts can present philosophical views? How should we understand ethnophilosophy and cultural worldviews as philosophical contributions? How should we distinguish philosophical views from religious ones? How should we think of the “sage” figure in relation to philosophy? How do these traditions engage discussions of identity, autonomy, and postcolonialism? Should this work be incorporated into the mainstream philosophical canon?

#### REQUIRED TEXTS

There are no required texts. Readings will be made available online through the Sakai site for the course and through course reserves in the library.

#### METHOD OF ASSESSMENT

- (A) 2 Short Papers (10% each, 20% total)
  - 1,000 to 1,500 words
  - details to follow in class
- (B) 3 Quizzes (10% each, 30% total)
  - multiple choice and true-false quizzes
- (C) In-Class Group and Individual Participation (25% total, roughly 1% for each day of class)
  - Attendance is necessary, but not sufficient!
  - Based on engagement and effort in argument groups (more on this in class)

- (D) Longer Paper (25% total)
- 2,000 to 2,500 words
  - details to follow in class

**LEARNING OUTCOME GOALS FOR THE COURSE**

- (1) to be able to read and understand philosophical views presented in a variety of forms
- (2) to be able to present (in discussion and in writing) views that differ from your own, and to do so in a way that is fair to the proponents of those views
- (3) to acquire the critical skills necessary for evaluating ideas and arguments
- (4) to be able to construct coherent arguments in support of your views
- (5) to be able to write clearly and in an organized manner
- (6) to be able to discuss complex philosophical ideas with others in ways that are respectful to each other and to the material

**PLAGIARISM AND ACADEMIC INTEGRITY**

You are expected to be familiar with and adhere to the Rutgers University policies on plagiarism and academic integrity. Penalties for violations of these policies can be severe, including an automatic failing grade for the course and worse. This document provides a comprehensive overview of those policies:

[https://slwordpress.rutgers.edu/academicintegrity/wp-content/uploads/sites/41/2014/11/AI\\_Policy\\_2013.pdf](https://slwordpress.rutgers.edu/academicintegrity/wp-content/uploads/sites/41/2014/11/AI_Policy_2013.pdf)

**ACCESSIBILITY**

I want this class to be a great and educational experience for all of you, and all of you are entitled to equal access to educational opportunities at Rutgers.

Disabled students are encouraged to speak with me if that would be helpful and to avail themselves of the services provided by the Office of Disability Services: <https://ods.rutgers.edu/>

**PLAN FOR COURSE AND READINGS**

All readings are posted on Sakai on the course website.

Day	Topic	Reading
1	Introduction: What is Philosophy? Is there really _____ Philosophy?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Susana Nuccetelli, "Latin American Philosophy," in <i>A Companion to Latin American Philosophy</i></li> <li>• Vine Deloria, Jr., "Philosophy and the Tribal Peoples," in <i>American Indian Thought: Philosophical Essays</i></li> </ul>
<b>Part I – African Philosophy</b>		
2	The Long History: What is "African" Philosophy?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Barry Hallen, <i>A Short History of African Philosophy</i>, Chapter 1, "The Historical Perspective"</li> <li>• Ptah-hotep, "The Moral Teachings of Ptah-hotep"</li> <li>• Zera Yacob, <i>Hatata</i> (excerpts)</li> </ul>
3	The Early 20th Century: Anthropology and/or Philosophy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Marcel Griaule, <i>Conversations with Ogotemmêli</i> (excerpts)</li> <li>• Placide Tempels, <i>Bantu Philosophy</i> (excerpts)</li> </ul>
4	Independence and Ordinary Language Philosophy: Yoruba Epistemology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• J. Olubi Sodipo and Barry Hallen, <i>Knowledge, Belief, and Witchcraft</i> (excerpts)</li> </ul>
5	Independence and Ordinary Language Philosophy: Akan Philosophy of Mind	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kwame Gyekye, <i>An Essay on African Philosophical Thought: The Akan Conceptual Scheme</i> (excerpts)</li> </ul>
6	Independence and Ordinary Language Philosophy: Yoruba Ethical Theory	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Barry Hallen, <i>The Good, The Bad, and The Beautiful: Discourse about Values in Yoruba Culture</i> (excerpts)</li> </ul>
7	The Charge of "Ethnophilosophy"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Paulin Hountondji, <i>African Philosophy: Myth and Reality</i> (excerpts)</li> </ul>
8	Response to "Ethnophilosophy": Refined Method	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• J. Olubi Sodipo and Barry Hallen, <i>Knowledge, Belief, and Witchcraft</i>, Afterword</li> </ul>



9	Response to "Ethnophilosophy": Sage Philosophy and Philosophical Individualism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Henry Odera Oruka, <i>Sage Philosophy: Indigenous Thinkers and the Modern Debate on African Philosophy</i> (excerpts)</li> <li>Henry Odera Oruka, "Sagacity in African Philosophy"</li> </ul>
10	Response to "Ethnophilosophy": Contemporary Philosophical Individualism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Julius Nyerere, "Ujamaa: The Basis of African Socialism"</li> <li>Nkiru Nzegwu, <i>Family Matters: Feminist Concepts in African Philosophy of Culture</i> (excerpts)</li> </ul>
<b>Part II – Latin American Philosophy</b>		
11	Pre-Columbian Philosophy: Introduction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>James Maffie, "Pre-Columbian Philosophies," in <i>A Companion to Latin American Philosophy</i></li> <li>Alexus McLeod, <i>Philosophy of the Ancient Maya: Lords of Time</i> (excerpts)</li> </ul>
12	Maya Philosophy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Alexus McLeod, <i>Philosophy of the Ancient Maya: Lords of Time</i> (excerpts)</li> </ul>
13	Aztec Philosophy (1)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>James Maffie, <i>Aztec Philosophy: Understanding a World in Motion</i> (excerpts)</li> </ul>
14	Aztec Philosophy (2)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>James Maffie, <i>Aztec Philosophy: Understanding a World in Motion</i> (excerpts)</li> </ul>
15	Mexican Existentialism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Carlos Alberto Sanchez, <i>Contingency and Commitment: Mexican Existentialism and the Place of Philosophy</i> (excerpts)</li> </ul>
16	Philosophy and Liberation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Enrique Dussel, <i>Philosophy of Liberation</i> (excerpts)</li> <li>David Ignatius Gandolfo, "Liberation Philosophy" in <i>A Companion to Latin American Philosophy</i></li> </ul>
17	Philosophy and Liberation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ofelia Schutte, <i>Cultural Identity and Social Liberation in Latin American Thought</i> (excerpts)</li> </ul>
18	The Complexity of Identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Jose Vasconcelos, <i>The Cosmic Race</i> (excerpts)</li> </ul>
19	The Complexity of Identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Jorge J.E. Gracia, "What Makes Hispanics/Latinos Who We Are? The Key to Our Unity in Diversity," in <i>Latin American Philosophy for the 21st Century</i></li> </ul>
20	The Complexity of Identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Gloria Anzaldúa, <i>Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza</i> (excerpts)</li> <li>Mariana Ortega, <i>In-Between: Latina Feminist Phenomenology, Multiplicity, and the Self</i> (excerpts)</li> </ul>
<b>Part III – Native American Philosophy</b>		
21	Approaching Native American Philosophy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Sa-Go-Ye-Wet-Ha, "Speech at Council at Buffalo Creek," in <i>American Philosophies: An Anthology</i></li> <li>Anne Waters, "Language Matters — A Metaphysic of NonDiscreet NonBinary Dualism"</li> </ul>
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23	"Eco-Philosophy" and Science	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Gregory Cajete, <i>Native Science: Natural Laws of Interdependence</i> (excerpts)</li> </ul>
24	Iroquois Metaphysical Views	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>George Hamell, "The Iroquois and the World's Rim: Speculations on Color, Culture, and Contact"</li> </ul>
25	Ojibwa Views on Existence and Personhood	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Irving Hallowell, "Ojibwa Ontology, Behavior, and World View"</li> </ul>
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27	Navajo Legal and Political Philosophy: Peacemaking and Justice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Marianne Nielsen and James Zion, <i>Navajo Nation Peacemaking</i> (excerpts)</li> </ul>
28	The Future of Indigenous Philosophy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Anne Waters, "Structural Disadvantage and a Place at the Table"</li> <li>Linda Tuhiwai Smith, "The Indigenous Peoples' Project: Setting a New Agenda," "Articulating an Indigenous Research Agenda," and "Twenty-Five Indigenous Projects" in <i>Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples</i></li> </ul>

## BOOK REVIEW

### *George Sword's Warrior Narratives: Compositional Processes in Lakota Oral Tradition*

Delphine Red Shirt (University of Nebraska Press, 2016). 360 pp. ISBN: 978-0-8032-8439-5 (Hardcover, 2016); 978-1-4962-0156-0 (Paperback, 2017).

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#### INTRODUCTION

One approach to teaching philosophy is to introduce students to three concepts that absorb much of philosophical inquiry: ontology, epistemology, and philosophy of language.<sup>1</sup> The challenge for instructing Indigenous philosophy is how to convey an account of an Indigenous perspective and experience of those concepts. Oral narratives, translated, transcribed, and examined hermeneutically is one such approach. However, great care is needed to avoid displacing the original content, which transmits important cultural knowledge. How should these narratives be examined? How should they be interpreted? Is there a methodology that can be used that elucidates the text of these narratives in a way that does not disrupt or distort the original intent of the narrator or the cultural matrix from which it is derived?

Delphine Red Shirt's *George Sword's Warrior Narratives: Compositional Processes in Lakota Oral Tradition* demonstrates that this can be done and shows us how. Specifically, she writes that the purpose of her study is to "describe and examine the practice or oral narrative poetry in the work of George Sword in order to identify the factors that make a certain form necessary and then to analyze that form in detail."<sup>2</sup> Broadly, Red Shirt adapts methods of oral literary theory—of analyzing oral narratives so as to examine the formulaic patterns of Lakota oral narratives in particular. While remaining consistently focused on Lakota narratives and even more specifically on the written narratives of George Sword (Oglala Lakota 1846–1914), Red Shirt develops critical methods which can be used to evaluate other oral narratives in other Indigenous cultures. The book primarily contributes to discussion in oral literary theory, especially for Indigenous narratives in which oral tradition recently—or even up to now—constitutes a significant portion of the collected narratives, poetry, and songs. While dense with literary analysis, Red Shirt's study is also rich in cultural content and accessible to any reader familiar with or interested in history and literature. Historians may find the book of interest, as the author diligently refers to markers that situate the narratives in a historical-cultural setting from a Lakota perspective. Readers interested in a closer analysis and multi-layer interpretation of texts of Indigenous context and perspective will also find the book thoughtfully engaging.

My purpose in summarizing and reviewing *George Sword's Warrior Narratives* is to demonstrate why I recommend it as a primary resource book in developing curricula in

Indigenous/Native American/American Indian philosophy broadly or narrowly construed. Studying primary source material can be of tremendous value for students in understanding a people's self-understanding. Yet, without sufficient commentary from someone who has a deep understanding of the language and cultural context of which the source material forms a part, an attempt at an analysis of any sort would be topical at best and distorted at its worst. By summarizing the chapters, I aim to demonstrate the usefulness of the material due to the multiple layers of linguistic, cultural, and historical insight provided by Red Shirt. By briefly drawing attention to the challenges of teaching Indigenous culture from an Indigenous perspective, I hope to reinforce the commitment necessary to do so and, further, to suggest that the author of *George Sword's Warrior Narratives* makes strides in that direction through her diligent analysis and commentary. By commenting further on a selection of George Sword's narratives and Red Shirt's commentary, I hope to illustrate how the book, with its literary translations and commentary, establishes a hermeneutical model by which an exegesis of Lakota text can be formulated—as the author has accomplished and for which reason I recommend it be part of a syllabus treating philosophy from an Indigenous/Native American/American Indian perspective.

The book comprises an introduction, seven chapters, and four appendices of text in Lakota and English, together with analysis and commentary. Red Shirt includes discussions of how the methods she used to analyze and evaluate the narratives serve as principles of hermeneutics for further research in American Indian studies as well as the direction that this research could take. In other words, this book charts a possible course or, to use a more accurate metaphor, blazes a trail for scholars in American Indian studies. Scholars specializing in Indigenous philosophy will find *George Sword's Warrior Narratives* useful as a compendium in working with primary source material. Instructors could find it useful as a supplementary or even primary textbook for doing philosophy comparatively or for introducing ontological, epistemic, and philosophy of language concepts from a specifically Lakota perspective.

#### ADDITIONAL PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

Early in the book Red Shirt establishes the framework of her study. She intends to demonstrate how Lakota oral narratives reflect formulaic structures similar in purpose to those used in oral narratives of European literature. American Indian literature is misunderstood, she observes, because it is not evaluated in its original context. Further, scholars may find it difficult to conceptualize an American Indian oral tradition since they do not recognize the formulaic structures that are used to generate the narratives. These structures may not resemble those of Western European tradition. Thus, she suggests that by analyzing the patterns in Lakota oral narratives that are culturally specific, one can determine the formulas used to structure them. Her working assumption, broadly construed, is that the Lakota, like other Indigenous people, had an oral tradition including poetry and narratives. She notes how oral narratives shifted slightly with European contact and the introduction of writing. Finally, as she states in the book's introduction, the purpose of her study is to prove that the Lakota narratives

that are now transcribed or recorded are oral in character, and to show how the formulaic structure of the narratives support this claim.<sup>3</sup>

#### SUMMARY AND EVALUATION OF THE INTRODUCTION, AND CHAPTERS ONE THROUGH SEVEN

In the book's introduction, Red Shirt summarizes the scope of her research. She examines narratives written late in the nineteenth century by George Sword, Oglala Lakota, in his native language. She makes a selection of these narratives for further examination and analysis. To do this she uses her own deep knowledge of the Lakota language and culture. While there was extensive research on American Indian literature, Red Shirt notes that there was little by way of explaining the origins and structures of narratives, which were created and transmitted *orally*; the literary traditions are derived from an oral one. Red Shirt then asks, how are formulaic structures and expressions used in Lakota oral narratives? A study of style is insufficient, she notes. It is necessary to develop a method of assessing the selection and use of words and phrases for *specific semantic purposes*.<sup>4</sup> Red Shirt turns to the literary theories of Milman Parry (1902–1935) and Albert Lord (1912–1991), whose combined research in the transition from orality to literature is known as the Parry-Lord thesis or theory.<sup>5</sup> She further explains in the introduction how Parry's research demonstrated that early transcriptions of epic poetry and song of European/Asian tradition were oral in origin and that the written transcriptions, which came much later, are usually singular representation of an oral account. Parry's work, and later Lord's, demonstrated that oral narratives contain formulaic expressions that structure and shape them. Red Shirt adapts Parry-Lord's method and develops a model to use for her own analysis of the George Sword narratives. These narratives are examined and analyzed first in the Lakota language and then in English as translated by Red Shirt, herself a tribally enrolled Oglala and a fluent speaker of Lakota. Included in the introduction is a brief survey of some of the first texts written in Lakota. Red Shirt further explains her choice of the narratives of George Sword, a nineteenth-century Oglala Lakota who learned to write so he could preserve the oral traditions of the Lakota in their native language. As she relates, James Riley Walker (1896–1914), the Pine Ridge Agency physician, convinced George Sword he needed to record the legacy of his people so it could be remembered in the new period of cultural upheaval.<sup>6</sup> George Sword recognized the usefulness of learning to read and write so he could record oral narratives that were important to the Lakota people, as these narratives shaped their understanding of the world and their place in it.<sup>7</sup>

As Red Shirt points out, an underlying assumption is that oral accounts precede written accounts. Oral narratives provided cohesion to a people's cultural identity. But how are these narratives constructed, revised, expanded, and transmitted? How do they maintain integrity through intergenerational transmission? What language devices are repeatedly used and why? Red Shirt notes that these questions are common in considering many if not all pre-literature cultures.

Red Shirt saw similar construction patterns in Lakota narratives and asked if this method of analysis might be applied to George Sword's narratives in order to better understand his and, by extension, other Lakota narratives about themselves.<sup>8</sup> She goes further by analyzing original Lakota texts and asking, how can Lakota literature be defined, and why does this matter? In responding to these questions, she brings her own deep knowledge of Lakota language and culture to this study. Her exegesis is as rigorous as it is insightful.

While providing sufficient context to situate the narratives from a Western historical perspective, Red Shirt further explains in the introduction that she uses the Lakota's *winter counts*, a method of record keeping, to corroborate the life and times of George Sword. By doing so, she underscores the importance of referencing time and events in accordance with Lakota thought. She is also providing a decolonized approach enabling a deeper understanding of cultural context as well as a stance from which to look more closely at what is classified as American Indian/Native American/Indigenous literature and what may be left out on current rubrics. She raises important questions about ways of defining and analyzing oral narrative from an Indigenous and tribally specific perspective. She briefly acknowledges the different schools of thought and work that continues to be done. She reiterates her hopes that the method she developed to analyze Lakota literature can be adapted to study other Indigenous literature. She writes: "Presently there is no one Indigenous theory or approach to the definition and interpretation of oral narratives by Indigenous peoples, and what is proposed in this work is a beginning step in the right direction."<sup>9</sup>

*George Sword's Warrior Narratives* provides primary source material and commentary that could be useful in a seminar examining or critiquing methodology and theory of traditional philosophy and its relevance for examining Indigenous wisdom literature. Citing anthropologist Michael F. Brown, Red Shirt summarizes the dilemma scholars face:

Within this environment, Indigenous scholars are pressured to rely on existing methodological approaches and Indigenous practices or to completely break free, reject theory, and in the process find new ways to frame the necessary questions and to identify new methods for analysis based on Indigenous methodologies. Such an approach is based on American Indian intellectual sovereignty that in turn relies on political and cultural sovereignty.<sup>10</sup>

Red Shirt reminds the reader that it is important to examine oral narratives within the cultural context in which they evolved. Her fluency in the language and first-person experience of contemporary Lakota culture enables her to provide a profound analysis of Sword's warrior narratives.<sup>11</sup> She gently but consistently takes an Indigenous approach to this study, for example, consulting the "tribal history of the Lakota people in corroborating George Sword's life history. [In this way] through this account of his life George Sword fully emerges as the individual he is rather than as an 'object of study.'"<sup>12</sup> She notes further, "the inclusion of

his name in the title of this book was a conscious effort to attribute to George Sword, the individual, the telling of these narratives."<sup>13</sup>

The book's introduction also clearly summarizes the subsequent chapters. Taken separately, each of them provides sufficient material to examine philosophical concepts of being and knowing in light of a cultural tradition that relied almost exclusively on oral transmissions of experience and knowledge. Each of the four appendices contains a narrative in Lakota, followed by a literary translation. Closer hermeneutics of passages are introduced and explained in the chapters of the book.

Chapter one, "Lakota Tradition," introduces the reader to some of the problems related to extrapolating linguistic forms of speech which could be constituted as *tradition* and, more specifically, Lakota storytelling. Red Shirt explains key components of oral narratives in general and how structure of the narrative is important in understanding what Lakota oral tradition is in particular. As stated previously, Red Shirt concurs with Parry that tradition determines design and demonstrates how this is reflected in Sword's narratives. In this chapter she discusses the importance of repetition, a literary device to emphasize and reinforce core concepts. Here, she explains that the narratives that she selected were written in the Lakota language using the English alphabet between 1896 and 1910, but in fact, they are derived from a much older oral tradition. These narratives often were sung and in some cases were accompanied by dance, which further explicated the content of the narrative.

Red Shirt also introduces the reader to important elements of syntax in Lakota language as spoken in the latter part of the nineteenth century.<sup>14</sup> After introducing key syntactical patterns, Red Shirt emphasizes that even while making written transcriptions of the narratives, George Sword is "bound by the traditional Lakota style he used," which, she notes, is comprised by an older form of the Lakota language spoken prior to reservation life. She notes, and explains to the reader, the importance of key objects which receive special emphasis through intentional linguistic patterns. These objects, certain animals or landmarks, for example, become an embodiment, as it were, of important cultural information, necessary for survival.<sup>15</sup> She writes:

Cultural knowledge is encoded in each word, including information about the position each creature occupies in the cultural landscape and narrative tradition such as the role of *tusweca*, the dragonfly, in Lakota cultural life and imagination. It is as if he knew that one day the Lakota people would cease to remember ordinary words used to describe the cohabitants of their cultural homelands.<sup>16</sup>

A commentary follows on what she views is a generally insufficient understanding of Lakota culture due to early translations of oral narratives that failed to grasp the semantic significance or original intent of the narratives. Surveys of narratives have been compiled without sufficient analysis of what and how they should be considered Indigenous in the first place.<sup>17</sup> Much of this is due to poor

understanding of American Indian oral tradition, in some cases perhaps coupled with a bias to limit literature to the scope of written text as the etymological root of the word suggests. It's important to recognize that there is "a possibility that pre-literary form of intellectual expression existed before [European] contact."<sup>18</sup> She seeks to provide a deeper understanding of how that expression takes shape in Lakota oral narratives. She acknowledges that Walker, in encouraging Sword to write down the narratives, was aware of the importance of transcription as close to the original intent and perspective of the narrator as possible, and for this reason they are recommended for further research and commentary.<sup>19</sup> The chapter ends with another iteration of the summary of the subsequent chapters as they expand her focus on forms of the compositional process of George Sword's Warrior Narratives.

Chapter two, "Lakota Practice," explains further how form emerged from practice in Lakota oral narratives and linguistic shifts that occurred during George Sword's time as a result of European contact and the practice of written Lakota language. Here she gives a brief summary of the process. As in other cultures, oral narratives gave way to written accounts as reading and writing was adopted by many Lakota people. Prayer books and the Bible were translated into Lakota, thus expanding a repository of written Lakota text. Lakota performers traveling to Europe, for example, in William Cody's Buffalo Bill's Wild West show, wrote letters to their relatives. Yet even during this period, oral narratives were in use as in other cultures, and rhythmical speech was relied on as a mnemonic device.<sup>20</sup>

For those who may be unfamiliar with the importance of oral narratives in American Indian tradition, Red Shirt frequently reminds the reader that it is not possible to grasp the full significance of written text without understanding the context. Storytelling was paramount in transmitting knowledge of varied sorts but significant and necessary for survival and cultural practice. In this chapter she introduces the reader to formulaic structures that comprised the oral narratives used by George Sword and, by inference, his contemporaries for imparting knowledge. George Sword belonged to the *akicita* society, which was responsible for assisting with order in Lakota life.<sup>21</sup> As a warrior, George Sword had a responsibility to pass on knowledge of duties as a Lakota who protects the people. Thus, for example, in the narratives George Sword conveys significant information, including how one fulfills certain practices in a *heyoka* ceremony and how a warrior makes a vow and fulfills it at a sun dance.<sup>22</sup>

Chapter three, "George Sword," introduces the reader to the life and times of George Sword and provides commentary that helps the reader understand the historical events from a Lakota perspective. To do this, Red Shirt includes references ranging from a government briefing of 1891, documenting influential men of the bands of the Teton including George Sword,<sup>23</sup> to the written records of Lakota winter accounts "which provide some historical evidence from the Lakota people themselves as to what he [George Sword], recorded."<sup>24</sup> She gives a brief overview of the organization of the bands of the Tetons, "one of the seven council fires that allied to form political units in

which they kept their independence but acted together for purpose of defense."<sup>25</sup> Throughout this chapter, Red Shirt does a tremendous service to her readers by weaving an immensely rich historical context from a Lakota perspective, while providing events, dates, and places more commonly used in US history books. Thus, for example, she includes No Ears' reference to the cholera epidemic of 1849–1850, which impacted the Plains, named by the Lakota record keeper as the "*nawicatipa*, "cramps," a time when everyone died from the disease.<sup>26</sup>

Red Shirt summarizes George Sword's life, as he himself told it, in a transcription currently held in the Colorado Historical Society Walker Collection, ledger 108:1: "I was born on Muddy Water, the Missouri River, near the mouth of Big Water, the Niobrara River. It was during the *Moon of the Raccoon* [in] February, in the winter when *Eagle Crow was Stabbed*, A.D. 1847." Red Shirt adds that this location is "near the present-day Yankton Indian Reservation and Santee Sioux Indian Reservation"<sup>27</sup> and also refers to winter accounts of other Lakota record keepers to add description and corroboration of the winter account of No Ears.

Red Shirt includes George Sword's own remembrance of his father:

[he was] [*w]asica [w]akan*, a shaman and he was a *pezuta wicasa*, a medicine man. He was a bear medicine man. He was *ozuye wicasa*, a war man, and in the camp he was *akicita*, [a] marshall. He was a Fox, and order among the Oglala Sioux, and a bearer of the *itazipi wakan*, mysterious bow, the banner of the Foxes, the bearer of it on a war party holds a position of especial honor. I have never borne the mysterious bow on a war party. When I was living as an Indian I wished very much to bear the mysterious bow.<sup>28</sup>

She informs the reader that George Sword's father, who died prior to 1856, "seems to have assumed many responsibilities within the tribe, like many of the Oglala Lakota men at that point in tribal and cultural history."<sup>29</sup> Red Shirt notes how Sword states why he was qualified to speak about the Lakota way of life:

I know the old customs of the Lakotas, and all their ceremonies for I was a *wicasa wakan*, and I have conducted all the ceremonies. I have conducted the Sun Dance, which is the greatest ceremony of the Lakotas. The scars on my body show that I have danced the Sun Dance, and no Lakota will dispute my word. . . . I was also a *blota hunka* and have led many war parties against the enemy, both of Indians and white men. The scars on my body show the wounds I have received in battle. So I know the ceremonies of war. I have been on the tribal chase of the buffalo, and know all the ceremonies of the chase. (Walker, *Lakota Belief* 74)<sup>30</sup>

In subsequent pages Red Shirt guides the reader in understanding the significance of George Sword's autobiographical accounts, including his vision quest, from a Lakota perspective. From other accounts, which are

carefully documented for further reference, she chronicles the different names of George Sword (changes of names being a common practice<sup>31</sup>) and that he was a nephew of Red Cloud. Red Shirt briefly summarizes other significant events in Sioux history, including the Peace Commission at Fort Leavenworth in 1867–1868, an eclipse of the sun, 1869–1870, the ongoing battles on the Plains, and the murder of Crazy Horse, which “alone marked the defeat of the Oglala people.”<sup>32</sup>

Red Shirt elaborates further on the significance of name changing in Lakota tradition to mark significant events of in life:

Thus, in what appears to be a mere stating of his name, George Sword in true cultural form, tells of his new identity: “my name is George Sword. My name was given to me when I quit the ways of the Indians and adopted those of the white people. I was then first called Sword. Then when they put my name on the rolls they gave me the name of George. “I took the name *Mila Wakan*, which means mysterious knife.” (Walker Collection, ledger 108:1)<sup>33</sup>

Subjected to reservation life imposed by the US government, Red Shirt notes that as early as August 1874, George Sword and others, including Sitting Bull, were given responsibilities at the Red Cloud Agency, “located on the banks of the White River near Fort Robinson (close to present day Chadron, Nebraska),”<sup>34</sup> corroborating the event with the winter account of American Horse. Red Shirt includes a further description of the role of an *akicita* prior to reservation life; these were men who had specific responsibilities in Oglala camps for maintaining peace and order, preventing senseless murder, and coordinating buffalo hunts and camp moves.<sup>35</sup> Red Shirt’s description underscores how *akicitas*, including Sword, swiftly adapted their skills to help the people through the tumultuous time of forced relocation to the reservations, which culminated tragically in the Wounded Knee Massacre, December 29, 1890. Red Shirt succinctly but poignantly describes Sword’s life in the years that follow, adding commentary and insight that helps the reader understand the complexity of Lakota life in this time period. She cites references documenting Sword’s role as the leader of the US Indian Police until he retired in 1892 at the age of forty-five. He also became a deacon in the Episcopal Church. Here she acknowledges that some scholars question to what extent the writings of Lakota belief by George Sword and his contemporary Nicholas Black Elk were influenced by their acquired religion of Christianity. Red Shirt notes that during this time (up until 1978 with the passing of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act), the Lakota people were forbidden to practice their traditional religious practices under the threat of physical imprisonment. Without opining on the sincerity of their acquired belief and practice of Christianity, Red Shirt stresses that both Black Elk and Sword sought to give an authentic rendition of traditional Lakota religious ritual and practice. Both felt the responsibility of passing on the knowledge of the people to future generations of the Lakota and others. She notes that the form of these narratives are in the old Lakota and informs the reader that

the language and form demonstrate the moral authority of the narratives:

Thus using Lakota oral tradition, he wrote primarily for those fluent in the Lakota language. The evidence for this is in the language itself, which uses sophisticated grammar and syntax. He shares this power with Black Elk and others who spoke the same language and shared many of these beliefs and rituals that were passed from one generation to another through Lakota oral tradition.<sup>36</sup>

The chapter contains many more details concerning George Sword’s life, his influence as the captain and later major of an all-Indian police at the Red Cloud agency until his retirement in 1892, his participation in a delegation to Washington, DC, to inform the government of the grievances for failure to deliver the annuities as promised in the treaties, and, finally, his ongoing collaboration with Dr. James R. Walker<sup>37</sup> in creating a written repository of Lakota culture. Sword died in 1911–1912, according to, as the author notes, the winter account of No Ears.

Before ending the chapter on the life of George Sword, the author returns to the question, “*who was George Sword?*” She reiterates her previous commentary concerning the translation from the Lakota language Sword used, and the difficulty in formulating adequate translations. Sword stated,

The young Oglalas do not understand a formal talk by an old Lakota because the white people have changed the Lakota language, and the young people speak it as the white people have written it. I will write of the old customs and ceremonies for you. I will write that which all the people knew.<sup>38</sup>

Walker also was aware of the difficulty of accurate translations of George Sword’s accounts. George Sword had completed his objective “[of producing] a manuscript to ensure the survival of his language and culture at a particular time in history.”<sup>39</sup> Red Shirt illuminates George Swords’ dilemma—the translation and recording of cultural knowledge at the risk of diminishing personal identity—as illustrated by this instance in which George Sword instructs Walker:

“The common people of the Lakotas call that which is the wrapping of a *wasicun*, *wopiye*. Most of the interpreters interpret this *wopiye* as medicine bag. That is wrong, for the word neither means a bag nor medicine. It means a thing to do good with. A good interpretation would be that it is the thing of power” (Walker, *Lakota Belief* 80).<sup>40</sup>

Red Shirt concludes,

After all was said and done, George Sword firmly believed that the reason he did not want to offend this “thing of power” [referring to the sacredness of what the “medicine bag” entailed], the power to do good, was because “the spirit of an Oglala may go to the spirit land of the Lakota” (Utley 34),

a place he wanted to make sure his spirit would go as an Oglala Lakota *wicasa*.<sup>41</sup>

In the next three chapters Red Shirt demonstrates how Parry and Lord's method of determining the formulaic structures in oral narratives can be applied to Lakota oral narratives. "Themes," Red Shirt writes, "are what Parry and Lord in oral theory, call the groups of ideas regularly used in telling a story in the formulaic style of traditional song (Lord, *Singer of Tales*, 68: chapter 6)."<sup>42</sup>

Chapter four, "Lakota Formulas," begins with a comparison of two narratives, one from George Sword and the other from Black Elk, as recorded by John G. Neihardt. Both concern visions the two Lakotas had as youths. First, Red Shirt notes the differences and in the case of Black Elk's account, the scholarly difficulties the Neihardts' work poses. Black Elk spoke in Lakota, which was translated to Neihardt and transcribed by Neihardt's daughter before Neihardt arranged and compiled it in a prosaic and perhaps embellished literary form in English.<sup>43</sup> Red Shirt acknowledges that it is not possible to determine from Neihardt's account the exact words Black Elk spoke. Here she suggests that there is more work to be done by future scholars working with source materials in original language or context. Despite the limitations in Neihardt's transcriptions of Black Elk's vision, Red Shirt identified structures and manner of expressions remarkably similar to those of George Sword. After a close exegesis of both accounts, Red Shirt summarizes,

The basic story pattern in both narratives is: the narrator travels to a spirit world in a dream-like state; he awakens there; his mind clears and he regains consciousness; an important message is given to him by older beings; and he brings this knowledge back to this world for the *oyate*, or people.<sup>44</sup>

She informs the reader that the themes of both visions are similar and according to Lakota tradition, were understood to be visions of those called to be *heyokas* (a role in Lakota society conferring certain obligations and practices). Both Black Elk and George Sword were *heyokas*, and the responsibility that both these men bore is reflected in the way they convey their visions.<sup>45</sup>

Next, Red Shirt examines patterns found in both texts of phrases or references to objects indicating an intentional processes on part of the narrator. There are several, including repetition of key words and the use of rhythmic words or endings. Red Shirt concludes that these are devices contributing to the formulaic structures of the narratives. These patterns, while being distinctively Lakota in perspective, have the same function of formulaic structures in oral narratives as per the Parry-Lord model.<sup>46</sup> In the second half of the chapter, Red Shirt expands Parry's definition of "formula" to include not only repeated words and word groups but also meter and length, as they would shape the narrative in Lakota song. Here Red Shirt draws from her own knowledge of the language as she also acknowledges the research of others who have contributed to deeper understanding of meter in the context of Lakota

poetry and song. As she notes, many narratives, those of the Lakota included, were intended to be performed in song and accompanying dance or gestures. Similar to other traditions, a singer or performer will rely on prefixed formulas to shape and guide the performance—in this case, the recitation of the narrative in spoken word or song. Here Red Shirt makes a close analysis of how the formulas, including word groups used by Sword in his narratives, conform to Parry's descriptions of what constitutes a formula of oral narration.<sup>47</sup> The next section of this chapter explains how verbs function in creating structure in the narrative. Again, Red Shirt demonstrates that the patterns George Sword uses are intentional and hence comply with Parry and Lord's description of what constitutes formulas in oral narratives.

Chapter five, "Textual Analysis," is, as the title indicates, a textual analysis of two selections of George Sword's narratives including the Sun Dance narrative. In the conclusion of the previous chapter, Red Shirt advances the argument for "the need for a method of composition that differs from the way we generally think of narration as developing using written forms."<sup>48</sup> In this chapter she reminds the reader that "for most, if not all, Native American oral tradition-based cultures, including the Lakota-speaking peoples, formula analysis means textual analysis."<sup>49</sup> She reminds the reader that as per Parry's observation, it is the sound of the language and hence the sound groups produced from the recitation of the narrative that is of primary interest. In this analysis Red Shirt underlines patterns that she has identified as formulaic in Lakota oral tradition. She indicates the basic organizational patterns of the stanzas and notes, "The use of verbs reflects a culture that does not reserve a place in its grammar for the passive voice."<sup>50</sup> Her exegesis of the original Lakota (English literary translation is provided in appendices 1–4) is rich in explanation of images used and meanings conveyed. These images would be understood within a cultural context with far-reaching implications and cannot be adequately summarized here. Implicitly, she is reiterating the case for interpreting narratives from the perspective of the narrator and the intended audience. Words, word units or phrases, and rhythmic verbs contribute to underlining patterns in the narrative, thus constituting formulaic devices employed by the narrator according to traditional practice recognized and understood by the listeners. In closing this chapter, Red Shirt reiterates how George Sword employs formulas to structure the narratives. In Red Shirt's view, George Sword's narratives meet the necessary and sufficient conditions for what constitutes a system of formulas according to Parry's description of oral narratives. Red Shirt concludes this chapter by briefly examining whether or not George Sword varies formulas or styles, and she concludes that he does not. Nevertheless, George Sword lends his own particular style, shaped by the oral tradition from which the narratives emerge.<sup>51</sup>

Chapter six, "Lakota Theme," elucidates the central themes in the narratives. Upon examining the textual examples commented upon in the previous chapter (that is, stanzas 14–21 of narrative 3 and stanzas 75–93 of the Sun Dance narrative), Red Shirt identifies several themes, including a war council; a warrior's feast; preparations for war; the

scouts (surveying enemy territory), which constitute narrative 3; and in the Sun Dance, the vows, prayers, and actions associated with this sacred ritual. Using Parry and Lord's description of how themes emerge from poetry of the epic tradition, Red Shirt examines the thematic material in Sword's narratives in conjunction with another Lakota narrative describing a sun dance, that of Pretty Weasel.<sup>52</sup> Once again Red Shirt's knowledge of Lakota language and culture provides an in-depth analysis and commentary which enables the reader to recognize the similar thematic material as well as the skills of the orator in presenting them. In discussing the differences between the accounts of Pretty Weasel and George Sword, Red Shirt notes,

Generally, Pretty Weasel's account is from a bystander's viewpoint whereas George Sword's narrative is full of rich detail that only a participant could provide. An example is in stanza 89, where George Sword describes that eagle bone whistle precisely as a *wanbliirupahu hohu*, that is used like a small flute. . . . George Sword's skill is of the type that Lord describes as acquired from generations of singers and narrators who practiced the technique of building themes (Singer 81).<sup>53</sup>

Red Shirt demonstrates George Sword's mastery in conveying multiple themes in a narrative of considerable length, similar to epic poetry and songs studied by Lord, and concludes, "George Sword treats themes fully and adeptly in his long Sun Dance narrative, where those themes required by Lakota oral tradition are present and the quality of his descriptions matches that of any singer or narrator in oral epic tradition."<sup>54</sup> She summarizes Lord's description of how narrators make use of themes as a cohesive structure:

Although the themes lead naturally from one to another to form a song which exists as a whole in the singer's mind with Aristotelian beginning, middle, and end, the units within this whole, the themes, have a semi-independent life of their own. The theme in oral poetry exists at one and the same time in and for itself and for the whole song. . . . The [singer's] task is to adapt and adjust it to the particular song that he is re-creating. It does not have a single "pure" form either for the individual singer or for the tradition as a whole. Its form is ever changing in the singer's mind, because the theme is in reality protean. . . . It [the song] is not a static entity, but a living, changing, adaptable artistic creation. (Singer 94)<sup>55</sup>

Red Shirt notes Lord's observation of how patterns and structures within a song (Lord's study was of Croation-Serbian songs and poetry recorded in the early twentieth century), also contributed to the structure and placement of thematic material within a song or poem. "These complexities are held together internally both by the logic of the narratives and by the consequent force of habitual association" (Singer 96-97).<sup>56</sup> In concluding this chapter Red Shirt demonstrates how Lord's analysis of the force of patterns that are both linear and nonlinear and the "habitual associations of themes" can be applied to Sword's narratives. She compares the end of narrative 3,

stanza 23, describing a warrior scout's account of enemy territory, with those in the Sun Dance narrative when the warriors approach the sacred pole to fulfill their vow. Since the same words are used to introduce both the description of the scout returning from enemy territory and the warriors seeking the pole, Red Shirt suggests that the sacred pole becomes, as it were, "an entity that represented the enemy in embodiment."<sup>57</sup> For those unfamiliar with the ceremony, a warrior is tethered to the pole; literally, his flesh is pierced by a pin at the end of ropes tied to the pole. He breaks free from the tension of the cord as the pins are torn from his flesh. It would seem that Red Shirt deliberately chose this stanza to illustrate the tension and *hidden force* that keep the themes of the narratives together. She writes:

The forces that hold groups of themes together internally are both linear and non-linear, according to Lord—logic and habit, both strong forces. In Lakota oral narrative, these forces are evident, as shown in the examples described in this chapter and the two previous ones.<sup>58</sup>

Chapter seven, "Traditional Implications," is a summary and review of the work of the previous chapters. Red Shirt reexamines her analysis, this time pointing out to the reader the significant differences between poetry and narratives that are oral in origin. Once again, she reiterates that her study of George Sword's narratives "uses methodology originally developed by Parry and elaborated upon or further advanced by Lord."<sup>59</sup> She notes that according to Parry's methods, a scholar or researcher should acquire specialized knowledge of the language in which the oral narratives are compiled so as derive a deeper understanding of the text within its cultural tradition. She notes how John Miles Foley extended Parry and Lord's initial research on Serbo-Croatian epic traditions by further studying the speaking styles of South Slavic poets. He noted that these poets used a distinctive register; specific choices of words, phrases, and motifs, which Foley calls "idiomatic expressions" (Foley, *How to Read*, 14), which convey cultural traditions. Foley notes how these expressions together with a particular register convey South Slavic poetry of an epic sort as distinguished from the language of every day. Red Shirt notes similar techniques and patterns in Sword's narratives:

Using Parry and Lord's work, as well as more recent analysis, an inference can be made that certain theories are in fact applicable to George Sword's work and that these narratives are derived from an older tradition, especially through a comprehensive analysis of the Lakota language used in the narratives.<sup>60</sup>

Red Shirt describes the difficulties scholars like Foley encounter in analyzing oral texts in any specific cultural tradition other than Western. As Foley writes, "What is oral poetry? What is an oral poem?" (Foley, *How to Read*, 29). Added to that is performance practice. Red Shirt notes an observation that Foley and other scholars have made: oral composition and performance are usually not included in the definition of poetry. She concurs with Foley, who "proposes opening up the poetic line or the poetic genre examining the oral versus written dichotomy, and looking



at media dynamics" (Foley, *How to Read*, 30). Citing Foley, Red Shirt notes that conducting research in oral poetry along these lines is still in preliminary stages. In short, oral narratives may have been transcribed and recorded so as to preserve their integrity, but for the most part they are buried in archives, unresearched and unpublished. By commenting extensively on the problems of research in narratives and oral poetry and demonstrating how this impacts research in Native American or Indigenous literary forms, Red Shirt continues to refine the Parry-Lord method, coupled with Foley's insights suggesting how these methods can be adapted to language-specific cases. Once again she demonstrates how this was done in her own study of George Sword's narratives.

This study recognizes the importance of his work as an oral tradition-based narrative. Within its own context, the language of the narrative is a special register based on Lakota oral tradition (Foley, *How to Read*, 60). Thus these narratives preserve a way of composing Lakota oral narrative; what is lost is the way in which Sword spoke and expressed himself through voice and gestures in the telling of these narratives.<sup>61</sup>

Red Shirt recognizes that even with the transcription of the narratives in Lakota, written by George Sword, what is lost is the performance practice, which included gestures and dance, and dynamic interaction with the listeners. It is Red Shirt's intent "to bring about an appreciation and understanding of the characteristics of Lakota oral tradition that have been passed from generation to generation and are inherent in the Lakota language in which George Sword told his narratives."<sup>62</sup> Red Shirt notes that George Sword himself is appealing to tradition when he stated, "I will write that which all the people knew" (Walker Collection, ledger 108:1). Through this statement, George Sword affirms ties to the traditional way of telling narratives among the Lakota people.<sup>63</sup> Red Shirt comments on the work of several scholars working with culturally specific oral narratives with the aim of interpreting them on their own terms as she is doing. An ethnopoetic approach combined with Richard Bauman's performance theory is helpful, as she suggests, in arriving at a deeper understanding of original intent of the narratives from the perspective of the narrators and their listeners, and the contextual framework by which to interpret figurative speech. She writes,

When George Sword describes the Sun Dancers in figurative language he invokes performance and creates a traditional frame of reference. He does so in one of his last descriptions of a Sun Dancer, who lay like a fish out of water, gasping for breath, after freeing himself from the sacred pole, or in his description of a Sun Dancer from the Hunkpapa tradition hanging by four ropes attached to skin on his chest and back, his legs swinging in the air as he hangs suspended from four poles. George Sword describes these events vividly, alerting the audience to what is occurring and to how they should receive these images.<sup>64</sup>

## CONCLUSION

While suggesting that *George Sword's Warrior* is a valuable resource text for instruction in philosophy, examples of how this could be done is beyond the scope of this review. Instead, I end with Red Shirt's literary translation—stanzas four to six—of the first of the four narratives in the book.<sup>65</sup> Inherent in these lines are possible questions on being and knowing, which, when posited from an Indigenous perspective, contribute to a broader spectrum of ontological and epistemic thought: What is the ontological structure of things in the world? What kind of causality is at work? How are different forms of knowledge acquired? Might a phenomenological approach be of use in examining these and other, similar texts? What do we learn from this description of experiencing the world?

Wakinyan, are beings like us; resemble us. Everything is transparent to them; they are all-knowing. All of the earth they see as they travel with the rain.

And everything on earth is made to grow and flourish; and animals and men, too. The places on earth where it is putrid, there a cleansing comes.

And that is why the horse is the one in charge of all animals because he belongs to Wakinyan.

Red Shirt's book will be more immediately acknowledged for its contribution to literary theory treating oral traditions of Indigenous language and culture. Scholars developing an Indigenous approach or perspective of doing philosophy would enrich their work by a careful and thoughtful read of *George Sword's Warrior Narratives*.

## NOTES

1. Andrea Sullivan-Clarke, "Tips for Teaching Native American Philosophy," *APA Newsletter on Indigenous Philosophy* 17, no. 1 (2017): 9–14; and Alejandro Santana, "Syllabus for Philosophy 336 Metaphysics: Native American Philosophy," *APA Newsletter on Indigenous Philosophy* 17, no. 1 (2017): 14–21 provide further insight and practical suggestions for introducing students to Indigenous thought.
2. Red Shirt, Delphine *George Sword's Warrior Narratives*, 161.
3. Red Shirt, Delphine *George Sword's Warrior Narratives*, Introduction.
4. *Ibid.*, xiv.
5. For topical reference on Milman Parry, Albert Lord and the Parry-Lord thesis see [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oral-formulaic\\_composition](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oral-formulaic_composition).
6. Dr. James Riley Walker (1849–1925), Red Shirt, Delphine *George Sword's Warrior Narratives*, Introduction, xx.
7. "At first George Sword utilized an interpreter to convey cultural information to Walker, but later he began his own writing to record narrative and son in the Lakota Language." *Ibid.*, xx–xxi.
8. *Ibid.*, xx–xxi and Notes, 247–56. Extensive reference to the work of Lord and Parry is made throughout the book, which anchors her study while providing a framework to develop methods relevant to Indigenous narratives, reflective of their worldview.
9. *Ibid.*, 13. Red Shirt acknowledges work that is currently being done in this field.
10. *Ibid.*, 26, References, 311. Michael F. Brown, *Who Owns Native Culture?* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003).

11. *George Sword Warrior Narratives*, 258, Notes to pages 4–7. Delphine Red Shirt is an enrolled member of the Oglala Sioux nation, located on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation where George Sword composed these narratives.
12. *Ibid.*, 28, citing Devon A. Mihesuah, *Natives and Academics: Researching and Writing about American Indians* (1998).
13. *George Sword's Warrior Narratives*, 266, Notes pages 28–30, n. 63.
14. *Ibid.*, 7–8; due to the impact of colonization and forced relocation to reservations.
15. *Ibid.*, 9.
16. *Ibid.*, 10.
17. *Ibid.*, 16.
18. *Ibid.*, 20, in response to an earlier citation reference to Eric Cheyfitz, who opines that there is no Native American literature in the strict sense of the term since prior to European contact (14–15).
19. *Ibid.*, 24.
20. *Ibid.*, 33. Citing David E. Bynum, she writes, "Rhythmical speech was the world's first great medium of communication for complex ideas and there were certainly media men of astonishing skill long before anyone on earth knew how to write."
21. *Ibid.*, 33. Red Shirt explains how older the Lakota term gave way to a newer word, *can sa* or short stick, as the men like George Sword had to take on new forms of law enforcement, a consequence of reservation life under US government agencies.
22. *Ibid.*, 34.
23. *Ibid.*, 51.
24. *Ibid.*, 52. A more complete description of Winter Counts, a system used by the Lakotas for marking time and events important to them is detailed here. No Ears, an Oglala Lakota, provided recorded summary entitled, "Oglala Sioux Names for Years from AD 1759–AD 1919."
25. *Ibid.*, 51. The confederation included the Dakota and Nakota speaking bands. The Lakota speaking Tetons were comprised of seven bands, the Oglala being the largest band.
26. *Ibid.*, 54.
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Ibid.*, 55.
29. *Ibid.*
30. *Ibid.*, 56.
31. *Ibid.*, 63.
32. *Ibid.* Crazy Horse, Oglala, was killed soon after surrendering and being taken prisoner at Fort Robinson, Nebraska, September 5, 1877.
33. *Ibid.*, 63.
34. *Ibid.*, 64.
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*, 71. In Note 13, page 276, Red Shirt quotes Parry, who argues that while knowledge of writing may have some bearing on the text of a poem or its recording, it will not have an effect on its style. Milman Parry, "Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse Making. I. Homer and Homeric Style," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 41 (1930): 73–148. Article available online at <https://chs.harvard.edu/CHS/article/display/5501>.
37. *Ibid.*, 73. Walker became agency physician at Pine Ridge in 1896. He took a deep interest in understanding Lakota life and practice from a Lakota perspective, and to this end consulted with older Oglala Lakotas, including Sword, to compile and systemize Lakota belief and cultural practices. Red Shirt includes details from the published and archival material of Walker's work.
38. *Ibid.*, 77.
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Ibid.* Throughout this chapter, Red Shirt uses Lakota terms and phrases and provides the reader with information to aid in grasping nuanced distinctions.
42. *Ibid.*, 79.
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Ibid.*, 82.
45. *Ibid.*
46. *Ibid.*, 84–85.
47. *Ibid.*, 94–95.
48. *Ibid.*, 99.
49. *Ibid.*, 100.
50. *Ibid.*
51. *Ibid.*, 118–19.
52. *Ibid.*, 133. *Pretty Weasel*, From *Lakota Tales and Text*.
53. *Ibid.*, 135. Similarly scale, order, and balance in conveying themes are reflected in the narrator's skill, according to Lord. Red Shirt demonstrates how Sword accomplishes this in narrative 3.
54. *Ibid.*, 136.
55. *Ibid.*, 137.
56. *Ibid.*, 188.
57. *Ibid.*, 138.
58. *Ibid.*
59. *Ibid.*, 140.
60. *Ibid.*, 141.
61. *Ibid.*, 148.
62. *Ibid.*, 150.
63. *Ibid.*, 152–53.
64. *Ibid.*, 151.
65. *Ibid.*, Appendix 1, 163 (Lakota) 168 (English literary translation). See pp. 37–38 for further literary translation and commentary. She writes: "Wakinyan empowers all living things to grow. Wakinyan cleanses the earth of all impurities. This is the cultural information George Sword imparts to the listener."