FEDERAL RECOGNITION, NATIVE SPACE AND INDIGENOUS PERFORMANCE: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF NORTHEASTERN DANCE IN THE SHINNECOCK POWWOW

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MPHIL DEGREE – JUNE 2015

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Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the
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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Malorine Mathurin Sykes, declare that the following materials submitted as a requirement of the MPhil level are my own original work. Information derived from published and unpublished work of others has been acknowledged either in the text and/or on the list of references provided for in the bibliography.

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DATE: **21 December 2015**

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This thesis requires the reader to understand the context of the powwow performance, the Men's Eastern War Dance and the Women's Eastern Blanket Dance through both written and visual material. Therefore, I have provided video clips of certain aspects of the powwow and the dances throughout certain sections of this thesis. Many have been recorded during the Shinnecock powwow in 2011 while others a mixture of the Shinnecock powwow in 2012, 2013 and 2014 as well as other powwow performances in order to illustrate a deeper analysis of the ethnographic material. Throughout the thesis a green text box will indicate the Video Clip to watch for that section.

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Montauk Highway, arguably the most scenic highways in New York State, is enveloped with vibrant green trees, wide, smooth driving lanes and the occasional sighting of a deer or stag peeking out on the side of the road. Within the two and a half hour drive through the East End of Long Island, one comes across the town of Southampton. Southampton, or the Hamptons as it is commonly called boasts a bevy of large and expensive houses owned by multi-millionaires and celebrities such as Puff Daddy, Sarah Jessica Parker, Paris Hilton and wealthy businessman, Donald Trump. Amongst the brevity of exclusivity and wealth lies the Shinnecock Reservation, one of the first Native American reservations in North America[1]*. The entrance to the reservation is a quick left turn before entering the 'Eagle Feathers Smoke Shop' and the 'Shinnecock Indian Outpost' both owned by Shinnecock tribal trustee, Lance Gumbs.*

The Shinnecock Reservation Museum and Cultural Centre is located about ten metres away from the main road. The wooden structure of the museum, built in the shape of a traditional Northeastern longhouse, is in stark contrast to the modern buildings of the smoke shop and the outpost. Behind the museum is the newly built Wikun Village, based on and reconstructed in the image of a 17th century Northeastern tribal community. A battered sign stating: "Entering Shinnecock Indian Territory. No trespassing. Violators will be prosecuted to the full extent of the law. Drug-Free Zone. Violators will be prosecuted to the full extent of the law" (Figure 1).

[1] Laudin 1973:34-36.

Figure 1: Photo of the Shinnecock Reservation sign. Courtesy of M. Sykes, June 2013.

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The road leading to the reservation directs visitors up a gravelly path through a narrow clearing in a dense forest. Older, modest houses are scattered on each side of the forested area, some with obvious wear and tear while others seemed to be in the process of necessary home repair. Driving along the two-mile road, a curious deer, rabbit or raccoon would appear but disappear just as quickly. More signs, such as: "Shinnecock Indian Reservation. Private Property. Keep Out!" littered the road towards the main powwow grounds. At a fork in the road, the signs became friendlier, stating, "Powwow this way" and "Welcome to the Shinnecock Nation Annual Powwow". Tribal members, wearing bright yellow or powder blue t-shirts with the slogan, 'The Shinnecock Nation Annual Labour Day Powwow: we are still here!" greeted you at the base of the road. They guided visitors to the parking lot with a friendly smile and greeted them with 'Aquay' which means hello in the Algonquian language. The crowd included a mixture of non-natives (Caucasians, Asians, Blacks, Hispanics, etc.) as well as local native tribal members and native people whom have travelled as far as Montreal, California and Texas.

In the walk up to the powwow grounds one could see dream catchers, eagle feathers and tiny drums amongst other Native American-based items, on the dashboards or hanging from the mirrors of many of the cars. On several of the vehicles there are bumper stickers attached with slogans like 'Proud to be Cherokee' or 'Lumbee, or no way!' Others displayed stickers featuring native animal

symbols on their rear view mirrors or dashboards such as the turtle, wolf, bear and owl that are often reminiscent of clan tribal affiliation. The powwow arena was filled with the sounds of drums, singing and the chatter of countless voices which became louder as one walked towards the powwow entrance. Upon paying the $11.50 entrance fee, one is inundated with an amalgam of deep, drumming, melodic singing, the chatter of countless voices, the smell of food and the vibrant colours of costumed dancers who congregated nearby waiting for their chance to enter the dance arena – it was a multisensory experience.

The hundreds of vendor stalls that surrounded the dance arena sold a variety of 'native-made' crafts like buckskin leather bags, chokers, paintings, incense, sage bundles and jewellery such as necklaces embedded with turquoise or particularly purple wampum shells that were exclusive to the Northeast region. They also sold items that one would stereotypically associate with Native American people like dream catchers, bows and arrows (for children), moccasins and blankets. They rarely sold pieces of their regalia such as headdresses or elaborately designed Jingle dresses and especially not eagle feathers as these were illegal to sell for public consumption. It was clear that although powwows offered different forms of entertainment they satisfied the tourist masses with the amount of activity available, food sold and items to purchase.

Native dancers and drummers wore tribal regalia inside and outside of the dance arena. It was normal to see a flash of bright pink or a subtle brown buckskin dress scuttle past you as many of the dancers ran for last minute changes before the competitions. The shaking sounds of the metal cones on their clothing sounded like wind chimes while the rustling of hundreds of feathers on a bustle sounded similar to a deer hiding in a set of bushes or a squirrel burrowing for food in the woods. The dancers' regalia glistened in the bright sunlight as they lined up for the Grand Entry procession. The voices of the various drum teams fill the air. Even if one did not understand the words, the emotion could be felt through their performance - the gestures, the movements, facial structure, positioning and the use of any props.

The dynamic 'testosterone'-filled performances of masculinity and strength took centre stage, as many of the men were bare chested wearing buckskin trousers and brandishing a tomahawk or axe decorated with earned feathers. The women entered after the men, bouncing and shaking in unison in a straight line of about ten people wide; their foot movements were performed in fluid unison and gentle agility but they always kept a straight back posture and calm countenance, which echoed of pride and self-assurance. The steps were too firmly rhythmic to be a glide, and too smooth to be a pace, and yet the overall effect as the women moved around the arena was of harmony, poise and dignity. One could hear the intoxicating rhythm of their tin cones moving on their dresses or the slight shuffle of the movement of their raised hems as they kicked up their legs.

It was difficult to not get excited seeing the dancers prepare for the procession onto the stage or the dance arena, as they would call it. Many of the men did calf stretches and limbered-up while many of the women fixed their hairpieces and straightened out any wrinkles in their dresses. The experience was exciting, sensory, beguiling, visually stunning and enigmatic. When the music began, the emcee announced the powwow rules over the loud speaker and announced the start of the 2010 Shinnecock powwow.

As a native New Yorker, I knew very little of the existence of the Shinnecock tribe and was a little shocked to know that, one, they still resided on a Native American reservation and two, that they still performed traditional ceremonies such as the powwow every year. After attending my first powwow in 2008, I realised how much dance, music and song played a large role in Native American life. Upon further research, I found that public performances, like the powwow offered non-natives a glance at tribal life while also authenticating the existence of the tribe, specifically for the U.S. government. The U.S government reserves the right to determine the authenticity of Native American tribal groups through the

process of Federal Recognition. Although there are over eight hundred tribes in the United States and Canada, only five hundred and sixty-six tribes are Federally Recognised by the U.S. government. In 2014, at the end of my ethnographic fieldwork, the Shinnecock tribe received Federal Recognition from the U.S. government. I believe that the practice of the aforementioned powwow - and to a lesser extent museums and cultural workshops – have helped to place them as a historic Native American tribe.

Why did certain tribes receive Federal Recognition while others were denied; what made one tribe's plea to be called a tribe different from another's? How can an individual or a community prove their identity? Would one be able to obtain proof of their ancestry or generational location if their community does not keep written records? Would you have an accurate record of marriage, deaths and births in their family history, if they are not traditionally kept? Would an individual be able to show their connection to their family, their place of birth, or the land that they live on without these written records? What would happen if after all of this proof, it was believed that an individual or a community were not connected ethnically and through this, they were then forced to vacate their property? This is what the Federal Recognition Process feels like to Native American tribal members; "it is a necessary evil."[2]

This thesis will provide historical and contemporary material regarding the Shinnecock tribe and their struggle for Federal Recognition. We will analyse how the Shinnecock tribe achieved recognition through an ethnographic analysis of the Shinnecock powwow, the idea of native space and a dance analysis of two Northeastern dance styles the Women's Eastern Blanket Dance and the Men's Eastern War Dance. Through this analysis we will understand the importance of public performance events like the powwow, in determining ethnic identity. I will use this analysis to argue that public performances, like the powwow, are an important factor in determining ethnic as well as tribal identity. Furthermore, the powwow serves as a form of visual expression of native ancestry that has aided in the tribe receiving Federal Recognition from the U.S. government.

There are hundreds of native tribal nations across North America who would warrant an ethnographic understanding of their culture, but due to the broad scope of this material, I have chosen to focus on one

[2] Spears, Loren Personal correspondence by structured interview on 30 September 2013 at the Tomaquag Museum.

tribe, the Shinnecock. It is my hope that by analysing the history, culture and people of this tribe, it will provide an understanding of social, cultural and political issues that affect Native American communities across the United States and Canada.

I would like to thank the Shinnecock tribal community for their openness, trust, kindness and friendship over the four years of fieldwork research. Several tribal members endured my constant questions and observations during the powwow while they were getting ready and long interview sessions at their homes and places of business and I appreciate all of their time and energy. Many of my contacts introduced me to knowledgeable friends and family who were experts in powwow culture, such as Loren Spears, Narragansett curator at the Tomaquag Museum and Shinnecock tribal members: Jason Johnson, Rainbow Hill, Holly Haile Davis, Suzette King, Lonnie Harrington, Princess Chee Chee and Tohanash Tarrant to name a few. Without their help and insight, this thesis would not be possible.

My supervisors, Dr. Karen Jacobs and Professor Bronwen Wilson offered invaluable comments and insight on my thesis that has helped it evolve into a focussed and structured piece of work. The financial, emotional and social support from the multiple members of staff at the Sainsbury Research Unit has been essential in my development as a researcher over the course of four years especially Professor John Mack, Dr. Fiona Savage, Mrs. Lynne Crossland, Ms. Patricia Hewitt, Mr. Jeremy Bartholomew and Mrs. Lisa Farrington. My colleagues, Mary Katherine Scott, Abubakar Sule, Joanne Lai, and Meg Pinto have provided proofreading and academic support. My family and friends - Ms. Venra Mathurin, Mr. Alex Sykes and Mr. Martin Tease - provided emotional support and free proofreading throughout the entire process, which is greatly appreciated.

GLOSSARY AND NOTES

In this thesis project, there is a need to clarify some terminology surrounding Native Americans, especially those in the United States.

The Northeast region – The Northeastern region of the United States includes all of the states between Maine and Connecticut such as: Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. I will use the term 'Northeast' interchangeably with 'New England' throughout this thesis as both terms are used to describe the same area by various people.

Native-American – This term describes someone who is native or indigenous to the land. It may also be used interchangeably with: *American Indian*, *Indian*, *indigenous;* when referring to Native Americans from Canada, the terms: *First Nations* and *Native Canadians* and lastly Native American peoples from Alaska prefer to be called *Aleut* or *Alaska Natives* . These terms are used variably amongst Native American peoples throughout the region when referring to themselves and to other native people but for the purposes of this thesis I will use the term 'Native American'.

Tribe – A tribe is "a social group comprising of numerous families, clans, or generations"[3]. A tribal community can be defined by various determinants such as location, language or genealogical connection Within the fields of Anthropology, the term 'tribe' is politically incorrect, but in contemporary Native American communities, they have interchangeably used the term *tribe, tribal group* and *tribal nation* to describe their communities. I will use the term, 'tribe', 'nation', 'peoples' or 'community' in the same context.

[3] Merriam Webster's Dictionary, 2012. New York: Encyclopaedia Britannica, http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/tribe, accessed on 19 February 2011.

Dance and *dance* - The latter (dance) represents the 'act' of dancing while the former (Dance) describes a particular name or style of performance, for example, the 'Fancy War Dance' or the 'Eastern Blanket Dance'.

Regalia – Regalia consists of the decorated attire worn during ceremonial, social and sacred performances and events, like a powwow. These might also be referred to as 'clothing' or 'material culture' but it is rude to call these items costumes as tribal members see them as extensions of their tribal identity, rather than a mask or guise[4]. These items are normally handed down from a previous generation.

[4] Spears, Loren 2013.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

This year we are a Federally Recognised Tribe. As a Nation, we made our argument in the Federal court system on behalf of the sovereignty our Creator bestowed upon this Tribe from a time before time; we made our argument for the Recognition of this Nation, and justice has prevailed on our behalf. We have built solid bridges of friendship with our neighbours and local and national elected and appointed officials. We have made the good name of Shinnecock known to many who have never heard of us before, but who will remember us in good ways for years to come. We are taught not to be prideful, and it is our nature not to be so. We show our pride by taking care of our land, our families, our homes and each other. This year, however, we are exercising a sovereign right to take pride in our accomplishments. We are proud of ourselves, proud of the Shinnecock Indian Nation, proud of our motherland, the United States of America.

- Randy King, Chairman of the Shinnecock Tribal Nation[5]

[5] 65th Annual Shinnecock Nation Powwow booklet 2011:7.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

On 1 October 2010, the Shinnecock Tribal Nation[6] became the 565th tribe to receive Federal Recognition status after a thirty-two yearlong battle with the United States government. The Federal Recognition Process (FAP) (1978), regulated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs under law code 25 CFR 83, determines that a government-to-government relationship exists between Native American tribes and the U.S. government. Through this arrangement, Native American tribal members are eligible to receive education, housing, health and other services as a "debt owed to the Indigenous Peoples in exchange for the loss of their lands" [7] (Toensing 2014:1). Federal Recognition, defined by the Bureau of Indian Affairs' Part 83 Criteria "emphasizes continuities of blood – persisting family names, kinship relations with recognized tribes, group genealogies – and of location, and also take into account earlier descriptions of individuals and communities as Indian" (Goertzen 2001:58). As noted in the above quote by Tribal Chairman Randy King, the Shinnecock tribe remained humble yet proud of their tribal community that led them to make an adequate argument for Federal Recognition.

There are certain requirements for obtaining Federal Recognition. One of the main criteria determines that a tribe must have been continuously lived on the lands native to their tribal ancestry therefore existing as an "autonomous community" since 1900.[8] Furthermore, tribal members must provide kinship documentation to other tribal members in order to asses an unchanging cultural continuity and tribal link to those living within the same community. These determinations would be difficult to prove for any community, native or non-native, as "one is always, to varying degrees, "inauthentic" [or] caught between cultures, implicated in others" (Clifford 1986: 11) but this thesis posits that the Shinnecock were able to substantiate their tribal culture by focussing on visual expressions of culture, such as the longstanding annual powwow.

This thesis explores how the annual powwow, as a symbol of cultural continuity, tribal longevity and tribal authenticity, has contributed to the Shinnecock tribe receiving Federal Recognition. The annual

[6] The Shinnecock name has undergone a variety of spellings in historical documents: Shinacock, Shinecock, Shinicoks, Shinicooks, Shinnacock, as well as Southampton Indians (Hodge 1907: 1138).
[7] Bureau of Indian Affairs website: http://www.bia.gov/FAQs/ accessed on 12 May 2015.
[8] National Congress of American Indians website: http://www.ncai.org/policy-issues/tribal-governance/Federal-Recognition accessed on 12 May 2015.

powwow, which features a mixture of traditional tribal music, song, dance and craft making, is the largest, continuous source of cultural continuity for the Shinnecock tribal nation. Tribal groups in Virginia use the Colonial Williamsburg site as a "platform to assert continuity of tribal presence and thus build a case for Federal Recognition of tribal status" (Peers 2007:48). Similar to the Shinnecock, other tribes are using their cultural traditions and 'living history sites' as a mechanism to prove ancestral connection to a longstanding tribal group. Although all of the criteria in the Federal Acknowledgement Process are mandatory, the longevity of the powwow in an unequivocally Northeastern style has provided an insurmountable array of evidence in the governments' assessment of the Shinnecock tribe (Strong 2012).

1.2 THE FEDERAL RECOGNITION PROCESS (FAP) 25 CFR 83 AND ITS CRITERIA

Relations between the United States and Native American tribes existed on a "contract among nations" in which the government placed, in trust, millions of acres of native land for protection against unlawful cession.[9] Following the Revolutionary War, thousands of treaties – which guaranteed protection of Native American rights - were broken between 1778 and 1871. Hundreds of Native Americans were forcibly displaced from their homelands due to forced westward migration of Euro-American settlers. For instance, the General Allotment Act of 1887, or the Dawes Act, required Native American tribal groups to reside on small sections of land, called reservations, while over ninety million acres of native land was taken and distributed to settlers without tribal compensation (Denton 1937, Bailey 1959:6, Gardiner 1840, Van der Donck 1656).

Furthermore, in 1901, the U.S. government developed a way to determine if a Native American group was indeed a legitimate tribe: if the group of individuals were of "common historic American Indian descent", they united in a form of leadership or government and they historically occupied particular territory (Norwood 2010:4). This determination alienated the majority of Native American tribal groups, as many could not prove habitation in a longstanding community because of forced migration so they were unable to provide documentation of occupation of a territory. While others, cohabitated with

[9] Bureau of Indian Affairs: http://www.bia.gov/FAQs/ accessed on 14 April 2015.

African slaves and Caucasian settlers and integrated ethnically with other tribal groups which made it difficult to ascertain common American Indian descent. Therefore, ethnic and racial integration as well as forced migration of tribal groups allowed the government to acquire land 'legally' from native individuals and tribal communities by asserting that these Native American tribal groups did not possess 100% Native American blood.

During the Indian Reorganisation Act of 1934, the U.S. government ended the allotment policy regulated by the Dawes Act. In order to reconstitute their tribal governments and way of life the government restored small portions of land to select tribal group (Figure 2). Figure 2 shows a poster advertising 'Fine Lands in the West' urging white pioneers to 'Get a home of your own with easy payments' and a 'Perfect title within thirty days'. The idea of land ownership became of utmost importance to the white pioneers who hoped that they would have a piece of the 'American Dream'. Native Americans were viewed as part of the "constitutional fabric of our nation"[10] which established them as potential co-contributors to the burgeoning, newly-formed America alongside white pioneers.

Figure 2: A poster advertising Native American lands for sale in allotment areas, 1910. Source: National Congress of American Indian, Indian Nations in the United States http://www.ncai.org/about-tribes/indians_101.pdf, accessed on 14 April 2015, pp.5.

[10] Bureau of Indian Affairs: Article 1, Section 8 of the United States Constitution: http://www.bia.gov/FAQs/ accessed on 14 April 2015.

However, this promise changed during the Termination Period (1945-1968). The U.S. government ended federal assistance programs for native tribes and in many cases the land that was returned to tribal groups in 1934 was held in tax forfeiture sales, which went back to the settlers and the government resulting in Native Americans, once again, losing millions of acres of land. Many Native Americans were relocated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) under federal relocation policies like the Indian Reorganisation Act (1924) which offered jobs, grants, and supposed employment opportunities to native people that decided to relocate to the cities. Unfortunately, finding employment was difficult and many could not find adequate training for the positions they yearned for (Heraghty 2005: 7-8, 21-22). Those that stayed were forced to relocate to reservations or tribally-integrated, predominantly native societies located on the far ends of a state or province, usually away from the main city (Clifton 1972: 486). Native Americans living on reservations were universally removed from the external society, given limited educational facilities, received little to no government money and subsidiaries which limited them from a proper form of acculturation (Clifton 1972, Jennings 1975, O'Connell 1992, Lepore 1998, Miles 2006).

Despite the negative impression of reservations or the 'rez', as it is affectionately known, they were a solace for native people, a home away from home for those who did not grow up on the land as a child. Reservation culture combined a mixture of "the older way of life with an increasing proportion of elements and practices taken over from the Whites" (Conkey, Boissevain and Goddard 2000:178). Native Americans who moved their families to major cities like New York, Chicago and Los Angeles for work, still returned to reservations in order to retain their cultural integrity and a sense of place and belonging. For instance, Jason Johnson, a Shinnecock tribal member, remembers living in Manhattan but coming to stay on the reservation with his grandparents on the weekends, over the summer school break and during holidays, such as Christmas and Thanksgiving.

> "We had a house in Nassau County, so on the weekends, we would come and be with our grandparents. You know your whole mentality had to change on Sunday night when you left the 'rez' [reservation] and had to come back to school on Monday in the city. Yeah, we came here every weekend and holidays. Christmas, Thanksgiving, Easter, birthdays, anniversaries, whatever the holiday was. Even during the summer. The day school ended, we didn't even go home, our bags were packed in the car, and my mother took the LIE [Long Island Expressway] and that

> was it. We didn't see Westbury until the day after the powwow because we knew we had to come back to school. The whole summer we were out here. Just like down south, and when you leave the city or Manhattan, it's just slower paced, and it's quiet"[11].

Historically, in the Northeastern region, tribal spaces served as a permanent home for families who worked or resided elsewhere, i.e., whaling on ships or working as domestic labourers in illustrious American households (Mandell 2008:35). Although reservations were seen as a tribal space of comfort and safety from the outside world, as mentioned in the Foreword, many reservations were, and still are, mired in poverty. To solve the various social issues created from living in poverty such as high rates of alcoholism, drug abuse, teenage pregnancy, prejudice, and depression, many Native American tribal leaders, activists and academics hoped to make a change in their communities similar to what was happening for other ethnic groups in the United States.

The Civil Rights Movement (1950 -1965) spurred ethnic minorities in the United States to challenge the notion of an American melting pot by focussing on the aspects of their identity. This movement exemplified a spirit of defiance and militaristic ideologies which led to the creation of minority-led groups such as the Black Panthers Party, the Young Lords, and the Red Guards which was modelled after the Red Party Group in communist China. Bilosi (2005:241) equates the black struggle for civil rights in America with the Native American right for self-determination as both "graduated sovereignty" - he continues to explain the need for "colour-blind enforcement of civil rights law" which would, in theory, bring about the downfall of inherent racism in America. The infrequency of and follow through of an individuals' civil rights require a "guarantee" of affirmative action law which will regulate inequality amongst different race groups. This inequality is balanced with concepts like sovereignty and self-determination, where Native Americans are able to govern themselves as they see fit – often separately from the U.S. government.

[11] Jason Johnson, Shinnecock. Personal interview conducted on 10 September 2013 at the Shinnecock Cultural Museum and Research Centre, Southampton, N.Y.

With the crusade underway for equality, in 1968, Native Americans began the American Indian Movement (AIM) which was established as a faction of the Red Power Movement which began as a community project to provide social and economic resources for urban natives who were relocated from Native American reservations by the U.S. government (Buff 2001: 11). AIM's main objective was to obtain a system of 'real independence' for Native Americans based on self-government, self-determination and sovereignty for tribal communities. Thomas Bilosi (2005: 241-257) explains that there are four modular forms of the nation-state or the indigenous political space based on a system of real independence. These four forms are (1) tribal sovereignty within a native homeland – this constitutes a modern tribal government on a reservation; (2) co-management of the off reservation resources – also called territorially based rights to the off-reservation perhaps shared sovereignty; (3) 'national indigenous space' which includes all native space of the United States and lastly (4) hybrid political space in which natives can claim citizenship in both the United States and the native nations. The 'declaration of sovereignty', as per the Confederated tribes of the Warm Springs reservation in Oregon, states that:

> "We […] hereby declare our national sovereignty. We declare the existence of this inherent sovereign authority – the absolute right to govern, to determine our own history, and to control all persons, land, water, resources and activities, free of all outside interference – throughout our homeland" (Bilosi 2005:239).

This declaration determines that tribal sovereignty grants a tribe the ability to govern, control and decide how they want their resources handled – all without outside or non-native interference. This is an important facet of tribal sovereignty. Tribal sovereignty and self-determination are synonymous with freedom, independence, dignity and empowerment (Bilosi 2005:239).

The Red Power movement later led to the Pan-Indian movement[12] (Spicer 1972, Kaeppler 1972, Boissevain 1972, Howard 1983, Kurath 1957, Newcomb, 1955, Powers 1968, Thomas 1972, 1980). Howard (1955:220) describes Pan-Indianism as "a final attempt to preserve aboriginal culture patterns through tribal unity [by providing] a social and cultural framework within which

acculturating Indian groups can maintain their sense of identity and integrity as Indians as long as the dominant larger society assigns them to subordinate status (Ablon 1972: 726; Voget). Furthermore, in his work with the Oglala tribe, Powers (1970:268) describes Pan-Indianism as a "sustained, vital American Indian practice". Therefore, Pan-Indianism can be viewed as both a continuous and sustained set of various Native American practices, like the powwow, dance and music as well as a collective effort for native people to preserve their culture on their terms.

These movements worried the U.S. government. To counter this they began to systematically enact laws and amendments that would regulate the burgeoning identity formation of ethnic populations in the United States. In 1979 and executed on March 30, 1982, the Federal Acknowledgement Process[13] (FAP), Part 83 of Title 25 of the Code of Federal Regulations (25CFR83) (Appendix 1) or as it is most commonly known as, Federal Recognition began. This law regulated ideas of cultural authenticity, tribal kinship and historical location amongst Native American tribal communities in North America. A tribe was granted Federal Recognition when they satisfied all seven of the requirements issued by the U.S. government; which in itself was a difficult feat.

Upon being granted acknowledgement, the U.S. government provided Native American tribes with a contract that would entitle them to services for their overall survival and economic maintenance such as business loans, scholarships, subsidized housing, and healthcare. The stipulation with this act is that it required Native American tribal groups to prove that they are a longstanding tribal unit established before 1900 that, according to the U.S. government, can be determined by written tribal rolls, marriage certificates and land ownership deeds. In 1994, Congress amended this statute with Public Law 103-454, the Federally Recognised Indian Tribe List Act (108 Stat. 4791, 4792), which determined that a tribe can become recognised by an act of Congress, by administrative petition from the Part 83 Criteria determined by the BIA or through the U.S. Supreme Court.[14] As of 2014, 566 tribes have obtained Federal Recognition, 229 in Alaska with the rest dispersed amongst thirty-three states in the lower, fifty states of

[13] Material on Federal Recognition obtained from United States law journals, University websites such as Cornell University Law and Harvard University Law, data from the National Congress of the American Indian, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the U.S. department of the Interior of Indian Affairs.
[14] Bureau of Indian Affairs: http://www.bia.gov/FAQs/ accessed on 14 April 2015.

North America.[15] Federal Recognition acknowledges that Native American tribes are sovereign governments, similar to the relationship between the United States and the countries Mexico and Canada.

> Indian nations have always been considered as distinct, independent political communities, retaining their original natural rights, as the undisputed possessors of the soil…the very term 'nation' so generally applied to them, means 'a people distinct from others' (Chief Justice John Marshall, U.S. Supreme Court, Worcester v. Georgia 31 US (6 Pet.), 515, 561 (1832).

As Chief Justice John Marshall states in the above quote, they are "distinct, independent political communities" that are able to govern themselves and therefore should be able to keep their "original natural rights [because they are] undisputed possessors of the soil". Therefore, the U.S. government understood that Native Americans were the true possessors, or owners, of American soil and are granted original rights because of this. Despite this understanding, the U.S. government attempted to take Native American land and consequently, their tribal rights. Tribes that agreed with the auspices of the act were granted federal recognition status, which meant that they were seen as tribal entities protected by the U.S. Government from unseen dangers, such as property tax, certain law practices and tribal sovereignty.

Although the United States gives native tribes resources, funds and sovereign independence when recognised by the state or federal government, their tribal sovereignty is still very limited. The United States government and the states that they reside in retain "plenary power" over Native American tribal groups which gives them the power to repeal treaties and reduce tribal powers at will – mostly because Native Americans are still viewed as wards of the state (Bilosi 2005:243). For example, the Indian Gaming and Regulatory Act (IGRA; 102 Stat 2467), determines through a congressional decision that native tribal casinos should be taxed heavily, giving a large portion of their profits to the state. Congress gave individual states the power to veto any decision made by tribal casinos despite the original purpose of tribal gaming executed in 1832, was "for reservation economic development on the basis of tribal sovereignty" and freedom from state regulation and interference (Bilosi 2005:243).

[15] National Congress of American Indians – Indian Nations in the United States: http://www.ncai.org/about-tribes/indians_101.pdf accessed on 14 April 2015.

In addition to creating friction amongst the government, the state and Native American tribes, the Federal Recognition process also began to cause tension within the native community. Instead of fighting for equality and sovereignty, as they did during the Red Power and Pan-Indianism movements, a divide was created amongst tribal members on the basis of skin colour, race and ancestry in addition to causing separation and eventual hatred between tribal communities across the country (Norwood 2012, Sunray 2012). For example, tribes often had disagreements with neighbouring tribes who obtained Federal Recognition before them and the requirements for recognition, such as determination of kinship and race, divided members of the same tribal community. Similarly, obtaining Federal Recognition has been a difficult endeavour for the Shinnecock tribe, externally with the U.S. government and internally, amongst each other.

1.2.1 FEDERAL RECOGNITION AND THE SHINNECOCK TRIBE

Figure 3: The Shinnecock tribe gathered at the Presbyterian Church to hear the news from the Bureau of Indian Affairs about their Federal Recognition status. Source: Voice of the Nation - Shinnecock Tribal Newsletter, June 2010, pp. 4-5.

Why do we need Federal Recognition to show we are who we are? […] It is a humiliating, degrading and insensitive process. Why do Indian people have to go through that? No other peoples are treated like that.

- Lance Gumbs in Harris 2010:2

The issue of Federal Recognition, as outlined above by tribal leader Lance Gumbs, is a 'humiliating, degrading and insensitive process' as Native American tribes must prove their ancestry to the U.S. government. The Shinnecock tribe needs to obtain Federal Recognition for the self-sufficient management of their tribal community. As Tribal Trustee Lance Gumbs[16] argues, "there has always been an economic problem" on the reservation with lack of housing, limited health care, inadequate public education facilities, and a decreased quality of life. With a population of 671 in 2012 with sixty-five percent of the population unemployed and over eighty percent living below the national poverty level, governmental assistance has become a necessity for survival.[17] There are many problems with the Federal Recognition Process, especially as it developed as a way for the U.S. government to acquire land, 'legally', from Native American communities. Applications for Federal Recognition require a large amount of time, effort and money on behalf of all tribal members.

> The process meant to aid legitimate tribes has become a burdensome obstacle to their Recognition. Successful applications once were only a couple of hundred pages of material. Now, tens of thousands of pages of evidence are required, costing upwards of millions of dollars and taking up to thirty-five years of delays in making final acknowledgment determinations. After pouring such resources into an intergenerational effort, many worthy tribes, are still unreasonably denied. Two of the most recent approvals of new Recognition only occurred after the intervention of the Federal courts. Confidence in the Federal Acknowledgment Process has eroded to the point of nonexistence (Norwood 2012:5).

As mentioned in the above quote, the Federal Recognition Process is complicated and is a "burdensome obstacle" for individual tribal members; many of the petitions have hundreds of pages of documentation, can cost millions of dollars in lawyer fees and delays can last up to almost thirty-five years. Unfortunately, the tribes affected by these abnormalities in the Federal Recognition Process are the Eastern, Southern and Western coastal tribes as they have become "lost and overlooked in Federal Indian Policy" (Norwood 2012:6). The issue with Native Americans and blacks have resonated with the idea of the 'Negro Elephant in the Room' in which tribal members with African ancestry are discriminated

[16] Voice of the Nation, Shinnecock Tribal Newsletter, June 2010 pp. 4-5.
[17] American Indian Community Survey – U.S. National Census, 2007-2012: http://pad.human.cornell.edu/profiles/AIAN.pdf, pp. 71, accessed on 4 January 2015.

against by tribal members that have little to no additional ethnic ancestry (Sunray 2012:3). Likewise, tribal members with Caucasian ancestry are determined as wannabes, described by Rayna Green (1988:3) as white Europeans who appropriate aspects of Native American culture into their background. Many non-Federally recognised tribes such as the Lumbee, the MOWA Choctaw and the Houma, like the Shinnecock before them, share African or Caucasian ancestry that therefore creates a continued system of doubt between those with mixed ancestry, Native American tribal members, non-natives and the U.S. government. The Shinnecock community, as a result of this displacement from their homelands and the attempted eradication of their tribal culture, intermarried with larger tribal groups in the region as well as African slaves and Caucasian settlers (McKinney, Barsh and Steel 2000:6-7).

The Shinnecock are therefore a mixture of ethnicities and races with diverse cultural mores whose tribal identity has created doubt and prejudice amongst the local Euro-American community. Porter and Crawford (1986: xv) state, "the status of American Indian tribes in the Northeastern United States has been legally challenged, historically questioned and anthropologically misunderstood". For instance, the Mashantucket Pequot tribe in Connecticut, whom have a similar genetic and ethnic makeup as the Shinnecock tribe, have had their "Indianness" called into question over and over. For example, when republican candidate and billionaire casino developer Donald Trump faced direct competition from the Mashantucket Pequot tribe's casino Foxwoods in 2009, he stated to a Connecticut legislative subcommittee: "Go up to Connecticut, and you look at the Mashantucket Pequots…They don't look like Indians to me. They don't look like Indians to Indians" (Bodinger de Uriarte 2007:46).

The doubt and required proof of ancestry by the U.S. government was followed with prejudice from other Native American tribal groups. For instance, Anderson and Kickingbird (1978:45) believe that doubt based on ancestry are predicated by issues of greed and competition between individual tribal members, where "justice, mercy, sanity, common sense, fiscal responsibility, and rationality can be presented just as easily on the side of those advocating Recognition."

Amidst the controversy with tribal ancestry and ethnic mixture, the criteria for Federal Recognition are coherent yet contradictory as they were oftentimes contrary to what tribal groups followed or believed. In

order to achieve Federal Recognition and recompense from theft of tribal lands, Native American tribal groups had to 'fit' their tribal communities to align with that of the Euro-American society. This determination, especially alongside racist ideologies developed in America after colonialism, can only hinder the certification of authenticity of a tribal group. For instance, code 83.7 (a) determines that a Native American tribe must establish their identity based on the opinion and written documentation of those outside of the native community, such as with local or state parishes, academics and Federal authorities. Anthropologists, policy makers within the Bureau of Indian Affairs and those employed by the U.S. government determined that when they encountered individuals from these tribes they believed that Native Americans were not truly native because of an assumed admixture of ethnicities or races.

> Some of those left behind intermarried with Negroes, a phenomenon seen among several remnants of Atlantic Coast tribes and among some Muskhogean peoples, but exceedingly rare elsewhere, fortunately for the future of the Indian race. The African mixture has been lost for the Long Island survivors; the respect and support of the Iroquois tribes who now will not recognize them in any way, and will not even admit that there is any Indian blood left on Long Island. There has been a heavy infusion of white blood too, but affairs had progressed so far that when I paid my first visit to the Shinnecock 'Reservation', in 1902, the place appeared to be a negro, or rather, mulatto settlement, pure and simple. But a more careful search revealed a number of individuals showing Indian characteristics. To quote my notes, written at the time: 'some are black and woolly headed, having at the same time facial characteristics distinctly Indian. Others have the straight hair and light colour of the Indian, but the flat nose, large dull eyes, and thick lips of the Negro. A few of the men are typically Indian. Of these, Wickam Cuffee is the best example. He is Indian in colour and feature, and claims to be full blooded, but the slight curl in his hair seems to point to some admixture. He speaks with a Yankee accent, and gladly tells all he knows of the old times (Harrington 1924:279).

Mark Harrington, an anthropologist with the Natural History Museum, stated that as he encountered the Shinnecock, he believes there is 'no Indian blood left on Long Island' and the 'place appeared to be a Negro, or rather, mulatto settlement, pure and simple'. He begins to list the different variations of skin colour and hair type that he encountered when visiting the Shinnecock, 'some are black and woolly headed' while 'others have the straight hair and light colour of the Indian, but the flat nose, large dull

eyes, and thick lips of the Negro' that discounts the Shinnecocks tribal heritage. His beliefs were aligned solely based on phenotype and the assertion that anyone resembling a black person was indeed black, as per the one-drop rule[18]. Furthermore, the one-drop rule ran parallel with racial classification regarding blood quantum. James Fennimore Cooper, in his book *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826) felt that most of Euro-American society believed that "biological identity [was] one inherited from one's ancestors and that manifests itself in one's blood" (Lemire 2002:35). Therefore, an individual with both Native American parents or those with a high percentage of native blood were portrayed to be 'more' Native American than those that did not possess either.

Secondly, the criteria for Federal Recognition (Appendix 1) fit a Western or Euro-American framework of what constitutes a community. According to Colin Calloway (1995:12), a community consists of a "group of people living in face to face association and occupying a common location, either permanently or seasonally" which is where Northeastern tribes are attributed. Northeastern tribal groups like the Shinnecock operated their communities differently from European colonists, which was the source of much of the aforementioned conflict. For instance, tribal groups in this region did not believe in an individual owning property, this was a communally based resource while the colonists' goal was for an individual to own a single property. Likewise, the tribal government, historically run by tribal committee, ran counter to the Euro-American ideal of a government orchestrated by the democratic process with one individual in power. This created strife between those that tried to maintain the traditional way of group decision making and those that attempted to change to the Euro-American system of government.

Lastly, the process of collecting written documentation to prove tribal existence ran contrary to what the Shinnecock and the majority of Native American communities followed which was a community that used oral history, performance, song and music as ways to pass on traditions, mores and values. Several of the issues with the Federal Recognition Process centres around being able to provide, legally, the Federal government with written documents that show marriage, kinship, school or church records as the majority

[18] The Racial Integrity Act of 1924 required that a racial description of every person be recorded at birth and this, therefore, divided society into only two classifications: white and colour. Native Americans and Asians were often in a contested position within these two classifications, and race ascription was determined on physical characteristics, such as skin colour, hair type and facial structure (Lemire 2002).

of tribal communities did not have them. Without written records, countless tribal groups have had to rely on visual expressions of their tribal identity in order to obtain Federal Recognition.

These shared visual expressions enable connections to develop amongst tribal members through collective activity as well as the repetition of certain traditions and rituals. For instance, Uran (2005:49-51), who researched the Northeastern Ojibwemowin tribe, made a similar determination concluding that many Native American ceremonial performances help to "negotiate individual and collective identities [in order to] reformulate their worlds". Although they were banned in many parts of the colonial Northeast, ceremonies or 'religious meetings' reinforce community values, held "social corollaries" or socio-cultural traditions intact and created new connections amongst tribal groups in the region (Mandell 2008:41). As mentioned in Royce (2004), the ritual or the ceremony becomes a platform for social action or the continuation of those actions deemed culturally and socially relevant to a group of people. Both the symbol and the ritual are embedded with social mores, interests, goals and beliefs through execution and repetition. Longstanding events, such as the annual powwow, provide tribes with a social platform to reinforce their tribal identity to others, to develop a connection to other tribal groups in the region and create a personal connection to their ancestral past.

1.3 THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SHINNECOCK ANNUAL POWWOW FOR THE SHINNECOCK TRIBE

The Shinnecock powwow is an indigenous performance that incorporates all of the aspects of the tribe's traditional culture, such as music, song, connections to the Algonquian language, dance and craft making. Arnoldi (2001:60) acknowledges, "The prominence given to local dance genres, songs in local languages, and the use of local musical instruments and instrumentation was intended to valorise these traditional forms and create an air of cultural authenticity within the festivals" which makes the powwow performance an important part of Shinnecock identity. The powwow, as a public event, consists of "socially constructed paradigms that showcase or display identity schemas to others" (Turner 1974:17). In other words, the powwow is a visual representation of material culture, music and dance that are symbolic

of Native American culture. These symbols are used as identity-formation tools used to ascertain an individuals' native ancestry's as well as their social standing n the larger tribal community.

Likewise, in the formulation of the performance sphere and the mirrors of that society, we see that powwows have become, a "drama of interpenetrating and interacting spaces" that classify, establish and therefore re-establish creation of identities amongst native people in the Northeastern region (Schechner 1993:97). Moreover, performance, primarily indigenous performance, is a transformative, multivocal and dialogical process allowing for individuals in the tribal community to reflect on their Native American identity as a form of poiesis or change. "Performance […] entails processes of remembering, forgetting and reinventing – of restating past values, dispositions and relationships via 'surrogates', enacting new dispositions" (Counsell 2009:7).

By remembering aspects of their Native American culture, socially constructed cultural codes become symbols of the individual or the community represented by them, therefore, the performances, dance, music and song are communicating the rituals, traditions and ideals of that society. For example, the Men's Eastern War Dance is suggestive of men returning from wars and hunting expeditions in order to tell their stories to their tribes through movement and imitation; therefore, the Men's Eastern War Dance maintains the values of oral storytelling, dance and men's valour in the Native American tribal community. The powwow event encompasses a mixture of the secular and the sacred, the traditional and the contemporary, public and private in addition to facets of competition, play, ritual, tourism and economic development. Therefore, the powwow is not only culturally significant but economically substantial as well. Likewise, the members of the Shinnecock tribe today, reconnect with the traditional, visual and auditory aspects of their ancestral heritage, through the execution of the powwow event.

The four elements of cultural performance explored in this thesis insist that:

> (1) Performances require systems of "remembering, forgetting and reinventing – of reinventing past values, dispositions and relationships via 'surrogates' enacting new dispositions" (Counsell 2009: 1).
>
> (2) Performances are "sites of social action" or "poiesis" (Guss 2001:8-11).

> (3) In performance, both the symbol and the ritual become embedded with social mores and the beliefs of a people. Symbols and material culture play a role in a performance offering implicit and explicit meanings for that community (Turner 1967: 27- 45).
>
> (4) Performances are political or social in nature because they become "inversions of the social order [and] mirrors" of the society that is presenting them (Schechner 1993).

In the first tenet, a 'system of forgetting, remembering and reinventing' is a large part of what makes up the powwow performance. Collectively, the tribal community remembers and reinvents the idea of the powwow in conjunction with the Northeast region. This connection to a region rather than a national identity envelops the Shinnecock powwow with a sense of exclusivity and uniqueness. The second tenet, explores the idea of the powwow as a site of 'social action or poiesis'. This idea determines that the powwow has become a social nexus of the native tribal community in that families as well as visitors connect to others at these events. Socially, the powwow becomes an event where generations come together and pass on ideas, practices and traditions while also maintaining a connection to their ancestral connections.

In regards to the appropriation of native land we will further explore why the issues of land and native space are important to Native American communities. The town of Southampton, like many other towns across North America, have pilfered large amounts of land from the Shinnecock tribe which they are still fighting for. The Shinnecock need Federal Recognition, not only to help their communities financially but to determine their legitimacy as a tribal institution. Federal Recognition them gives the tribe legal restitution against past land claims such as with the Shinnecock Hills Golf Club, which was built on top of a Shinnecock burial site. Land claims are part of the precept of remembering and reinventing. The tribal community require a stable place or native space to adequately remember and then reinvent tribal traditions, creating a site of social action or power, against the U.S. government. These ideas will be further explored in Chapter two.

In the third tenet, symbols and rituals are seen as emblematic of a cultural community. This symbolic connection – in the sphere of material culture, designs and movement – connect the

Shinnecock to the Northeastern region and therefore to a global native community. This will be explored in Chapter three. In the last tenet of performance, we will understand that through an analysis of the powwow, as a social, cultural and political event, it has become a symbol of, or inversion of the Shinnecock community and what they value.

The Shinnecock-Sewanka Society observed that "there are many native descendants living without a community support system here on Long Island and struggling to deal with the multi-generational traumas that have not been resolved."[19] Northeastern tribal members, like the Shinnecock, want to rebuild their communities and move past these multi-generational traumas which still wreak havoc on their communities. In doing so, they want to connect to traditional concepts and values that they believed were an asset to their ancestors such as: recalling lost languages like Algonquian, using oral storytelling of myths and legends and reconnecting with tribal members every year at a major event, the powwow, which was similar to what their ancestors did before colonialism. A metaphor used by scholar Cynthia Esquimaux-Wesley (Chippewa/ Anishinabek) as a "walk backwards to the future" can explain the movement towards traditional Native American ways, through performance and the arts (Valaskakis, Stout and Guimond 2009:5). By reconnecting to a tribal past, Native Americans are able to foresee a future for their communities.

Likewise, the past holds the esteem and values which were once held in high regard by tribal communities. The past also holds a way for native people to connect to the strong energies of their ancestors that may be able to take them away from socio-cultural issues that wreak havoc on the native community such as alcoholism and depression. By rebuilding self-esteem, through healing and confronting feelings of loss or abandonment, native people are able to restore their tribal societies to their former glories. The physical traumas that occurred during and after colonialism run the gamut from tribal disbandment, stealing of land and forced removal to reservations. The effects of colonisation are prevalent in the native community and affect them psychologically, mentally and socially. In order to stop the cycle inflicted upon this community through colonialism, opportunities

[19] The Greater Patchogue Historical Society program charter for "Who Are We?" presented by Janine Tisley-Roe, 19 March 1997.

to raise self-esteem and pride in native members are essential to tribal continuity, survival and identity. For example, Jason Johnson, a Shinnecock tribal member, details how through enacting the powwow and connecting to their ancestral past, tribal members are able to able to 'remember who they are' and these actions bring about a certain amount of pride about being native:

> Indians lost everything and it's a struggle to try and regain what little bit we have left. So, these powwows, that's why they're so sacred, because it's just that little bit of history, and we're just trying to hold onto these songs, and still trying to remember these songs and still continue these dances when at a time in history when Natives weren't allowed to practice their own culture and be their own person, they had to be someone else. So, this is just a taste of 'This is what we used to be?' Oh man, all four doors open them wide open, we are going to go for it. This is why those powwows mean so much because it's just another reminder of who you are and what you are. Yeah man. You know doing beadwork and shell work and making wampum again and you dance in your regalia at these powwows, you sort of push your chest out a little more and hold your head up a little higher, like yeah, I'm proud, I'm real proud, and no one can ever take that away from me[20].

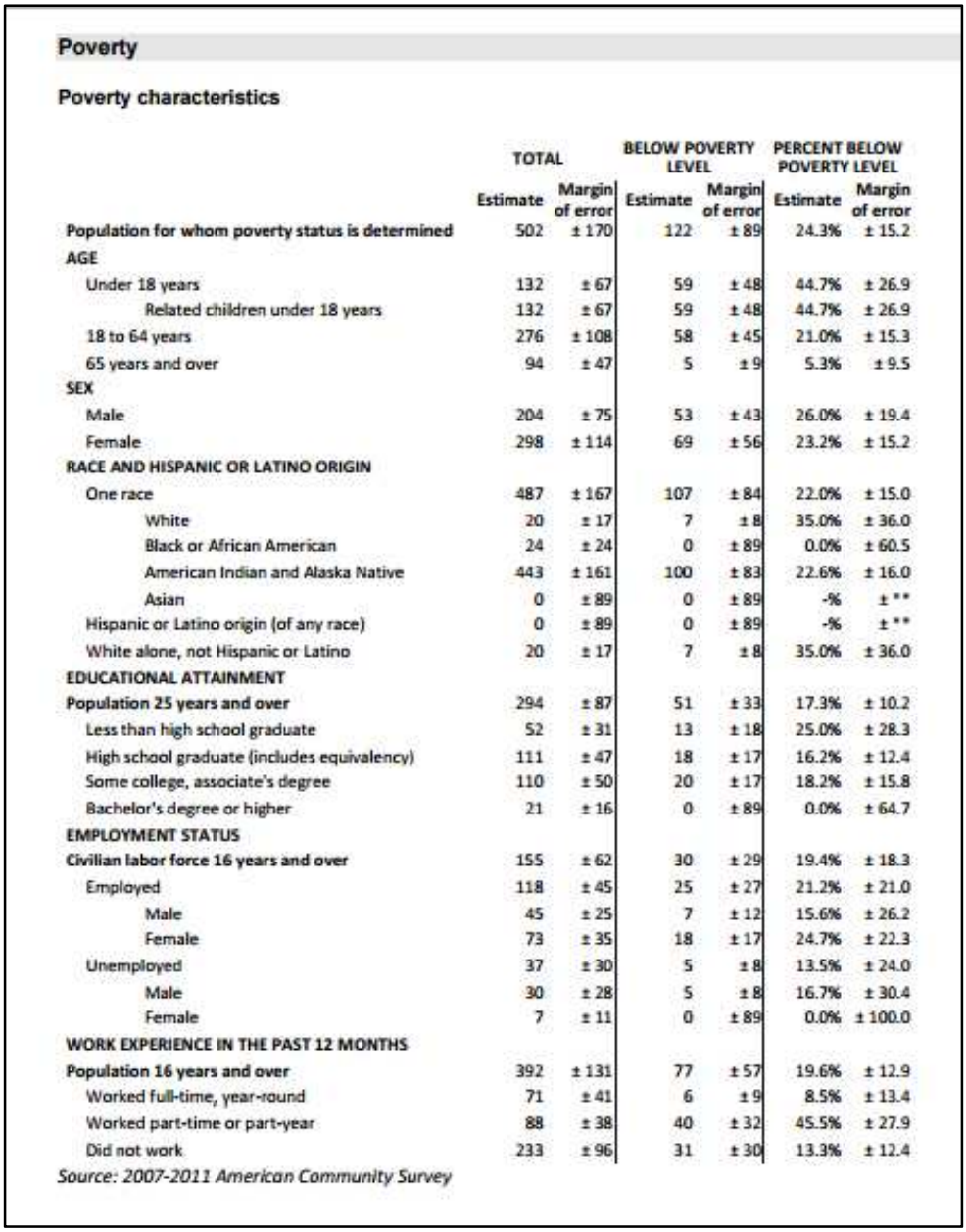
In the above quote Jason notes that he gets to have a 'taste of […] what we used to be' and to connect to 'that little bit of history'. This connection retains tribal traditions. The self-esteem and pride that one feels when performing the powwow operates two-fold, one it makes an individual want to perform again and two, to pass it onto others, which is a healthier cycle than one of poverty, depression and despair. As Jason states, he pushes his chest out a little more and holds his head up a little higher to show how proud he is and 'no one can ever take that away from' him. This is very powerful. Connections reinforce performance while collective remembering establishes a sense of belonging within a community.

Moreover, the powwow is the largest and most consistent source of income for the tribal community. The profits from the powwow assist with mandatory health, economic and social needs of the Shinnecock community such as in: subsidising free to low cost classes and workshops to the tribal

[20] Johnson, Jason, 2013.

community, funding the Presbyterian Church, the community centre, tribal cemetery, and a health and dental centre. The funds also contribute to environmental issues such as rectifying ground water contamination of the Shinnecock bays, illegal dumping and pollution of the oyster and clam hatcheries. The powwow also provides jobs for the Shinnecock tribal members throughout the year as committee members, organisers, fundraisers, crafts workers, regalia repairers, etc. The money from the powwow is necessary to maintain the everyday livelihood of the tribe. According to the 2013 U.S. Census[21], over thirty percent of the Shinnecock population are unemployed; almost double the national average (Figure 4). Those living in poverty depend on the jobs that the Shinnecock powwow provides.

[21] 2013. American Indian & Alaska Native population and American Indian Areas Population and Area Profiles: A collection of recent demographic, social and economic data. Available from: http://pad.human.cornell.edu/profiles/AIAN.pdf



Poverty

Poverty characteristics

	TOTAL		BELOW POVERTY LEVEL		PERCENT BELOW POVERTY LEVEL	
	Estimate	Margin of error	Estimate	Margin of error	Estimate	Margin of error
Population for whom poverty status is determined	502	± 170	122	± 89	24.3%	± 15.2
AGE						
Under 18 years	132	± 67	59	± 48	44.7%	± 26.9
Related children under 18 years	132	± 67	59	± 48	44.7%	± 26.9
18 to 64 years	276	± 108	58	± 45	21.0%	± 15.3
65 years and over	94	± 47	5	± 9	5.3%	± 9.5
SEX						
Male	204	± 75	53	± 43	26.0%	± 19.4
Female	298	± 114	69	± 56	23.2%	± 15.2
RACE AND HISPANIC OR LATINO ORIGIN						
One race	487	± 167	107	± 84	22.0%	± 15.0
White	20	± 17	7	± 8	35.0%	± 36.0
Black or African American	24	± 24	0	± 89	0.0%	± 60.5
American Indian and Alaska Native	443	± 161	100	± 83	22.6%	± 16.0
Asian	0	± 89	0	± 89	-%	± **
Hispanic or Latino origin (of any race)	0	± 89	0	± 89	-%	± **
White alone, not Hispanic or Latino	20	± 17	7	± 8	35.0%	± 36.0
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT						
Population 25 years and over	294	± 87	51	± 33	17.3%	± 10.2
Less than high school graduate	52	± 31	13	± 18	25.0%	± 28.3
High school graduate (includes equivalency)	111	± 47	18	± 17	16.2%	± 12.4
Some college, associate's degree	110	± 50	20	± 17	18.2%	± 15.8
Bachelor's degree or higher	21	± 16	0	± 89	0.0%	± 64.7
EMPLOYMENT STATUS						
Civilian labor force 16 years and over	155	± 62	30	± 29	19.4%	± 18.3
Employed	118	± 45	25	± 27	21.2%	± 21.0
Male	45	± 25	7	± 12	15.6%	± 26.2
Female	73	± 35	18	± 17	24.7%	± 22.3
Unemployed	37	± 30	5	± 8	13.5%	± 24.0
Male	30	± 28	5	± 8	16.7%	± 30.4
Female	7	± 11	0	± 89	0.0%	± 100.0
WORK EXPERIENCE IN THE PAST 12 MONTHS						
Population 16 years and over	392	± 131	77	± 57	19.6%	± 12.9
Worked full-time, year-round	71	± 41	6	± 9	8.5%	± 13.4
Worked part-time or part-year	88	± 38	40	± 32	45.5%	± 27.9
Did not work	233	± 96	31	± 30	13.3%	± 12.4

Source: 2007-2011 American Community Survey

Figure 4: Chart of the Poverty level of the Shinnecock reservation, 2013, U.S. Census. Source: U.S. Census 2013, http://pad.human.cornell.edu/profiles/AIAN.pdf pp. 71.

Federal and state grants, like the Community Services Block Grant which gives the tribe up to $3,000 a year, "provide some resources to the Nation, [but] they fell far short of the monies needed to maintain a proper government and meet the most basic needs of the our tribal members[22]". Randy

[22] Shinnecock Nation Chairman, Randy King 27 March 2012. 'Statement of Chairman Randy King of the Shinnecock Nation to the Subcommittee on Interior, Environment and Related Agencies Appropriations Committee'. U.S. House of Representatives – American Indian/ Native Alaskan Witness Hearings, Tuesday 27 Mach 2012. http://appropriations.house.gov/uploadedfiles/hhrg-112-ap06-wtestimony-rking-20120327.pdf accessed on 12 April 2015.

King (2012) maintains that tribes that have received Federal Recognition after 1997 face more stringent availability of Federal funds than those added to the register before 1997. Lance Gumbs, tribal trustee and owner of a tax-free cigarette business on the reservation, describes the hardships of the tribe and the markedly different quality of life between the residents:

> It is frustrating to watch [large] waterfront mansions proliferate around Indian land, [while] so many of our young people are now trying to find housing, […], you go to work, you save every dime, and you build a box" while walls and amenities come later on (Frazer 2003).

The profoundly noticeable economic disparities between the town of Southampton and the Shinnecock tribe are a source of generational tension on both sides. While Ariel Levy (2010) notes, in *The New Yorker* that:

> The median household income on the [Shinnecock] reservation, according to the 2000 census, is $14,055 a year. [The reservation has] the feel of a scruffy summer camp. […] The land is green and wild, and most of the houses have an unfinished wall covered in white Tyvek house wrap or a roof draped in blue tarp. Because the land is held in trust by the tribe, it is impossible to get a mortgage on the reservation, where banks cannot foreclose, so young couples often add a room onto a family home, and houses grow into haphazard hugeness.

As mentioned earlier, the effects of colonisation have had a physical, psychological and emotional traumatic effect on native, indigenous and aboriginal people around the world. Native people are continuously reliving the pain and trauma experienced during colonisation in the present contributing to depression, anger, poverty and high unemployment which led to abuse of the mind, body and soul i.e. alcoholism, drugs and physical abuse (Valaskakis, Stout and Guimond 2009: 1). In North America, the destruction of Native American religious, social and economic systems contributed to the downfall of their tribal ways and traditions.

According to the U.S. Census Bureau, as of 2010, one in four Native Americans are living in poverty with an overall national average of 26% compared with 8% for Whites, 11% for Asians and 28% for blacks, respectively.[23] According to Krogstad (2014), President Obama defined the poverty and high school dropout rates among Native Americans "a moral call to action". Poverty is an everyday reality for individuals living on Native American reservations. As Jason Johnson, a Shinnecock tribal member, states "We never realised that we were living in poverty when we were growing up; we thought that everyone hunted for their own food, or wore hand-me-down [clothing], or lived in houses with about ten or so of your cousins and relatives. That's just how it was for us![24]"

Although the powwow is the largest provider of economic sustainability for the tribe, it is not enough to sustain the tribe and often becomes bigger and more spectacular each year to attract more tourists. As per the Indian Gaming and Regulatory Act of 1988, the Indian Gaming Commission (IGC) and the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI), tribal groups may "have licensed gaming activities, [such as casinos and bingo parlours], on Indian lands as a means of generating tribal governmental revenue."[25] As the aforementioned government-to-government relationship established when a tribe receives Federal Recognition, they receive a guarantee for self-government that includes enforcing tribal laws, creating a government structure and opening a casino on tribal land. As Hotakainen (2014) states, "Winning such recognition makes a tribe eligible for more federal benefits and is a prerequisite to apply for the biggest prize of all: the right to run a casino". Hence, on the Shinnecock tribal reservation, trustee Lance Gumbs is pushing for a more aggressive economic sustainability program that includes casino gambling:

> We are now exploring Indian Gaming as a means of attaining the much needed self-sufficiency that will enable us to perform the sacred duties laid out for us by the Ancestors - to protect, manage and maintain the Shinnecock Indian Nation[26].

[23] U.S. Census Bureau report on poverty, 2010, http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/poverty/ accessed on 19 January 2014.
[24] Johnson, Jason, 2013.
[25] The Indian Gaming and Regulatory Act of 1988, Public Law 100-497 Sec. 2701 https://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/pdf/lii_usc_TI_25_CH_29.pdf accessed on 19 January 2014.
[26] Shinnecock Nation website, http://www.shinnecocknation.org/history accessed on 25 April 2015.

Despite this, not everyone on the tribe wants a casino as some view it as inconsistent with the traditional way of life. For instance, in 1996 a tribal meeting at the community centre developed into an explosively physical brawl with people throwing chairs and a woman's finger bitten to the bone (Levy 2010). The push for tribal gaming has also led the tribe into legal problems with the town of Southampton and the state of New York. Specifically, in November 2005, the tribe were in negotiations with a wealthy investor who promised the tribe 1.5 million dollars to fund a twenty million dollar casino; as long as the Shinnecock could provide him with forty percent of the profits in the first few years (Southampton Press 30/01/03; 24/07/03). Southampton town members protested and picketed the proposed casino site while Shinnecock members barricaded the enclosure. The town declared that the tribe needed Federal rather than state Recognition to open a casino and that Westwoods (the land they hoped to use for the casino) was not part of the reservation.

In the end, Judge Platt of the New York State attorney general's office determined that the Shinnecock could not build a casino because they were not Federally recognised (Motions, Pleadings and Filings 274 F. Supplement 2nd 268, 2003 WL 21786024 E.D.N.Y.). Congress granted this loophole of plenary power in order to 'balance' the interests of the native tribe and the state but seems to sully the attempts made by the former to relinquish control to the latter. In summary, the state of New York has jurisdiction over the Shinnecock tribe despite laws that grant them sovereignty from state interference.

With all the trouble that the proposed enactment of a casino caused in 2005, the Shinnecock tribe, appealed ten years later to once again open a casino in New York State. Now that they have received Federal Recognition, some tribal members feel that a casino would give a stronger guarantee of economic stability similar to the case of the Mashantucket Pequot Tribe[27] and the Mohegan Tribe[28], both in Connecticut. As Ariel Levy (2012) wrote in *The New Yorker*, many upper class residents "do not want their idyllic environment hurt by the added traffic, congestion, and noise of a gaming

[27] The Mashantucket Pequot Tribe of Connecticut opened the Foxwood Resort Casino in 1986 the largest resort and casino in the United States with revenue of revenue of up to $694 million dollars in 2014. Foxwoods Casino http://www.foxwoods.com/default.aspx accessed on 14 April 2014.

[28] The Mohegan Tribe of Connecticut opened the Mohegan Sun casino in 1996 after receiving Federal Recognition on 7 March 1994 with a revenue of about $48.9 million dollars in 2014. Mohegan Tribe website http://www.mohegan.nsn.us/ accessed on 9 April 2014.

facility [while senator Kenneth LaValle believes] the tribe was blatantly threatening the quality of life on the East End." In 2014, the Shinnecock tribe voted to disband their Tribal Gaming Authority due to an FBI investigation[29], unsolved arson attacks and disharmony amongst trustee members (Wright 2014). With all of the complications of opening a casino, the powwow is still the largest producer of money for the tribe, performed every year, rain or shine.

1.4 LITERATURE REVIEW

Jeff Benedict's (2001) material on the Mashantucket Pequot tribe provided first-hand accounts of the problems with the Federal Recognition Process, especially as it relates to tribal groups in the Northeastern region of the United States. Corey Dolgon (2005) provided documented interviews and factual evidence of the disparity between the Shinnecock tribe and the town of Southampton along with town and local historical documents written from the creation of Southampton in 1641. Native American scholar Vine Deloria Jr. (1983a, 1983b, 1985 and 1988), has written heavily on governmental policy and the effects of colonisation on Native American tribal groups across North America. While Philip J. Deloria (1998) describes the struggle and pain that Native Americans experience when encountered with trauma from colonisation and the appropriation and misappropriation of their culture.

Although, material on the Federal Recognition Process and Native American policy has been at the forefront of Native American studies there has been little research on powwow culture, especially in the Northeastern region of the United States. Renowned scholar on Native American clothing and performance, William Powers notes the lack of information on tribal classification and social relationships within North America along powwow culture. The powwow event itself is often grouped with regional powwows in the Plains region as in the work of ethnomusicologist William Powers, *et al* (1966, 1972, 1973 and 1990 et al), who uses the "syncretic model" to classify powwows within a Northern

[29] The FBI investigation involved the five members of the Tribal Gaming Authority, Donna Collins, Karen Hunter, Joan Crippen Williams, Phil Brown and Barre Hamp. "A lot of people are wondering about some of the things the Gaming Authority was doing and why the FBI seized their papers […] the tribe didn't trust them anymore, and nobody is sure where the casino is going right now, and it was just better to get rid of the Gaming Authority (Wright 2014).

(Oklahoma) and Southern (Oklahoma) dictum (Powers 1980:30, 39). Browner (1997: 265-284; 2000: 214-233 and 2004, *et al*) has performed extensive research on the powwow phenomenon but seems to centre her research on the Southeast and Plains region, respectively. Studies on aspects of the concept of acculturation and intertribal links have been conducted by Howard (1955), Thomas (1965), Linton, (1972) and Laudin (1974), in which it is proven that Northeastern native cultures actually assimilated with other native cultures, effectively losing their 'traditions' while incorporating new ones.

With regards to musical styles and material culture, anthropologists such as Gertrude Kurath (1966), Frances Densmore (1918), Bruno Nettl (1954) and Alice Fletcher (1915, 1917) deciphered the musical styles of various tribes, noting that assimilation with other tribes was explainable by the mixing of tones, inflections and melodies. Lomax's (1959) analysis of non-Western music styles shows that musical symbolic culture reflects the "fundamental and social-psychological pattern common to a given culture" (Lomax 1954:950). Similarly, (Mason 1944 and 1974; Boyer 2000 and Marra 1996: 5-20) have created an analysis of material culture as opposed to one focussed on dance and performance. Likewise, Heth (1992, et al) and Shane (1991: 375-399) focussed exclusively on indigenous performance which did not take into account regional or tribal differences and material culture. While researcher Laura Peers contributed to the emotional, social and political assessment of Native American communities in regards to both the powwows and through tribal museums (2007). Researchers such as Ellis (2004), Powers (1966), Belle (2004), and Hatton (1986) have researched the Men's Grass Dance, a favourite amongst powwow participants especially in the Plains region. Ann Axtmann (2001) researched the Men's Fancy Feather Dance while Native American playwright, Sherman Alexie wrote, and directed a film called *The Business of Fancy Dancing* (1992) in which a gay Native American man comes to terms with the importance of dance amongst his tribal nation.

1.5 ETHNOGRAPHY

For the purposes of this dissertation, I developed three phases of ethnography in order to obtain a well-rounded perspective on the powwow performance and its influence regarding Federal Recognition. This study relies on secondary and primary sources including archival and historical data, pamphlets, and maps, rare documents of tribal rolls, marriage certificates, kinship charts and bibliographical records. My main point of contact was with the Mashantucket Pequot Museum in Connecticut, the Shinnecock Museum and Cultural Centre, the Patchogue-Medford Library and the Suffolk County Archaeological Association all in Long Island (see Appendix 4). Various library professionals, who were of native descent helped to gain entry into the native world and especially into the closed world of the Native American powwow.

Second, observation of the Shinnecock powwow over the course of three years, between 2011 and 2014 as well as attendance at over forty-four powwows across the Northeast region (namely from Maine to New York) helped to develop an understanding of Native American powwow culture (Appendix 2 and 3). Lastly, during the research period over seventy-two tribal members, spectators and museum professionals of native and non-native descent were interviewed (Appendix 5) using self-completed questionnaires, structured interviews, in-depth interviews, participant observation, email and by telephone; this is indicated within the paraphrased quotes from transcribed interviews (Appendix 6 through 8). Video is used to illustrate the movements, gestures and postures of the dance performances in addition to offering the reader a feel for the sensory experience of the powwow event; which is important to gaining an understanding of the importance of the event to the Shinnecock tribe (see **List of Accompanying Material: Video Clips, pp. 6**). These video clips are meant to be watched alongside the written material at key points throughout the thesis.

1.5.1 ETHICS

Many ethical and political issues arise from ethnographic fieldwork. Ethics approval followed the guidelines in accordance with the Ethics Policy and Ethics Handbook of the University of East

Anglia[30]. All questionnaires and interviews detailed this ethics approval before the conduction of all interviews. By viewing other people as outsiders you are seeing them as a separate entity, by taking information and not giving back you can be seen as using them and possibly 'colonising' them in order to further your own careers (Goodall 2000:110). One should be aware of the effect that marginalisation can have on a community and continually attempt to balance the scale between what one wants to know about the powwow, the Federal Recognition Process, and the personal details of others, which one should try not to encroach upon. Reverend Holly Davis, a Shinnecock tribal member, recants that "the work that we're doing here will benefit native people all over, for years to come, not just in the Northeast region. Many people think that we don't exist and that there are no longer native people living here anymore; we have to prove them wrong[31]". This statement sums up the response garnered when conducting research on the Native American powwows and the explanation of indigenous identity.

With a highly political subject as Federal Recognition, tribal identity and race relations, one must be aware of the importance of ethics; namely, how information presented to the non-native community might affect your informants (Kahn 2011). Ideally, a researcher must be able to build a longstanding relationship with key informants in the community whom they work with. However, many journalists and academics who demanded or attempted to pry information from many tribal members, especially regarding their Recognition status, were often shunned and ignored as Shinnecock tribal members attempted to limit the amount of false information in the media. For instance, Jason King, a member of the Shinnecock Warrior Society and Junior Tribal Trustee member discusses an incident in which a reporter from the New Yorker Magazine came onto the Shinnecock reservation lands to ask questions about the tribe's thoughts on building a casino after receiving Federal Recognition. Many tribal members thought nothing of this interview and answered the reporter honestly, with some agreeing and some disagreeing with the proposals[32]. The reporter

[30] University of East Anglia International Development Ethics Handbook, https://www.uea.ac.uk/documents/425303/839345/DEV+Ethics+Handbook+-+Aug+2014.pdf/d64cbe2f-b6c5-4f50-97a5-0c4d7f61a2a2 accessed on 12 June 2015.
[31] Davis, Reverend Holly Haile. Personal correspondence by telephone on 10 October 2012.
[32] Davis, Reverend Holly Haile, 2012.

then edited the statements to slander the Shinnecock tribe against the town of Southampton, where tensions were already high. As Jason states,

> We were slandered real bad in an eight-page spread by someone we thought was a friend. So, to be talking about our constitution, government, leaders and Authority, and how we move and operate to non-Shinnecock people without protection is highly dangerous. I'm just speaking my mind. We have to think about what we share with people. Some things are ours.[33]

The Shinnecock regarded the information about their Federal Recognition petition quite private. By sharing this information with, what they thought to be, a neutral correspondent who later slandered them in the media was unforgiveable. Therefore, the Shinnecock, and most Native American tribes, are wary of non-natives prying into their tribal affairs. As noted in the UEA Ethics Handbook, the most important aspects that a researcher must ensure are those of confidentiality, respecting the data procured, participation which is voluntary, obtaining informed consent with signed documentation of this and lastly, an understanding of how this information will feed back to the community involved (UEA Handbook 2015:2-3) (see Appendix 6).

1.6 THESIS AIMS AND STRUCTURE

This project has the following main aims:

1. To define who the Shinnecock tribe are and why the approval of Federal Recognition for the tribe in 2010 was culturally significant.
2. To explore how the powwow, a form of longstanding cultural expression helped in the obtainment of Shinnecock Federal Recognition in 2010.
3. To use a facet of the powwow, Northeastern dances, as a case study, to illustrate the influence of a Northeastern identity and style has had on the Federal Recognition Process.

[33] Jason King - 'Voice of the Nation' Shinnecock Nation tribal newsletter, 2012:24.

Chapter 2 gives a brief history of the Shinnecock tribe, with a focus on the tribal community before colonial interference. This will help us to see how the Shinnecock performances and contemporary practices align with traditional aspects of their ancestral past. In contrast, we will also discuss the formation of the town of Southampton and its relationship with the Shinnecock tribe, which is laced with political, social, economic and racial tensions. This chapter will conclude with a discussion on the formation of a native Northeastern identity, primarily through the visual arts and tribal expression such as with tribal museums, a reconstructed seventeenth-century tribal community called Wikun Village and the continuation of the annual powwow.

In Chapter 3, we will discuss how the powwow has become a forum for cultural identity, political awakening and tribal authenticity for the Shinnecock tribe. The etymology and historical definition of the word powwow, the contemporary meaning of the word and the event, the reinstitution of the annual powwow by Chief Thunderbird in 1946 and the concept of native space will highlight the importance of the event for the Shinnecock community. The end of this chapter will describe the preparation for the powwow, the orchestration of the powwow event and the aftermath of the powwow event, not previously documented academically.

Chapter 4 gives an overview of two case studies from the powwow performance, the Eastern War Dance and the Eastern Blanket Dance. Both dances feature a preponderance of native styles that focus almost entirely on a Northeastern identity. The material culture, designs, songs and language of the Northeast region feature heavily in the aforementioned performances. Thus this connection to the past will show how the powwow and the dances, as an example, provides a connective link to Shinnecock heritage and therefore, a fulfilling of the main requirement for Federal Recognition, longstanding cultural continuity. In the second chapter, one will gain an in-depth look at the Shinnecock tribe, the town of Southampton and how relations between the two, have affected both communities.

CHAPTER TWO

The Shinnecock tribal nation and the creation of the town of Southampton

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The location of the Shinnecock tribal reservation in the exclusively wealthy town of Southampton produces a stark social, ethnic and economic contrast between the lives of Southampton Euro-American residents and the Shinnecock tribe. Dolgon (1996:4) proposes that "the story of a place is inevitably the story of many places – the story of its people, the story of many peoples", a statement which is indicative of changing populations and land ownership in towns across America during and after colonisation. Long Island historian Everett Rattray (1979:211), who has researched the tribal groups and their interaction with Europeans in towns like Southampton, has determined that "what happened in this little north easterly corner of the continent is more or less what happened everywhere else, although not always in the same order or in synchronisation with greater happenings". In summary, the town of Southampton is like other small towns in America with a strong colonial and indigenous presence; both the native and non-native paradigms are sometimes at odds with each other.

Since the formation of the town of Southampton in 1640, it has evolved from the land of the Shinnecock people or *Sewanake,* an Algonquian word meaning the "place of shells" to the widely known Hamptons, a countryside, and summer escape for wealthy socialites (Hayes 1983:333 and Dolgon 2005). Throughout the year, the Shinnecock tribe shares the land with middle and working-class families who either emigrated from European countries in the early twentieth century, with fourth and fifth generation African-American families and white, middle-class business owners – all

profiting from the high boom of the tourist industry over the summer provided by the booming entertainment industry in nearby New York City.

Though the Shinnecock tribe have resided in the East End of Long Island, N.Y. for thousands of years no other cultural group of people living in Southampton have had to prove their identity or ancestral heritage. In order to understand the complexity of cultural identity, a historical and ethnographic analysis of the Shinnecock and the people who contributed to the formation of the town of Southampton is necessary. For the purposes of this thesis, we will discuss how Native American identity formation has assisted the Shinnecock tribe in obtaining Federal Recognition Process through the formation of a cultural museum and by executing yearly events like the powwow. A brief historical analysis of the Shinnecock tribe will provide a glance of their pre-colonial lives that includes kinship, gender and societal structures which will set the framework for a discussion on how the Shinnecock tribe attempt to maintain this connection to the past.

Long Island, in its entirety, is considered to be a native space - a collective formation of land originally occupied by Native Americans. After colonialism, the formation of the town of Southampton isolated and marginalised tribes, like the Shinnecock. Therefore, defining a native space through a collective identity is essential for the Shinnecock community. To further explain the concept of Long Island as a native space, we will analyse the formation of the Shinnecock Hills Golf Club which was built on top of a large portion of Shinnecock tribal land including burial sites. The familiarisation of what happened in Southampton after colonial interaction shows how the Shinnecock tribe became marginalised members of their own land and native space.

After defining the role of the Shinnecock tribe in the town of Southampton we will analyse how the tribe engaged developed arts-based strategies to assist in the formulation of a Northeastern native identity focussing on their traditions, values and ancestral heritage with the creation of a tribal museum and cultural centre. In 2011, the Shinnecock tribe created the Shinnecock Nation Cultural Centre and Museum (SNCCM) and the Shinnecock Nation Cultural Enrichment Program (SNCEP). On 5 May 2013, they added to the wealth of cultural institutions by opening the Wikun Village - a

recreated, pre-1700s Algonquian-style community meant to give a visual representation of tribal life at the time. These establishments along with the annual powwow have assisted the formation and maintenance of a Shinnecock tribal identity. The major determinant for Federal Recognition is that the tribal community must display a connection to Native American ancestors. The Shinnecock tribe has relayed this connection through displaying native arts, crafts and community programs at the museums in addition to the enactment of the yearly powwow. This analysis will provide a thorough understanding on how the powwow can operate as both a tourist-based event and a ceremony cemented in tribal rituals both leading to the maintenance of a Northeastern native identity.

2.2 THE SHINNECOCK TRIBAL NATION

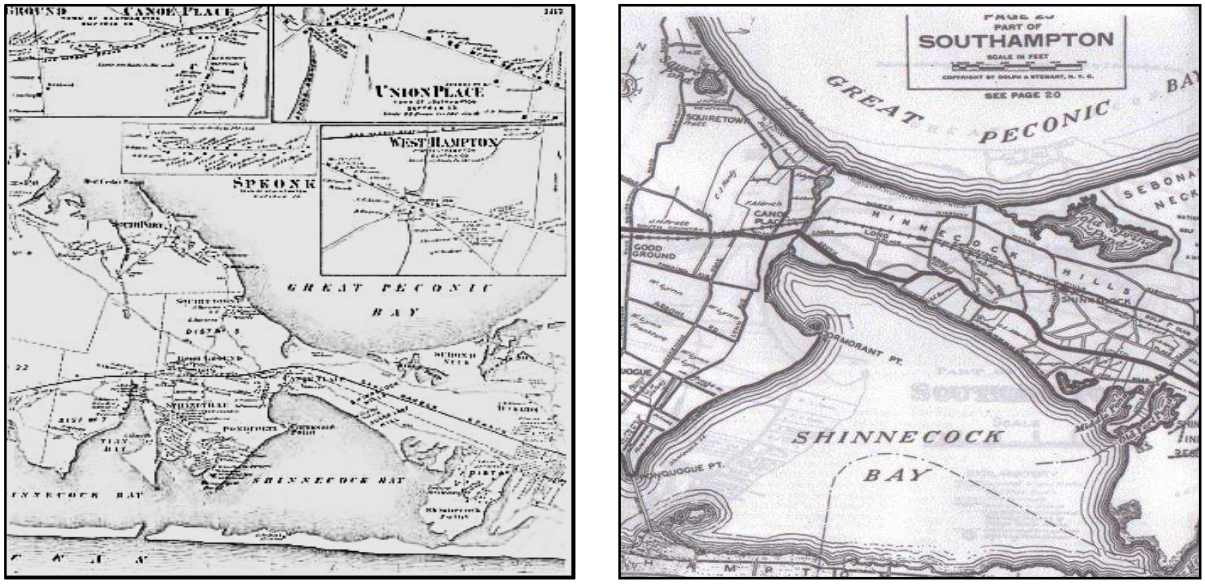


Figure 5: On the left, a map of the town of Southampton 1873 – including the Shinnecock Hills, Canoe Place and Good Ground to Tiana. On the right, an enlarged image of the land owned by the Shinnecock tribe the Shinnecock Hills and the Shinnecock Bay. Source: Beers, Comstock and Cline in Goddard 2011:321.

The Shinnecock tribal reservation is located in the town of Southampton, Long Island, N.Y. eighty miles east of New York City (Figure 5, left). The Shinnecock reservation is located on an eight-hundred acre stretch of land on the East End of Long Island – the Algonquian name for the land was

Paumonacke (the land of tribute[34]) or *Sewanake* (the land of shells)[35]. The coveted Shinnecock Hills occupies the narrow strip of land between the Peconic (the former arm of Long Island Sound) and Shinnecock bays and are separated by the Atlantic Ocean and a thin barrier of sand or moraine[36] that recedes when the tide is high (Strong 2001, Barron 2006: 2, Stone 1980, SCAA 1991). Tribal groups of Long Island were pushed to the far fringes of Southampton - the area named after a village in Montaukett, Long Island, called Shinnecock (Wolfe 1996). The New England region is part of the Eastern Woodlands area that goes as far north as Quebec in Lower Canada to Virginia in the United States. Long Island, N.Y. is part of the southern New England region. The states included in southern New England are New York, New Jersey, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts.

The surviving tribes of this region include the Narragansett, Unkechaug, Montaukett, Mohegan, Mashantucket Pequot, Eastern Pequot, Niantic, Wampanoag and the Shinnecock. Historian Silas Wood (1898), reasons that the Shinnecock was part of the 'original thirteen tribes of Long Island', which included the Setauket, Corchaug, Manhasset, Matinecock, Canarsie, Merikoke (also spelled Merrick), Rockaway, Secatague, Shinnecock, Montaukett, Nissaquque, Masapeague (also called Massapequa) and the Unkechaug (also called Poospatuck). Through recent findings from Long Island historian John Strong (2011) the idea of the 'original thirteen tribes' was a myth possibly fabricated and based on the idea of the thirteen original English colonies in this region (Figure 6). He believes that the names of the tribes used today are indicative of their location rather than their actual tribal name. Unfortunately, we can only use the records of European colonists as to what they thought the tribal names might have been though the names do help us to pinpoint the location of that specific tribe which may assist with archaeological findings.

[34] Tribute was a form of currency between tribal nations, normally in the form of manipulated Quogue, purple-coloured wampum shells.
[35] Northeastern New England tribes used wampum shells as currency; for instance the Pequot and Shinnecock tribes were often 'paid' tribute from other tribes for goods and services (Wilbur 1978, Bragdon 2001).
[36]The moraine formed from the movement of glaciers over the course of thousands of years. The movements pushed material at the bottom of the sandy base holding rich materials and resources (Goddard 2011:176).

According to Lonnie Harrington[37], a Shinnecock tribal elder, states that there are a number of tribes, possibly over one hundred eradicated during colonialism. Eleven of the thirteen original tribes are extinct or assimilated into local tribes. The only remaining tribes are the Shinnecock in Southampton and the Unkechaug located in the town of Brookhaven.

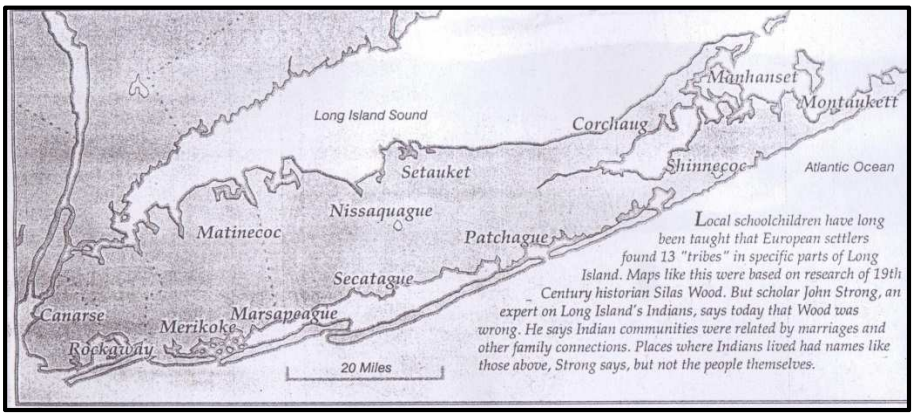


Figure 6: Map of the thirteen original tribes of Long Island. Source: Strong, John 2011: 368.

Long Island has an abundance of good springs of water and land-locked bays for fishing and whaling, forests with abundant game such as deer, bear and racoons for hunting and fertile land for crop cultivation (Skinner 1924:233). According to Shinnecock elders within the Gumbs and Crippen families told by David Wolfe (1996:34), "the tradition of all the tribes of Sewanake, the people of the villages would seasonally remove to select regions of Long Island to harvest the fruits of the forest, to fish and go whaling" which became the mainstay of the Shinnecock community. The Shinnecock were adequate farmers who cultivated the Three Sisters*:* corn (wiwatcaman), squash and beans (mackazits).

Many Native American tribes believe that their society began on the back of Grandmother Turtle. The story goes that Grandmother Turtle received the essentials of life - which they believed to be corn, beans and squash - from the Three Sisters, whom tribal groups give thanks to for food in everyday prayers. Grandmother Turtle, in turn, offered these essentials of life to the Native American people. The three crops are a physical representation of the offering given by the Three

[37] Harrington, Lonnie, Personal interview conducted on 28 November 2013. New York, N.Y.

Sisters to Grandmother Turtle, which has sustained their communities for generations (Green 1994:21). This food source melded well with the erratic Eastern climate and hard soil and was utilised in varied capacities, i.e., boiling, roasting and drying for use in the winter.

Although the Northeastern tribal groups were mainly hunters and gatherers a large proportion of their food source came from the seas; they were proficient whalers and anglers who fished and collected shellfish such as, oysters, scallops, clams, sea sturgeon, bluefish, flounder and striped bass. They performed period fishing and shore whaling or *powdah* or *powdawe*, which was a fishing method used to capture whales (Hayes 1983: 331). The quahog or wampum, a purple-hued shell, was a form of currency between the tribal units; it also embellished native garb such as moccasins, headbands and dresses. Women were the heads of household management and controlled the distribution of food - such as deer and bear meat or *wi'us*, berries, squash, tobacco, peanuts and fish or *pi'amg* (Wilbur 1978).

From these foods, they also produced dyes and medicines that used by powaws, or shamans to concoct herbs, medicines and healing illnesses (Speck 1909a: 199, Leacock 2007: 96, Brown 1975:250, Green 1994:27). Northeastern tribal groups, even across state and country lines, have similarities in hunting style, food sources, ritual and religion as well as language and heritage. New England tribal communities share a common worldview, mix traditional lore and myths as well as share commonalities of speech and technology (Bragdon 2001:3). Strong (2011) believes tribal groups in this region are linked by marriage, language and family connections rather than geographical proximity.

2.2.1 COMMONALITIES OF LANGUAGE AND THE ASSERTION OF MAINTAINING THE ALGONQUIAN LANGUAGE

Give us this day	*Mesunnan eyeu kesukok*
our daily bread	*asekesukohkish nupputtukqunnekonun*

- Translation by Stephanie Fielding, *The Mohegan Dictionary* 2006:99.

Concerning connections based on cultural rather than geographical location, tribal groups in New England spoke different dialects of the Eastern Algonquian language and were able to communicate with each other, even if distantly. Historian Ives Goddard (1978:76) classifies this area as the "southern nucleus" of the Eastern Algonquian linguistic group while Frank Siebert (1975:442-443) posited the term "Southern New England Algonquian" as a separate subgrouping from the larger Eastern Woodlands area. In addition to this categorisation, Linguist David Costa (2007:81-82) has determined that the Algonquian languages have six main language distinctions:

> (1) the Massachusett-Coweset, spoken in eastern Massachusetts and central Rhode Island; (2) Narragansett proper, spoken in southern Rhode Island; (3) Quiripi-Naugatuck, in south-western Connecticut; (4) Unquachog, spoken in central Long Island; (5) Loup, spoken in central Massachusetts, Connecticut and northwestern Rhode Island and lastly, (6) Mohegan-Pequot-Montauk spoke in south-eastern Connecticut and eastern Long Island.

The Shinnecock speak the Mohegan-Pequot-Montauk dialect of the Algonquian language, also referred to as part of the Algonquian-y also includes the Narragansett, Quiripi and Unquachog dialects (Costa 2007:91). The differences amongst these languages are minor and refer more to the spelling of the word than with pronunciation. For instance, the word God, also known by the present spelling of *Manitou* is *maneto-wa* in the y- dialect and *manet* in the l-dialect but if someone from either tribe spoke the word *Manitou, maneto-wa* or *manet,* an individual from this region would know that that person was referring to the word God (Costa 2007:104).

The Algonquian language is complex with "wonderfully long" words as seen in the above quote (Costa 2006:5). Fielding (2006:6) notes the added complexity of this language; syncope, in which a word drops a vowel, is heavily used but the Algonquian language also drops an entire syllable. Furthermore, the pronunciation of vowels involves silent sounds and previous words shaping the sound of the following word, as Fielding (2006:9) explains:

> In Mohegan the <h> means, the following consonant is pre-aspirated. That means you actually pronounce the <h> with the following consonant, giving a breath from the back of your throat, before the consonant. For example, <hk> is pronounced like an English 'k' yet with a puff of breath immediately before it.

The Algonquian language is a composite of native words known by different tribes in the New England region. In the 1650s a group of native students, John Sassomon, James Printer, John Wampus, Joel Iacoombs and Caleb Cheeshahteaumuck along with missionary John Eliot translated the Bible into the Algonquian language. This Indian Bible, published between 1660 and 1663 is in the possession of the Harvard College linguistic department in order to keep a record of the Algonquian language for research and prosperity. At the Strawberry Festival on 9 June 2012, Unkechaug tribal member Celeste Syas[38] stated that "the tribes [Shinnecock and Unkechaug] have been trying to get the book back and keep it in our own archives; we want to learn about our own language". The attempt to retain the Algonquian language is indicative of the continued struggle between the Shinnecock tribe and the non-native community.

Chief Harry Wallace of the Unkechaug tribe along with researcher and tribal member Howard Treadwell have initiated a project with Stony Brook University to revive many aspects of the lost Algonquian language. They provided tapes from the 1940s of elders speaking the Algonquian language, religious documents, marriage certificates and other legal documents written in the language. Henry Bess, tribal trustee, emphasises the importance of language and its connection to tribal ancestry, "When our children study their own language and culture, they perform better academically. They have a core foundation to rely on[39]". The insistence of the remaining tribal groups in Long Island, the Shinnecock and the Unkechaug, to retain their Algonquian language is part of the post-traumatic effects of colonialism. By connecting to their ancestral language, it becomes a part of the Shinnecock tribal identity and is therefore quite important to maintaining

[38] Syas, Celeste, Personal interview conducted on 9 June 2012. Long Island, N.Y.
[39] Bess, Henry, Personal interview by email conducted on September 2013. Long Island, N.Y.

Shinnecock cultural continuity. Though language is a big part of cultural continuity amongst Northeastern tribes, kinship and ethnicity are also some of the socio-cultural aspects that they share.

2.2.2 SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND KINSHIP IN THE SHINNECOCK TRIBAL COMMUNITY

An ancient history and culture over 10,000 years in existence: recognised from time immemorial

-Shinnecock Indian Nation Powwow booklet, 2012:5

The Shinnecock claim of historical, longstanding residence in Long Island is maintained in the often-heard spoken or written phrase, 'We are still here' – often found printed on bumper stickers and t-shirts. Tribal existence is a major issue in Indian Country[40] as Native American identity and heritage are often questioned, both by other native tribes and by the U.S. government, respectively. As of 2011, there are approximately 1,066 Shinnecock tribal members living on the reservation, which accounts for a little over 1% of the entire population, a decrease from the tens of thousands encountered by European colonists in the late seventeenth century.

New England is comprised of networks of people, i.e., clans, groups, tribes, kinship links, families and descendant links rather than ruling individuals with varied levels of social class. Bands, in particular, consist of a series of kinship links to other extended family units, often outside of the tribe, in which material goods, food and land are distributed (Hayes 1983: 337). Land, in particular, fell along the maternal line of heredity rather than the men's line - which is often the case in Western or European societies. The influence of women in tribal society could perhaps be one of the major differences between the tribal society and the Euro-American one society brought over by European colonists.

[40] The term 'Indian Country' is used by Native American tribal groups to describe the areas of North America where Native American tribal groups exist.

Academics have determined that very few societies have come close to a true egalitarian or matrilocal distinction; some include the Minangkabau of Indonesia (Sanday 2002), the pre-colonial Iroquois (McCall 1980 & Wallace 1971) and the Muoso of southwest China (Cai 2001 & Yan and Son 1983). Within true complementarity women and men are "reciprocal partners with shared interests – both benefiting from their harmonious cooperation – rather than as competitors with conflicting interests" (Du 2004:24). For example, in the Shinnecock society both men and women give input when discussing war tactics; the men are often leaders in the war council but they will listen to advise from the clan mothers or older wise women before attacking (Mandell 2008:168). Additionally, David Tall Oak White, a Nipmuc tribal member and guest emcee at the Shinnecock powwow points out that men and women held different roles that in turn complemented each other but did not overshadow or dominate the other:

> We always try to start with our women, as far as our culture goes, the women are the foundation of who we are and are highly respected – sometimes more respected than men. Every gender has a role I guess in the sense, to us the women are the ones that direct and observe and guide – they are the ones that see what is going on and comment on people not doing something properly and how they should change it and need improvement on things. The men have more of an active role, like here is what needs to be done, this work needs to be done, this needs to be done. Not to say that the women are not hard workers, but I think that we are leading back to the traditional role where the women are taking that role of observance of direction and the men being the force of that direction.[41]

Additionally, Loren Spears[42], Narragansett tribal leader states, "I come from a matrilocal community where women have a lot of power, not in an ideological sense, but respect and honour and a voice." According to Deerchild (2003:101), "aboriginal societies walked in balance with the Earth, with the spirit and with one another." White (2013) adds to this argument by suggesting that the balance

[41] White, David Tall Oak. Personal interview conducted on 7 September 2013. Lake Siog powwow in Massachusetts.
[42] Spears, Loren. Personal interview conducted on 13 September 2013. The Tomaquag Museum, Rhode Island.

created within native society corresponds to balanced roles found in nature, such as with the Sun and the Moon:

> To me, it's really nature-based. We see that the Earth is women's and the Sun is men's, so the Earth is the foundation for everything but the Sun is the active role for growth. So, you can't have one without the other, they both play roles and how those roles are played in life themselves. Native cultures are more reflections on nature and how nature works. This is what we say when things are imbalanced.[43]

Men, women and two-spirits each played a role in Northeastern society but property ownership and the maternal line determined the connection of lineage through marriage. Though the society allowed both men and women to have control over their societal lives, marriage was an institution arranged by the father, brother or maternal uncles through whom the woman kept control over her body and her possessions. Hayes' *Tracing a Lineage* chart (Figure 7), states that a clan can be composed of individuals from various tribal groups or kinship orientations, even from a thrice-removed relative. Therefore, the children of an intertribal union, where the mother is Shinnecock and the fathers is Lumbee, are considered to be full Shinnecock and can reside on the reservation if their mother is part of the Shinnecock tribe. However, this system changed after colonisation and especially during present-day Federal Recognition debates, discussed later in the chapter.

[43] White, David Tall Oak, 2013.

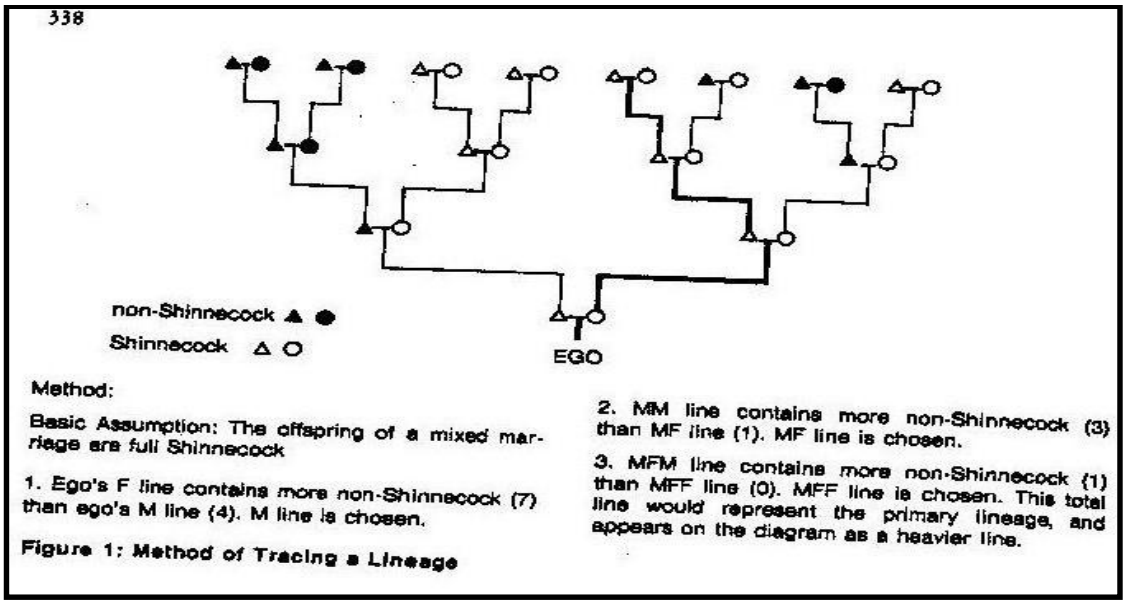


Figure 7: Hayes' Ethno lineal "Tracing a Lineage" Chart. Source: Hayes 1983: 345.

The Shinnecock intermarried with other New England native tribal groups because many aspects of "trade, religious gatherings, such as harvest and funeral rituals, military assistance, and marriage helped bind neighbouring tribes" during tribal disbandment, colonial wars and forced assimilation (Simmons 1986:13). Binding tribal groups and families was a way to maintain their regional heritage amidst changes in the society as a whole. Intertribal marriage was a common occurrence that "by 1861, Connecticut investigators reported that many of the eighty Mohegans had Pequot, Narragansett, Tunxis, or Niantic ancestors" (Mandell 2008:41) Through these tribal connections of intermarriage, Algonquian tribes shared a connected tradition and heritage through blood and family ties (Bragdon 2001:3, Mandell 1998: 467, McMullen 1994:123-124). For instance, according to Rose Oldfield Hayes (Hayes in Stone 1983: 311), the Shinnecock tribes consisted of "four original families or clans, on the reservation were the Bunns, Kellises, Cuffees, and Waukus (Walkers)" – these family names are common amongst the other tribal groups in New England, especially within the Narragansett and Mashpee Wampanoag tribes.

Northeastern tribes also benefitted from intermarriage with African Americans (many runaway or freed slaves) and Caucasians, which helped repopulate their tribal societies (McKinney, et al., 2000:6-7). Controversy arose amongst Northeastern tribal groups due to the complicated nature of

these marriages and the offspring created from these unions. The children would have difficulty subscribing to the Native parents' tribal group, as per the matrilineal or paternal family lines. Many tribes excluded descendants of African-Native or Caucasian-Native unions albeit often creating tribal disharmony in doing so (Brooks 2006: 139, Miles and Holland 2006). Equally, the children from these marriages faced discrimination in Euro-American colonial society. To understand why marriage between tribes and with blacks and whites was in issue we will need to discuss racial politics in the United States.

2.2.3 RACIAL POLITICS IN THE UNITED STATES: DEFINING RACE AND ETHNIC CLASSIFICATION IN THE SHINNECOCK TRIBAL COMMUNITY

The Shinnecock tribe - in which many of their individual members are a mixture of white, black and Native American ancestry – face a complex set of racial issues. These difficult issues, reflecting race and cultural continuity, are reflective of the Federal Recognition Process, which are indicative of a tribe asserting their Native American heritage through written documentation and proof of their native ancestry and blood. Racial classification and a determination on intelligence, personality, ability and status as a human being have been present in various societies for hundreds of years. The theory of Eugenics justified the enslavement of blacks in America, the taking of Native American land and the colonisation of indigenous groups across the world. Jarvenpa (2000:30) suggests, "Racial propaganda and subtle deep-seated mythical charters about cultural superiority served the needs of colonial conquest and expansion and continue to distort Euro-American attitudes towards and dealings with Indians".

For instance, Charles Hamilton Smith's *The Natural History of the Human Species* (1848), determined humans was divided by race, phenotype and geographical location, which therefore determined the possibility of colonisation (Figure 8). Smith based his work on the theories of French

anatomist A.E.R.A. Serres who claimed, amongst other things, that a fertilised egg goes through an evolutionary process from lower to higher attainment in that it first "assumes the form of the Negro, [then] the Malays, [then] the Americans, the Mongolians, before it attains the Caucasian" considered to be the end of evolution (Serres in Banton 1977:35).

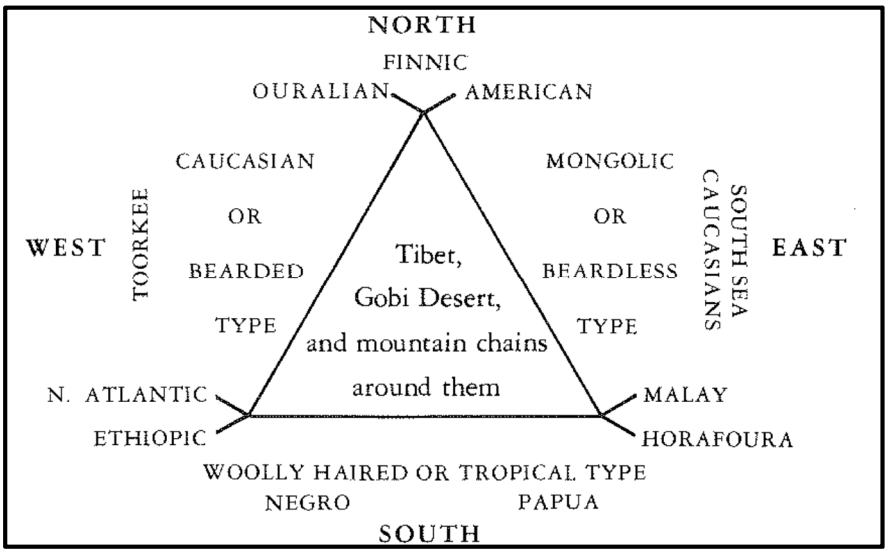


Figure 8: Charles Hamilton Smith's classification of the primeval location and physical descriptions of humankind. Source: Smith 1848:187.

Many of the issues with race in the Native American community stem from the American racial classification of the one-drop rule in which "whites are always free to remember their ancestry and [minorities like] blacks are never free to forget theirs" (Nagel 1995:949). If Native Americans merged with blacks or white their offspring were judged on their phenotype, or how they looked, rather than their ethnic composition. For example, if an individual had fair skin or straight hair they were classified as white on the census as opposed to having darker skin and wooly hair which the census would automatically determine that individual as being black, as per the one-drop rule. Anthropologist for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Mark Raymond Harrington, believed that due to phenotype, Native Americans had assimilated with other ethnic groups to the extent that they were no longer considered 'pure' or full-blooded Native Americans:

> Some are black and woolly headed, having at the same time the facial characteristics distinctly Indian. Others have the straight hair and light

> colour of the Indian, but the flat nose, large dull eyes, and thick lips of the Negro. A few of the men are typically Indian. Of these, Wickam Cuffee is the best example. He is Indian in colour and feature, and claims to be full blooded, but the slight curl in his hair seems to point to some admixture. […]. Very few of the young men on the reserve show 'Indian' characteristics. A number of the women are pure or nearly pure-blooded Indian. […] The preponderance of women over men is accounted for the drowning of most of the Indian men when the ship *Circassian*[44], stranded off Easthampton, was destroyed, […] thus perished the 'flower of the tribe'- the expert whalers who has sailed on many successful voyages out of Sag Harbour or New Bedford – the men whom their white neighbours still speak of as being, 'noble-looking, strong and tall' (Harrington 1924: 281-282).

Most Algonquian natives do not subscribe to the Westernized or Hollywood version of what a Native American looks like, which is to have caramel-reddish skin, high cheekbones, and jet-black or bone-straight hair – though some may. Even before colonisation, New England natives looked physically different than other tribal groups across the nation. Their differences in appearance ran the gamut but this concept did not resonate with historians, academics, scientists and more important with the United States government. Because of years of colonization, miscegenation, dislocation, migration, intermarriage and slavery, the native people on the eastern coast are of mixed racial heritage also called "tri-racial isolates" whom are the descendants of intermixing with black, Caucasian and Native American people (Boissevain 1972:658-660, Strong 1997, Bragdon 2001). These particular groups are scattered across the United States but are prevalent in states on the east coast, such as New York, Pennsylvania and North Carolina. For example, Daniel (2001:68-69) gives a detailed account of the tri-racial heritage in the United States:

> In Pennsylvania, they are called Pools; in Delaware, Nanticokes; in Rhode Island, Narragansetts; in Massachusetts, Gay Heads and Mashpees; in Ohio, Carmelites. Maryland has its Wesorts; West Virginia has its Guineas; and Tennessee its Melungeons. There are the Lumbees, Haliwas, Waccamaws,

[44] The Circassian, a cargo ship, sunk off the coast of the Atlantic Ocean taking with it over half of the male population of the Shinnecock community.

> and Smilings in North Carolina; Chavises, Creels, Brass Ankles, Redbones, Redlegs, Buckheads, and Yellowhammers, all in South Carolina. Louisiana is the home of the most tri-racial communities [and] New York is the home of the Van Guilders, the Clappers, the Shinnecock, the Poospatuck, the Montauk, The Mantinecock, and the Jackson Whites. (Daniel 2001:68-69).

Due to the negative feelings and treatment of blacks and others that were mixed with black blood, many tribes changed their designation of what constitutes a 'Native Indian' often using determinants as genealogy, tribal descendant rolls, skin colour, and even hair texture to determine an individual's level of 'Indian-ness'. Most people, native and non-native, believed that intermarriage and miscegenation with blacks would lead to a loss of native culture. For instance, Native American preacher Samson Occum, "a Mohegan [man] married to a Montauk [woman], paradoxically found himself propagating England's language, customs, and faith, while simultaneously seeking to preserve native racial purity by discouraging Indians from marrying African Americans" (Witek 1994: 213). While Frank Speck, a noted anthropologist for the Bureau of Indian Affairs (1909: 183) states that "it is expected […] that, by the present time, the elements of their own [Native American] culture have been almost entirely forgotten by the modern mixed blood Indians themselves". Racial classification and discrimination travelled readily from Euro-American society into native society leaving many members of the New England tribal community in a quandary.

An example of racial classification and discrimination comes from the golfer, John Shippen who was not only the first person of colour to enter the U.S.G.A golf tournament but also the first American-born golfer to enter the first U.S. Open on 14 July 1896. Although John Shippen had both African-American and Shinnecock ancestry, the Shinnecock considered him a full-blooded Shinnecock tribal member. However, to the white public Shippen was the first African-American golfer to play on an official U.S.G.A. golf course. Due to the strict regulations of the one-drop rule – his Native American ancestry was not a factor when it came to considering his race or ethnicity. In an article *The Tee Room*, John McPhee, compares Shippen to fellow Shinnecock golfer Oscar Bunn, "The U.S. Open at Shinnecock Hills included golfers John Shippen and Oscar Bunn. Shippen was

half Native-American and half African-American [while] Bunn was all Shinnecock" (The New Yorker, 31 March 2003). This statement illustrates the definition of racial identity in post-colonial America. Even though both men were raised as Shinnecock tribal members, despite any racial mixing or full-blood status, amongst the Shinnecock they were seen as equals while amongst the Euro-American society, Shippen was considered to be one or the other or both while Bunn was seen as 'all Shinnecock'.

Tohanash Tarrant[45], a Shinnecock tribal member of Hopi and Ho-Chunk descent, recants a story where a darker-skinned relative of hers was discriminated at a powwow in Copiague, Long Island because the organisers did not believe that she was Native American:

> Actually my cousin, she got her kids there and she is from Shinnecock and she thought 'Let's just do it, let's go to a new powwow', and she was stopped at the gate, because she said she was a dancer and she was trying to register. She is very dark-skinned, probably like a medium-brown and is obviously native, and the person that was doing the registration was like 'We have to see your outfit! We have to know that you are really dancing and not just trying to come in for free'! And she was so pissed off, she just packed up the kids and came back to Southampton, because there was another powwow happening that weekend, and she was like 'I'm not putting my kids through this', so, that's bad mouthing Copiague right there.

Likewise, this discrimination occurs amongst Native Americans mixed with Caucasian blood, also called Metis in Canada. Many natives often place them in the same category with 'wannabes' or white hippies who appropriated the culture of Native Americans and claimed a native identity (Green 1994 & Deloria 1998). Phillip J. Deloria (1998:7) determines that this action is a "persistent tradition in American culture [with whites] reinterpreting the intuitive dilemmas surrounding Indianness to meet the circumstances of their times". Many believe that white Americans feel guilty

[45] Tarrant, Tohanash. Personal interview conducted on 19 September 2013. Shinnecock Nation Cultural Centre and Museum, Southampton, N.Y.

about the colonisation and marginalization of indigenous cultures has led them to connect with these cultures in an inappropriate way bordering on the offensive.

> Yes, we are between two fires, the Red and the White. Our Caucasian brothers criticize us as a shiftless class, while the Indians disown us as abandoning our own race. We are maligned and traduced as no one but we of the despised 'breeds' can know[46].

This ambivalence occurred within Euro-American society as well. After 1850, the U.S. Census listed offspring of a Caucasian and native union as ‘white’, while those of the black and native union were normally classified as ‘black’ unless the individual’s features were unequivocally native looking. Discrimination and appropriation of the native culture contributes to the complexities of race in New England. Race, in America, has had to move past distinctions of either black or white and have had to include those of multi-racial or other ethnic components albeit a product of European colonialism in itself. As is shown in the above examples, race, ethnicity and kinship are a large component of determining native identity. Likewise, they have all become large factors in part, 83.7 (e) in the law 25 CFR 83 *Federal Recognition Acknowledgement Process* of the seven-point criterion for Federal Recognition. We will now discuss how these factors contribute to the Federal Recognition Process.

2.2.4 THE DEBATE ON RACE, ETHNICITY AND KINSHIP CONCERNING NATIVE AMERICAN FEDERAL RECOGNITION STATUTES

As discussed in the aforementioned material, kinship and ancestral heritage connections are a major part of the existence of Native American tribal groups across the nation. Native Americans in the United States must prove their ethnicity or Indianness to the U.S. government by applying for

[46] Mourning Dove, Elisabeth. 1981. *Cogewea: the half-blood*. University of Nebraska Press, pp. 21.

Federal or state-wide Recognition declaring them to be a tribe in the eyes of the U.S. government. In the Shinnecock Petition, 1,066 members can identify as part of the Shinnecock tribe, do not belong to another tribal group and can trace their ancestry back to one of the original tribal members from the 1865 census. This particular census was used because it was the "earliest [written] record to plainly state that it is an enumeration of the Shinnecock Reservation [therefore] current members who demonstrate descent from an individual recorded as 'Indian' on the 1865 State census of the Shinnecock Reservation are deemed to demonstrate descent from the historical Indian tribe" (Appendix 9 pp. 99-100). In other words, present-day Shinnecock members can prove their connection and ancestry to the tribe by providing documents with the name of an ancestor from 1865 or by showing an ancestors' name on one of the governmental documents submitted for review.

Part 83.7 (e) of 25 CFR 83 of the Federal Recognition Process states that "membership must consist of individuals who descend from a historical Indian tribe or from a historical Indian tribe", therefore, intermarriage between tribal groups was acceptable (Appendix 9, pp.99) (Appendix 1). Concerning intermarriage, descent and ancestral connections, the Shinnecock would historically intermarry and cohabitate with other tribes and races in New England, as mentioned earlier in Section 2.2.3. Additionally, the children of a married couple from different tribes could claim allegiance to both tribes, rather than the maternal or paternal tribal group, which allowed both parents' heritage links to be honoured. Through a Western or European determination, descent was determined by the paternal line - rather than tracing eligibility from the maternal ancestral line, which is common practice amongst Northeastern tribal groups.

Similarly, race and ethnicity is an essential component when a tribe attempts to gain Federal Recognition, as Shinnecock members must prove their kinship link to tribal ancestors, therefore defining their race as Native American, as opposed to black or white. This link is conditional on the census writers' definition of that individual's ethnicity. For instance, the Shinnecock Petition notes that in 1865 an individual could only pick black, white or mulatto (a person with one black and one white parent) as a racial classification; therefore many of the Shinnecock tribal members could not

classify their ethnicity as Native American because of their ethnic genealogical mixture (Appendix 9). Due to this, the census writer manually recorded an individuals' ethnicity, as Native American, or Indian, on the census rolls rather than black, white or mulatto, as the Shinnecock were neither but also, in some cases, all three (Appendix 9, pp.104). Therefore, racial classification became complicated for the Shinnecock tribe. The U.S. government categorized tribal members under one racial classification, such as black or white rather than a multi-ethnic determination.

2.3 DEVELOPING A COLONIAL SOCIETY: THE CREATION OF SOUTHAMPTON, LAND TREATIES AND THE 'SAVING' OF THE NATIVE AMERICAN RACE

This section is essential to develop an understanding of the importance of land for both the colonists and the Shinnecock tribe. Land, to colonists, was a valuable commodity – it offered freedom from oppression, a sense of home ownership and pride in cultivation while the European claims to land ownership were foreign to Native Americans (Kawashima 1986:100, 110). According to colonists, if an individual did not expand and develop their land, which included farming and property, then they were guilty of not deserving to occupy the land (Story 1835:135-136). Alternatively, natives believed that land was not theirs to own but could be 'loaned' out for cultivation and hunting purposes; land, therefore, was a "community resource" which was communally owned by kin or tribal groups (Kugel and Murphy 2007: xxx).

The Early Contact Period (1650-1850) marked increased interaction between European colonists and New England natives. This initial contact was one of "equal status trade and voluntary adaptation" which quickly melded into one of "directed acculturation wherein the English imposed their values and customs on the Indians" (Strong 2002: 4). Though Northeastern natives attempted to assimilate European colonists into their way of life, colonists viewed Native Americans as naive, uncontrolled and wilful savages who would have difficulty existing in the new world that they were creating (Green 1994:9 and Jennings 2000:16). Bragdon (1996: xiii) argues that indigenous peoples of this

region developed “emotional, physical and psychological responses to the [new American] world” based on their initial interactions with colonists. Furthermore, Charles Eastman, a mixed-blood Sioux disputes that Native Americans are not ‘simple or lazy’ but instead, the Euro American colonist is greedy and lustful in regards to the need to own and expand rather than working with what they have at their disposal.

> The Native American has been generally despised by his white conquerors for his poverty and simplicity. They forget, perhaps, that his religion forbade the accumulation of wealth and the enjoyment of luxury. Thus, he kept his spirit free from the clog of pride, cupidity, or envy, and carried out, as he believed, the divine decree—a matter profoundly important to him. It was not, then, wholly from ignorance or improvidence that he failed to establish permanent towns and to develop a material civilization (Eastman 1911:5).

In the above quote, Eastman claims that the ‘failure to establish permanent towns and to develop a material civilisation’ was not through ignorance or failure to try but was a conscious decision made by Native Americans to embrace a simpler life outdoors unencumbered by material possessions. As the desire for private property and land ownership amongst the European colonists increased so did the need for natives to reside on said land. Colonists used their “plenary powers”, such as, enforced bans and restrictions over native peoples to claim jurisdiction of their lands (Newcombe 1992: 19). Colonists would restrict native activity and create excessive fines and jail time that would result in the sale of land to pay off debts. In 1654, Southampton, N.Y. enacted a law prohibiting natives from digging for groundnuts on land that colonists claimed to own, their penalty was humiliation by public whipping (Stone 1983: 35, Harrington 1924). Colonists used the fear of this punishment to claim land and create boundaries.

Colonial wars were a large component in the displacement of native lands. For instance, the Pequot War of 1637 made a lasting impression on the remaining tribes in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York and particularly with the Shinnecock and Montaukett tribes in Long Island. Furthermore, the removal of the strong Pequot tribe affected the economic and political sphere of the tribal groups

in New England. In turn, colonists changed the Northeastern political system by granting jurisdiction over all tribal affairs into the hands of one person, or a chief, also called a puppet sachem. In New England society, tribal decisions were made my tribal committee and not by one individual (Stone 1983:36). This change in political structure allowed "ambitious sachems to expand their influence over areas like Long Island" which created discord in tribal communities (Goddard 2011: 330).

Many sachems used the removal of the Pequot to their own advantage by forming alliances with the English settlers, for instance, Wyandanch convinced Lyon Gardiner, a military official from the Pequot War to set up a protective territory on an island, now called Gardiner's Bay off of the coast of Long Island near Montaukett tribal territory. This protection was necessary to guard against other tribes, like the Narragansett, Lenape or Niantic, who might use the removal of the Pequot as a way to conquer the defenceless tribes of Long Island; by procuring the protection of Gardiner and English settlers, Wyandanch was hoping to shield against a litany of potential wars (Goddard 2011: 330). In addition to their protection, many of the Shinnecock tribe welcomed European settlers into Southampton. The effects of European plenary powers, forced assimilation and colonial wars on issues of race, governance and ethnic classification contributed to continual trauma after the institution of colonialism on Native American communities. Historical disenfranchisement of the Shinnecock tribe led them to pursue methods of maintaining their cultural identity, such as with the powwow, museums and indigenous language workshops. First, there has to be an understanding of how the town of Southampton was created after the imposition of European colonists.

2.3.1 THE FORMATION OF THE TOWN OF SOUTHAMPTON

> This people [of Southampton], finding no place in any of the former erected colonies to settle in to their present content, repaired to an island severed

> from the Continent of Newhaven, with about 16 miles off the salt sea. Long Island, being about 120 miles in length, and yet but narrow, this people erected a Town and called it South Hampton. There are many Indians on the greatest part of this Island who at first settling of the English there did much to annoy their Cattel with the multitude of Doggs they kept, which ordinarily are young wolves brought up tame, continuing of a very ravening nature (Johnson in Howell 1887:22).

On 13 December 1640, an agreement between the Shinnecock tribe and landowners in the town of Southampton constituted the beginning of the town of Southampton (Dolgon 2001). According to Goddard (2011:328), "the first settlers negotiated a land agreement with the Shinnecock Indians [which] gave them title to the lands east from Canoe Place (the location of the Shinnecock Canal) to Wainscott at what is now the Easthampton town line. Subsequent Indian deeds put all land west of Canoe Place as far as Brookhaven in settlers' hands. Rather, the verbal agreement was due to urgency on the part of the settlers to plant a harvest for the season that would incur a loss of money in their farming businesses.

The original landowners consist of John Winthrop, the governor of Lynn, Massachusetts, Daniel Howe, Edward Howell, Edmond Farrington, George Welbe, Henry Walton, Job Sayre, Josiah Stanborough, Edmund Needham and Thomas Sayre who purchased the land with contributions ranging from £5 and £50 (Howell 1887). Goddard (2011:20) notes that though a deed was drawn up to prove the sale of land the Shinnecock were uninformed of the sale of their land; they most likely thought that they were offering the land to the settlers on a temporary basis:

> The Shinnecock, knowing nothing of the English law of property and having their own distinct ideas of land ownership realised that they were transferring their land to the new arrivals. They had no sense of land as a commodity capable of being exchanged. Much more probable is that they thought they were providing usufruct rights to the settlers in exchange for what must have been understood by them as gift goods as well as assurances that the English would provide them with security from potential attack by other Indian groups (Goddard 2011:20).

After the American Revolution ended in 1763, Euro-Americans began surveying, marketing and settling new divisions of land across Long Island (Sleight 1931). Wealthy landowners continued to purchase land in Long Island from Mamuck or Canoe place to the west in Seatuck and northward to Peconic Bay. In 1662, colonists made the Toppings purchase for twenty fathoms of wampum by the Shinnecock sachems Weany (the widow of the Montauk chief), Anabackus, Cobish, Toquobin and Wetaugom and the Quogue purchase in 1663 (Howell 1887:25). In 1703, the town of Southampton leased the Shinnecock Hills to the Shinnecock tribe for one thousand years. Regrettably, in 1859, the lease the town created with the Shinnecock tribe was broken as this land was sold to proprietors of the future golf club (Howell 1887).

> In 1686, we find that a new generation of Indians had arisen who were evidently dissatisfied with the acts of their fathers who had sold their soil to the stranger and it also became a grave question for the town at large - how this portion of the population, utterly unfitted as they were for the steady labour and restrained habits of civilised life, could, in the future, be supported without being a burden to the community. The manner was settled in a peaceful manner: a new deed was obtained from the chiefs of the tribe, and to provide for their maintenance, the town gave them a lease of Shinnecock hills and neck, for a term of one thousand years, dating from 1703 (Pelletreau, Foster and Hodges 1887:x).

The above quote illustrates the different mind-set between the Native American tribes and the Euro-American settlers. According to the colonists, the manner was settled peacefully and a new lease was obtained with signatures from the Shinnecock tribe, though the Shinnecock tribe insists that there was no signed treaty for the town of Southampton and therefore, the land was stolen.

2.3.2 LAND TREATIES AND ACTS: THE INTEGRATION OF THE NATIVE AMERICAN INTO EURO AMERICAN SOCIETY

Concerning the complexities of land ownership New York State law, Ch. 87:63, enacted on 10 April 1843, determined that individual ownership was legalised between both Native Americans and white settlers. Native Americans and white settlers fought for ownership of Southampton. The majority of white settlers felt that the indigenous population would "become a burden" to settlers hoping to make a new life for themselves in Southampton (Sag Harbour Corrector, 27 August, 1881:3). Despite this, nineteenth-century federal policies sought to integrate Native Americans into American post-colonial society. For instance, the Indian Appropriation Act of 1851 gave Native American tribal groups' monetary assistance to move them onto pre-determined land. On 3rd March 1871, the second Indian Appropriation Act was passed by Congress which declared native individuals as wards of the government while a few years later, a third Indian Appropriation Act in 1885 determined that Native Americans could sell their land to American prospectors without penalty.

The enactment of the Dawes Act of 1887, also called the General Allotment Act, forced native tribes to concede their land which was then distributed to non-native individuals. The Dawes Act was an attempt to assimilate Native Americans into mainstream society by coercing them off their land and forcing them to coalesce within Euro-American society (Dolgon 2005:102). In 1889, President Harrison enacted the Fort Laramie Treaty that further forced native people to assimilate into mainstream society:

> First, the anomalous position heretofore occupied by the Indians in this country can no longer be maintained. Second, the logic of events demands the absorption of the Indians into our national life not as Indians but as American citizens. Third, as soon as wise conservation will permit it, the relations of the Indians to the government must rely solely upon the Recognition of their individuality [that is, the Indians must be legally private persons, not subordinate to the tribe as a corporate entity. Fourth, the individual must conform to the white man's ways, peaceably if they will, forcibly if they must. Fifth, Compulsory Education. Sixth, tribal relationship should be broken. Seventh, honest, administration. Eighth,

> competent and honest servants of the government (Milligan 1976:121, Kehoe 1989:14).

In his very detailed eight-point act, listed above, President Harrison created a systematic approach, which he believed would incorporate native people into American society with the least amount of difficulty. To President Harrison, as well as other Euro-Americans at the time, Native American assimilation was of benefit to them more so than to American society. Native people would be 'American citizens' making them 'legally private persons'. This determination also saw an emphasis on individualism rather than the subscription to a tribal group, which the U.S. government viewed as 'subordinate' to the 'corporate entity', which was America. According to the U.S. government, Native Americans profited from this exchange as it helped to relinquish the tribal stronghold while affirming their identity as American citizens.

Later that year, President Grover Cleveland passed a fourth Indian Reorganisation Act of 1889, also called the Homestead Act, which allowed white pioneers to settle on any land available which also included 'Indian' land. The land rush allowed white pioneers or homesteaders to claim land, even those legally owned by Native Americans. These homesteaders were extremely prejudiced against native people, pushing them back onto reservations and their small allotment spaces and away from much desired land (Brooks 2008: 176). Failed Federal Native American policies could not change the view of native people in American society, as non-European, ethnic minorities; they were in a disparate position of individual ownership that did not equate with their traditional systems of group or community owned land tenure.

Between 1870 and 1890, "two-thirds of New York towns lost their populations […] overall in the Northeast 300,000 people were estimated to have migrated in search of better opportunities in the west" (Goddard 2011:27). This migration left many poor farmers searching for workers to employ. The large increase ethnic immigrant population, mostly Polish, Italian and Irish, were able to fill the positions of farm workers (Goddard 2011:15). After the Industrial Revolution, the emerging working class depended on Euro-American households for income, rented their property as tenants -

foregoing their traditional ways to survive in this new economy (Goddard 2011:18). Native American men were farm hands, gardeners, or house servants but maintained their livelihood as whalers[47] and fisherman, assisting the white settlers on their voyages. The land acquired from treaties and acts were developed into properties for the upper-middle classed town of Southampton.

In particular, the Shinnecock Hills Golf Club and the Shinnecock Hills Summer Art School were economic boosts for the town of Long Island, especially with the advent of the Long Island Railroad (Scibilia 1991, Kurpisz 1979). The Long Island Rail Road (LIRR), opened on 25 April 1832, became a "means of opening up to colonisation, the endless pine barrens throughout the centre of the island [Long Island]" (Seyfried 1961:5) (Figure 9). Essentially, the railroad became a metaphorical symbol of colonisation - with Euro-American colonists physically cutting through the unexplored wilderness and brush of Long Island. Additionally, it became an effective method to eliminate or drive the indigenous population further and further away from colonial society, in the name of progress.

Suffolk and Nassau counties golf courses were huge economic and social booms for Long Island's economy by offering company discounts for large businesses, providing a space for play for the wealthy and offered an exclusivity that could not be matched with other institutions (Kurpisz 1979). With the success of the Shinnecock Hills Golf Club, Samuel Parrish[48] and Mrs. William S. Hoyt funded the opening of the Shinnecock Hills Summer School in 1891 (Brown 1956:7). The school established Eastern Long Island as a site of major artistic importance, especially with the use of the plein-air painting style, valued amongst Impressionists of the time[49]. We will briefly analyse how the Shinnecock Hills Golf Club, as a case study, changed the view of land ownership amongst Native Americans and colonists in Long Island.

[47] Colonists noticed that the Shinnecock and other coastal tribes were proficient whalers, so they capitalised on this "cash crop" production using the tribes' expertise for financial gain (Stone 1983, Strong 1983:231).
[48] Parrish Art Museum website - http://parrishart.org/about/history
[49] Parrish Art Museum, http://parrishart.org/about/history accessed on 10 June 2014.

2.3.3 SHINNECOCK HILLS GOLF CLUB (1891 – PRESENT)

Figure 9: Shinnecock Hills Golf Club logo. Source: Shinnecock Hills Golf Club website http://www.shinnecockhillsgolfclub.org/Default.aspx?p=DynamicModule&pageid=392626&ssid=314458&vnf=1, accessed on 22 April 2015.

The logo of the Shinnecock Hills Golf Club, still used to this day, illustrates this history of social and cultural tension, disputed land claims and broken treaties between the Shinnecock tribe and the town of Southampton (Figure 9). The logo for the golf club features a Native American man wearing a headdress with a golf club and an arrow crossed behind him[50]. The arrow – used as a representation of nativeness - behind the head of the Native American man attempts to connect a sense of legitimacy to the golf course with the legacy of the Native American. Hence appropriating the native image in the logo connects the heritage of the Shinnecock tribe, and its thousand-year history, to the golf course created only over one hundred years ago in 1896 (Dolgon 2005:45).

The golf course appropriates the image of the Native American man, and the Shinnecock tribe, in order to connect historically with the town of Southampton. The Hampton settlers make constant attempts to imprint themselves into the past and "inscribe themselves and their status positions onto the natural landscape [by] appropriating the past" (Dolgon 2005:8). By associating the golf club

[50] In 2005, the logo supposedly changed to a red shield with a golf club crossed with an arrow and the name of the club underneath. Speculatively, the club is hoping to disassociate themselves with the Shinnecock tribe rather than honouring the image of Shinnecock people to gain notoriety (Clavin 2005). Upon research in 2011, the golf club has gone back to their original logo.

with this past, they are re-instilling their connection to Southampton and their 'conquering' of the Native American tribes in the area.

Similar to the LIRR, the Shinnecock Hills Golf Club was created alongside the pilfering of Shinnecock land and the decimation of the Shinnecock tribal group. The Shinnecock Hills Golf Club opened in 1891 along the east end of the Shinnecock canal. The wealthy founders of the golf club: William K. Vanderbilt, Duncan Cryder and Edward S. Mead strived to create a golf course similar to those in Scotland (Clavin 2005). Goodner (1986:98) acknowledges that the formation of the golf course in Southampton "launched the migration of Scottish professionals to the U.S. Open and set this country [the United States of America] on the road to golfing supremacy[51]".

William Dunn, a Scottish immigrant, designed the twelve-course ground to rival the largest golf courses in Scotland, England and the British Isles[52]. The three men, joined by local art historian, Samuel Parrish, paid $2500 for eighty-acres of land on the Shinnecock Hills purchased under the right-to-purchase Act created in 1703 allowed white landowners to lease Native American-occupied land for one thousand years (Pelletreau 1886). Despite this, Shinnecock tribal members believe that the town of Southampton usurped their land, particularly Shinnecock Hills, without their consent and legal tender and 'sold' it to Vanderbilt, Cryder and Mead in 1859. This purchase is still debated in court between the Shinnecock tribe and the town of Southampton.

[51] The golf course also held the U.S. Amateur competition in 1896, the Women's Amateur in 1900, the Walker Cup Match in 1977 and the U.S. Open, respectively, in 1986, 1995, and 2004 and later on in 2018 (Shinnecock Hills Golf Club website) http://www.shinnecockhillsgolfclub.org/Default.aspx?p=DynamicModule&pageid=392626&ssid=314458&vnf=1, accessed on 23 April 2015.
[52] Shinnecock Hills Golf Club website, 2015.

Figure 10: The Shinnecock Hills Golf Club grounds. Source: Hamptons.com http://www.hamptons.com/article.php?articleID=480#.VTyzxCFViko accessed on 12 April 2015.

In conjunction with its illustrious history, founder William Dunn built the Shinnecock Hills Golf Club on top of Shinnecock burial grounds. (Figure 10) Admittedly, Dunn used the landmass topography of the Shinnecock Hills, which unfortunately held the graves of Shinnecock ancestors, as mounds for golfing bunkers. Dunn contends, "The place was dotted with Indian burial mounds and we left some of those intact as bunkers in front of the green" (Goodner 1986:100). He continues in a joking manner that:

> We scraped out some of the mounds and made sand traps. It was here that the Indians buried their empty whiskey bottles, but we did not find this out until later when playing the course. One never knew when an explosion shot in a trap would bring out a couple of firewater flasks, or perhaps a bone or two (Clavin 2005).

Although contested by the Shinnecock tribe the golf bunkers remain to this day (Figure 12). It is astounding that the building of a golf course over a graveyard is commonplace in any society. Amato (1997:152) suggests, "The dead were not allowed to stand in the way of the living. Rather,

they were used to serve the pleasure of the living". Clavin (2005) observes in the same article where the above quote was taken that, "Any construction project in Southampton comes to an immediate halt if Shinnecock graves or artefacts are found". Though Clavin's statement is purported with a similar flippancy for burial grounds as the aforementioned quote, the construction of the golf course in the present day would face legal ramifications and possible lawsuits in line with Native American Graves and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA)[53]. This lack of respect for the Shinnecock tribal members' ancestors' remains was not uncommon at that time, as people of colour – their bodies, values, livelihoods - were viewed as being of lesser value than those of Euro-American settlers but would be fought legally in the present day.

In 2005, the tribe filed a lawsuit against the town of Southampton asking for billions of dollars in repatriation and the return of 3500 acres of land that includes the Shinnecock Hills where the golf club resides. While some believe, the tribe has a case against the town for building the course on their land without proper documentation of ownership others feel that the Shinnecock may be lashing out at the town of Southampton because of ongoing tension and legal controversies such as the casino mentioned in Chapter 1 (Clavin 2005).

The golf club is a resounding example of how much the Shinnecock tribe was regarded in the colonial and post-colonial community of Southampton – which is very little. Due to racial prejudice and a belief that the native communities were disintegrating, the residents of Southampton did not respect the tribe, their values and especially their land. The town not only appropriated the land of the Shinnecock but also occupied the sacred grounds and the bodies of their ancestors when the golf course was built. Similarly, the Shinnecock Hills Summer School also appropriated Shinnecock land and resources. Many tribal members felt that their identity was being eradicated and their lands encroached upon as the years progressed with the Shinnecock Hills Golf Club where their ancestors were buried, the LIRR which ran through much of their land and the Shinnecock Hills Summer

[53] The Native American Graves and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) [43 CFR Part 10], instituted in1990, "address the rights of lineal descendants, Indian tribes, and Native Hawaiian organizations (parties with standing) to Native American human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony (cultural items)". U.S. Department of the Interior website http://www.usbr.gov/nagpra/ accessed on 05 June 2015.

School that failed to acknowledge the existence of the tribe whose land they resided on. To counter this, a Northeastern tribal identity was maintained. In the early twentieth century, this identity included a reflection on Northeastern traditions and those of surrounding tribes, such as the Narragansett and the Unkechaug.

2. 4 ESTABLISHING A COLLECTIVE NATIVE IDENTITY IN NEW ENGLAND

As mentioned in Chapter 1, one of the four tenets of performance focusses on Counsell's (2009:1) theory that performance is intermingled with 'remembering, forgetting and reinventing past values'. Developing a collective identity within a community requires notions of collective memory. When an entire community can determine what is important to the maintenance of their society in a manner that connects them to the ancestral past as well as helping them to develop a collective identity the performance becomes embedded with social values and mores that become important facets of their lives. This is one of the reasons that identity, especially, a collective identity is important within a tribal community.

In the twentieth century, tribal identity became very important to the Shinnecock tribe. However, the concept of identity is fluid, "socially constructed and therefore constantly changing" (Van Meijl 2004:11). The notion of the fluidity of identity determines that an individual can have intersecting and antagonistic routes that build towards the formation of his or her identity for example, especially as the majority of Shinnecock members are of Native American, black and Caucasian heritage. Will-Hitt (1979:9) adds "native people are aware of, and practice to varying degrees, two often widely contrasting life styles. To move between these two worlds can be a feast of appreciation for human ingenuity, or it can be the bitterest trap". These two worlds can be an identity of being both black and native or white and native, Shinnecock and Native American or Native American and American. When it comes to determining Native American Federal Recognition having and defining a strong tribal identity is what will give a tribe that distinction.

Will-Hitt (1979:8-9) understands that native people are often wanderers searching for a homeland, a connection, to their past or to other tribal groups. It is this sense of connection that creates a tribal identity representative of an endowed, ancestral past. The Shinnecock tribe relies on research from historians and missionaries, oral history and accumulated material from nearby Northeastern tribal groups to ascertain a native identity (Bragdon 1997). As mentioned earlier, their connection to nearby tribal groups helped them to maintain strong connections through intermarriage but these unions also retained tribal traditions and mores passed down through the generations and across the region.

Despite the removal of their lands by the town of Southampton - which included the building of the LIRR, the Shinnecock Hills Summer School and the Shinnecock Hills Golf Club - the Shinnecock tribe maintained their tribal identity by continuing to practice their traditions and instil a sense of ancestral connectivity to the past. The development of this identity helped with the granting of Federal Recognition in 2010. For instance, the Shinnecock subscribed to the colonial political system by annually voting on the first Tuesday in April to elect three tribal members to serve over the tribe. However, the Shinnecock tribe "exercised their sovereign right as an ancient Indian nation" and returned to the traditional method of tribal politics which included 'decision by tribal council' in addition to the "consensus of adult tribal members[54]. The decision to revert to the traditional, tribal government structure, indicative of decision by tribal council, is one of the many steps that the Shinnecock took to maintain their Northeastern identity.

In addition to supporting a traditional, tribal government structure, the Shinnecock developed a Northeastern identity by re-establishing the creation of traditional arts, the use of the Algonquian traditional language, and ceremonial and ritualistic practices like sweat lodges. Although, the tribe's largest event, the annual Shinnecock Nation powwow, consistently reinforced their tribal identity through every aspect of the arts: music, dance, song, crafts making, language and ritual; tribal institutions and festivals also played a role in maintaining a Northeastern identity amongst the Shinnecock. The formation of these facilities, workshops and events helped to foster a connection to

[54] Shinnecock Nation website, http://www.shinnecocknation.org/history accessed on 23 April 2015.

the Shinnecock ancestral past. Tribal organisations and events raised ethnic consciousness while specifically focussing on repairing "human relationships and [repairing the] link to group membership" (Tusaw-Lu 2011:26). These links reinforced the importance of belonging to a tribal community and developing a collective identity.

Cultural events such as the Shinnecock Strawberry Festival held every June celebrates the New England berry harvest while Earth Day celebrations on 19 April celebrated the coastal environments both which are part of the Shinnecock economy as well as a link to their tribal heritage. Additionally, between August and October, the Shinnecock and the Unkechaug held the Green Corn Thanksgiving event where they sold crops and native-made items, held a mini-powwow dance display and gave thanks for a bountiful harvest. In 2001, the Shinnecock Nation Museum and Cultural Centre (SNCCM) opened, forming the Shinnecock Nation Cultural Enrichment Program (SNCEP). The Wikun Village, which is based on a reconstructed, 17th century Algonquian village opened in 2013.

In addition to the powwow, the museum and the village are "linked to self-determination, cultural survival, and sovereignty: teaching the past in order to change the present and the future" (Peers 2007: xiv). Native interpreters at these 'living history sites' help challenge stereotypes and prejudices set forth by Hollywood films and events like the World's Fair and the Buffalo Bill Wild West Shows of the past. These sites remain a platform for Native American people to communicate and connect with their ancestral past while changing the way they are viewed in the public opinion. Furthermore, these sites enforce a sense of a collective connection that is essential for establishing a native identity.

2.5 THE SHINNECOCK NATION CULTURAL CENTRE AND MUSEUM (SNCCM)

Traditionally, museums were the first point of call for the Western, romanticised dichotomy of the patriotic, nation-building, civilised European colonists and the primitive, uncivilised, wild and unnatural indigenous or non-Western 'Other'. Many of the first reconstructions placed indigenous and

non-Western people along a line of civilised progression with the former placed in their habitats at one end of the spectrum and the latter sitting in the seat of colonial advancement (Peers 2007). Museums were said to provide an uncontested version of the past based on historical fact when in actuality they are representative of fragmented, post-colonial societies told through the voices of said colonisers. The story told at historical sites and museums is one of dominance/submission, civilisation/primitiveness and colonialism/non-existence.

Indigenous and non-Western peoples were displayed as 'relics of the past' or as 'primitive' others, whom required colonial understanding because of their uncivilised ways. For instance, many Native peoples lived in zoos in the late 19th century; placed in a stereotyped characterisation of 'wild people' alongside zoology, agriculture and evolution. Towards the end of the nineteenth century Native people were viewed as non-existent relics of the past, something to collect or recall fondly when one thinks of frontier life. By placing Native people with the past they could not be taken seriously in the present; they were non-threatening reminders of a time that has long gone and will never return. After the Pan-Indianism and Red Power movements of the 1970s indigenous people are using tribal museums and living history sites as a way to affirm and articulate their identity both to themselves and to non-native visitors therefore, questioning the system of colonialism and marginalisation.

Tribal museums are defined as a "museum, cultural centre, heritage centre, history centre, or interpretive centre that is owned and operated by any one or more of the Federally recognized or unrecognized American Indian tribes, either on or off reservations" (Alario 2007: 71). Tribal museums define tribal territory, maintain ideas of tribal sovereignty brought on by Pan-Indianism and instil a sense of tribal identity. These facilities preserve aspects of their cultural heritage by transmitting knowledge through public events, permanent and temporary exhibits, workshops, tours and visual material such as paintings and crafts. Clifford (1991: 225-226), adds that within his research on Northwest Coast museums, "tribal museums express local culture, oppositional politics, kinship, ethnicity, and tradition".

Moreover, a tribal museum is pivotal to the Shinnecock connection to the past. Director of the Tomaquag museum, Loren Spears states that tribal museums operate differently from state or Federal museums in that the former connects to the past, connects it to the present issues and then projects these feelings onto a future in which Native Americans are represented fairly and accurately while the latter does not:

> The biggest thing that comes to mind is often museums run by non-Native folks as opposed to tribal museums, they're often put in a past tense light, consistently, that kind of reinforces the propaganda that we don't exist. So, I think that's something that is very different from tribal museums and the museums across the worlds really, they look just at indigenous culture from a past tense lens. I think that tribal museums take a look at the past and then come to the present and then sort of project that onto the future. And that's the piece, that the museum plays a role in tribal communities as an opportunity, not the only opportunity, but one of the opportunities for people in the tribal community to share their expertise in an area with other people so whether that's through internship programs, or through cultural classes or ceremonies or events that happen that incorporate music and dance, or whatever, it seems to be in the content area.[55]

Loren reasons that non-native museums put the tribal community in a past tense light, often reinforcing the propaganda that they no longer exist. However, she believes 'tribal museums take a look at the past and then come to the present and then sort of project that onto the future'. Therefore, she asserts that tribal museums take aspects of the past, relate it to what is happening in the present and then projects ideas or strategies to improve in the future through a native interpretation. Consequently, tribal museums like the Shinnecock museum provide ancestral tribal connections through the perspective of the Shinnecock tribe, exclusively.

[55] Spears, Loren, 2013.

The Shinnecock Nation Cultural Centre and Museum (Figure 11) opened in 2001 to "promote awareness, understanding and an appreciation of Shinnecock history and culture.[56]" It is the first and only native-run tribal museum on Long Island and one of the first in New England, with the Tomaquag museum in Narragansett, Rhode Island running a close second (Loren Spears, personal correspondence). The museum took over thirty years to come to fruition and with grants from the Health and Human Services Department in Washington, the Administration for Native Americans and the Mashantucket Pequot Tribe – whom also run Foxwoods casino in Connecticut provided necessary public funds and private fundraising[57]

Figure 11: The Shinnecock Museum. Source: Gordon M. Grant of the New York Times. 24 May 2013. http://www.nytimes.com/2013/05/26/nyregion/building-a-traditional-village-at-shinnecock-nation-cultural-center-and-museum.html?_r=0 accessed on 23 March 2015.

The museum, built by the Oneida Indian Company, is constructed of local, sturdy Adirondack white pine, a staple material in the construction of tribal homes in the Northeastern region. It encompasses five thousand square feet of space at the entrance of the Shinnecock reservation. The building is fashioned to resemble a longhouse[58], which is a Northeastern-style housing structure for multiple families; the structure features long wooden poles fastened with leather straps rather than nails.[59]

[56] Shinnecock Museum website - http://www.shinnecockmuseum.com/?sid=117&idpage=artists accessed on 09 June 2013.
[57] Godoy, Andrea, Personal interview conducted on 9 August 2012. Long Island, N.Y.
[58] "The [long] house was low and long, about sixty feet long and fourteen or fifteen feet wide. The bottom was earth and the sides of the roof were made of reed bark of chestnut trees stuck in the ground and all fastened together" (Dankers and Sluyter 1875: 47).
[59] Indians.org http://www.indians.org/articles/longhouses.html ,accessed on 09 June 2013.

The museum's front door features a Glenn McCune life-sized pine woodcarving of an elk with protruding antlers at the top grazing at a pine tree and a wooden antler as a door handle (Figure 14). A spiral staircase made entirely of pine logs directs visitors from the entrance, gift shop and temporary exhibits on the second floor to the main or lower level which houses permanent exhibits, a library, classrooms and offices. On the south side of the museum, a stained-glass window, by artist David Troge replicates the museum's emblem; a man and a woman in traditional Northeastern-style dress facing a whale in the centre.

The permanent exhibition space in the east and west wings of the building contain six murals painted by artist and museum curator, David Bunn Martine (Figure 12). Each large mural features multiple panels some measuring up to twenty feet high. Martine states that each mural is an evolution of the Shinnecock people that "covers six cultural phases in the history of the Shinnecock which as he refers ranges from the Palaeolithic period – around 8,000 B.C., to the period of colonial contact in the late 1600s to local events that have occurred in the twentieth century" (Martine, David, personal correspondence June 2012).

Figure 12: On the left, museum curator and painter David Bunn Martine. On the right, one of Martine's murals, which surround the interior of the museum, this particular one depicts pre-colonial Shinnecock daily life in the region. Source: M. Sykes, 2011 and 2012.

Leading down the stairs to the main level, historic photographs of Shinnecock tribal members flank the walls while on the main level (Figure 13) while at the main level, bronze sculptures of Shinnecock tribal members in movement poses which range from pre-colonial times to present, are

presented on tall white stands, bringing the work to the spectators' eye level. One of the bronze sculptures in particular, features a young girl performing the Eastern Blanket Dance (Figure 14); the art piece mirrors the fluidity of movement of the real dancer.

Figure 13: On the left, a set of bronze sculptures depicting prominent Northeastern chiefs and warriors like Wyandanch and Tatobam, both sachems during the Pequot War of 1636. On the right, a visitor to the museum travels downstairs while looking at historical photographs of Shinnecock tribal members. Source: M. Sykes 29 June 2012.

Figure 14: Two photos depict the women's Eastern Blanket Dancer. On the left, a bronze sculpture of the dancer and on the right, an actual Eastern Blanket dancer at the Shinnecock powwow, 2011. Source: M. Sykes 12 September 2011.

2.5.1 PERMANENT AND TEMPORARY EXHIBITS AT THE MUSEUM

Permanent and temporary exhibits instil a sense of tribal longevity at the museum especially as museums themselves become a form of public representation in which colonial beliefs and values

are placed. Temporary exhibits present current issues in the Shinnecock community like tribal preservation or they may highlight an aspect of the historical past. Two of the temporary exhibits on display for six months in 2013 were the *Hoka Hey: in memory of Jason 'Tek'* and *Indian Mariner's Project*. This section will provide a brief analysis of these exhibits as temporary exhibits give a structured opinion on the historical as well as contemporary life of the Shinnecock tribe.

One of the major exhibits of 2013, titled '*Hoka Hey: in memory of Jason 'Tek' King* describes the life of a young Shinnecock man killed in a tragic car accident on 28 April 2012 (Figure 15). The exhibit features an overview of the insurmountable work that Jason did while a member of the Shinnecock nation.

Figure 15: Jason King wearing a 'Hoka Hey' t-shirt (this phrase was used during the American Indian Movement as a sign of solidarity amongst various tribes). Source Maidhof, Colleen – Hamptons.com website 'Shinnecock Museum presents Warrior Visions Exhibition'. Hamptoms.com. http://www.hamptons.com/The-Arts/Museum-News/18531/Shinnecock-Museum-Presents-Warrior-Visions.html#.VOjebPmsWSo accessed on 12 March 2015

For one, King was the co-founder of the Young Men of Shinnecock youth group and the Shinnecock Warrior Society; both mentored young native men in the New England area. Descriptions of the groups' members position them as present-day warriors, a nod to their tribal ancestry. Men, especially young men, on the Shinnecock reservation face pressure to use and sell drugs, alcohol and other socio-economic pitfalls as a result of living in poverty. Most of the young men work at the Shinnecock Museum while others volunteer at the Shinnecock Cultural Camp over the summer.

These young men consider themselves to be modern-day warriors as they provided strength and exhibited pride towards their community.

Secondly, King was the youngest member of the Shinnecock tribal council. He was an avid member who voiced his opinion, especially when it concerned the livelihood of the tribe. In the Shinnecock tribal newsletter, King wrote an opinion piece on his concerns for the Shinnecock tribe, in regards to outsiders who may hold negative intentions like slandering the tribe:

> Though I wish as a Nation, we could accomplish tasks and come up with our own resolution and strategies without conversing with outside entities when it comes to certain things, especially our constitution and government. […] This is our history! We didn't need or have help with our ways 10,000 years ago. The things that aren't working with our government and constitution we are capable of handling and reshaping. We have to start giving ourselves more credit. […] I trust no one after that New Yorker incident. […] We were slandered real bad by someone we thought was a friend. […] We have to think about what we share with people. Some things are ours (King, Jason in 2010 Shinnecock Tribal Newsletter, pp.12).

King is very vocal about the tribe working together to improve conditions, especially, as he notes in the above quote 'we didn't need or have help with our ways 10,000 years ago'. This statement shows the Shinnecock connection to their native ancestry and the urge to revert to the traditional way of doing things. Even at Jason's young age, of thirty-four years old, he realised the importance of community, self-reliance and keeping sacred knowledge sacred.

Lastly, the exhibit featured Jason's artistic accomplishments. He was interested in capturing the beauty of Indian Country. King travelled across the country documenting the lives of various tribal groups. His clothing line, 'Evitan couture', presented the photographs that he took on his country-wide journey of Indian Country on t-shirts, sweatshirts and dresses. The title of the exhibit, 'Hoka Hey' is a tribute to the American Indian Movement; the phrase, 'Hoka Hey' which became a universal greeting that native people from various tribes used to greet each other. According to

many tribal members, Jason embodied the Shinnecock spirit of collective identity and a burgeoning warrior spirit[60]. The museum told his story so that visitors, native and non-native, can understand and respect what this young man has accomplished in his short time as a tribal member. Specifically, Jason's story is the story of the Shinnecock, one of resilience and a strong connection to his tribe.

Figure 16: The Indian Mariners Project: Top photo, the banner of the project featuring Dr. Mancini and sections of murals painted by David Bunn Martine of Shinnecock whalers. Bottom left: Dr. Mancini and Elizabeth Haile, or Princess Chee Chee Thunderbird, June 2013. Bottom right, Dr. Mancini presenting his findings at the Shinnecock Indian Cultural Centre and Museum, June 2013. http://indianmarinersproject.com/photos/ accessed on 5 January 2015.

On 28 June 2013, another exhibit titled the *Indian Mariners Project* headed by Dr. Jason Mancini presented the whaling history of the Shinnecock tribe. In the exhibit, a series of maps and connective links displayed the "the routes of Indian-crewed vessels, and thus, the social networks connected to them.[61]" Dr. Mancini and Shinnecock elders like Elizabeth Haile, also called Princess Chee Chee, and museum curator David Bunn Martine presented Northeastern tribal history to an academic audience at the Shinnecock museum (Figure 16). As seen in the photo in Figure 16, the

[60] Spears, Loren, Tohanash Tarrant and Jason Johnson, personal correspondence, 2013.
[61] The Indian mariners Project - http://indianmarinersproject.com/maps/

exhibit featured a series of conferences, hands-on workshop and presentations that highlighted the extraordinariness of the whaling industry in New England.

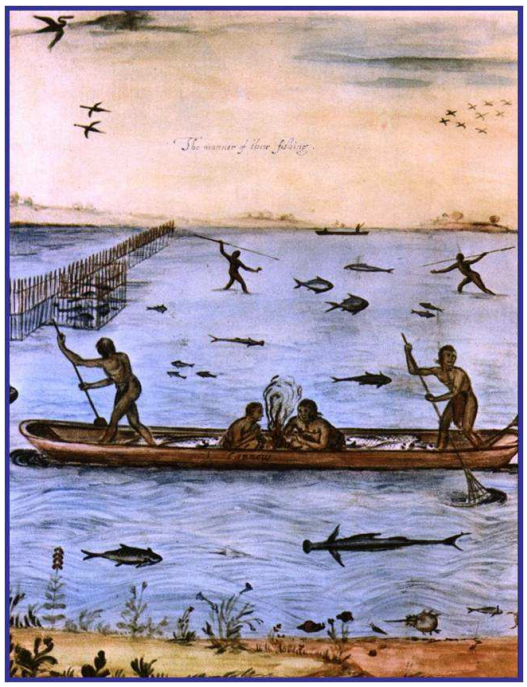


Figure 17: Mishoon canoe used by Northeastern tribes. Photo courtesy of the Mishoon Project website, http://projectmishoon.homestead.com/whatisamishoon.html

Historically, the sea has always held a strong connection to tribal communities. The Shinnecock used the sea as a connective waterway between tribal groups along Northeast New England, which was an effective form of communication between neighbouring tribal groups (Figure 17). Jason Mancini states that "the history of Native New England cannot be told adequately or accurately without turning an eye towards the sea[62]." As mentioned in Chapter 1, the Shinnecock economically depended on fishing, clamming and powdah. Many male tribal members became mariners and fishermen working for long periods out in the sea away from their families and tribal lands. For instance, on 30 December 1876, the Circassian, a cargo ship, sunk off the coast of the Atlantic Ocean near Shinnecock Bay. The ship took with the entire crew that included between ten and twenty Shinnecock men. "One can't help but recall the tragedy of the ship, Circassian, which sank that fateful day in December 1876, carrying so many of our able-bodied men down to the watery

[62] The Indian mariners Project - http://indianmarinersproject.com/maps/

grave with her. This was one of the greatest enervating factors to strike a dwindling tribe" like the Shinnecock (Brown 1957: 8-9).

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the Shinnecock used long, dug-out canoes called mishoons to fish and trade goods (Figure 17). Currently, various members of tribal groups across New England have come together in Project Mishoon, started in 2001 by members of the Nipmuc Nation in Worcester, Massachusetts. Project members have excavated three mishoons so far, found first in the bottom of Lake Quinsigamond in Massachusetts and later in other locations along the Northeast region[63] (Figure 18).

Figure 18: Photo of the Mishoon found underwater. http://projectmishoon.homestead.com/whatisamishoon.html

Tribal members from the Shinnecock, Nipmuc, Unkechaug, Lumbee, Mashantucket Pequot and Iroquois tribes constructed a large replica of the mishoon, the first in four hundred years. With this replica they organised a group excursion of ten to fifteen tribal members from various groups to paddle from one side of the seaport in Mystic, Connecticut to the other. On 8 August 2015, this group paddled in the replica mishoon on a Misson Mishoon project (Figure 19). Shinnecock tribal member, Sagkompanau Mishoon Neetooeusqua (translated to mean I lead, I am butterfly woman) stated that she was grateful for the people of the Mishoon Project "allowing me to live in my role for our people. I am forever grateful and feel so honoured to be asked to paddle in the largest Mishoon

[63] Project Mishoon website: http://projectmishoon.homestead.com/Index.html

on the east coast in 400 years[64]". This mishoon connected Sagkompanau and the other tribal members to their mariner ancestors in multiple ways: to be able to craft a traditionally-made item and then to use it in the same way that their ancestors did hundreds of years ago.

Figure 19: Sagkompanau Mishoon Neetooeusqua paddling in the replica mishoon with other Northeastern tribal members. Photo courtesy of Shinnecock Nation Facebook website: https://www.facebook.com/shinnecocknation/photos/pb.143195833070.-2207520000.1450277917./10153258305053071/?type=3&theater

Both exhibits, *Hoka Hey: in memory of Jason 'Tek'* and *Indian Mariner's Project*, show museum visitors that the Shinnecock are continually connecting to their ancestral past while also using this knowledge to construct a better future for their tribal community. Jason King was a young man that worked hard to learn about not only Native American culture as with the American Indian Movement but also used this information to inform other tribal members of what he learned. The Mariner's Project provided a necessary link to the ancestral past to the present Shinnecock tribal community. This project showed within time and space frameworks, that the Shinnecock have inhabited Long Island for generations. Along with permanent and temporary exhibits, the

[64] Shinnecock Nation Facebook website: https://www.facebook.com/shinnecocknation/photos/pb.143195833070.-2207520000.1450277917./10153258305053071/?type=3&theater

Shinnecock Museum also spearheaded the Shinnecock Nation Cultural Enrichment Program (SNCEP) which presents workshops and learning opportunities for Shinnecock tribal members.

2.5.2 SHINNECOCK NATION CULTURAL ENRICHMENT PROGRAM (SNCEP)

In 2011, a supplemental workshop programme called the Shinnecock Nation Cultural Enrichment Program (SNCEP) worked alongside the Shinnecock Museum to connect tribal members to their heritage by creating practical crafts, food and regalia similar to their ancestors. According to the Shinnecock powwow brochure, the program "teaches our children and young adults to know who they are, to know our history - to know how our ancestors and elders faced the issues of loss of land, of attempts of theft of language and culture and prejudice, yet still maintained this place for us".[65] The SNCEP program offers an intergenerational sharing and learning opportunity for not only the Shinnecock youth but also for adults and elders of the tribe. The museum focussed on youth-centred programs that instructed tribal members how to create, produce and use methods and styles from the pre-colonial Shinnecock history.

To further the education of native languages, participants in the SNCEP program attended classes with the national Indian Education Summer Camp which helps to expand their knowledge on Northeastern history. The research was presented and presented in conferences with the Language Reclamation Program. The Shinnecock Museum and the SNCEP offer classes and workshops based on the framework of material taught at national Native American organisations and museums like the Smithsonian Museum, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and NAGPRA. Although the SNCEP officially received funding from the government and became a subsidiary of the Shinnecock museum in 2011, the tribe held workshops and classes for its members, for years, with the help of unpaid volunteers and tribal members. For instance, in 1933 (Figure 20) the tribe held a women's cooking class which showed young girls how to make traditional New England meals which

[65] 2011 Shinnecock Powwow Booklet, pp. 22.

included wiwatcaman or roasted corn, corn meal cakes, hominy, popcorn and succotash (Bragdon 1997).

Figure 20: A cooking class at the Shinnecock School, 1933. Source: Shinnecock Museum Facebook website, accessed on 18 February 2015.

One of the more popular workshops provided information on how to procure oyster and clam hatcheries the way that their ancestors had for generations. This information on how to operate clam and oyster hatcheries helped Shinnecock families financially. Historically, the Shinnecock used drying heaps, which were the "prototype of the fireless cooker and direct progenitor of the modern clambake", to roast and steam the shelled-molluscs on burning embers and rocks, and this technique is still used today to cook clams and oysters, as seen in figure (Skinner 1909: 236).

The Shinnecock tribe were able to procure state-issued aquaculture permits and a $300,000 grant from the Administration for Native Americans to harvest and sell the oysters at a competitive price[66]. The Shinnecock tend "underwater lots as small as five acres for cultivating oysters with deeper cups and meatier bodies than the everyday Atlantic oyster, grooming them so the shells are uniformly clean and thick" which makes them marketable to the surrounding areas, offering a form of income to the tribal families (Severson 2008). The Shinnecock tribe sell the fresh oysters and clams from the clambake to local restaurants. Most recently, the proceeds from the clambake helped

[66] Shinnecock website, http://www.shinnecockmuseum.com/ accessed on 15 March 2015.

to raise money for the Wikun Village staff to attend the Aquinnah Wampanoag Powwow in Massachusetts in September.

Another popular set of workshops featured clothing and regalia design. Tribal members were instructed in bead-making, working with wampum, cross-stitch and especially in making buckskin dresses (Figure 21). Buckskin leather is made from the cleaned, softened and then tanned skins of deer, elk, bears or foxes – animals indigenous the Northeastern region. Buckskin dresses often take a long amount of time to create; this includes the skinning and drying of the buckskin hides, dying the hides, accurately measuring and cutting the fringe to hand on the ends of the dress and then constructing the hides into dress forms. Buckskin material lasts for hundreds of years; the dresses on display at the Shinnecock museum on display (Figure 21, middle) can boast construction around the late 1800s[67].

Figure 21: Buckskin Dresses: On the left, buckskin dress worn by Chee Chee Thunderbird. The middle photos shows buckskin dresses on display at the Shinnecock Museum. The right photo presents detail of an Eastern Blanket Dancer's fringed buckskin dress. Source: M. Sykes Shinnecock Powwow, September 2012

Historically, these skills were essential for an individual to know, as everyone created their own clothing and regalia. Those that are able to sew, knit, cross-stitch or mend are invaluable to the performers at the powwows especially when the increased activity of dancing ensures that some parts of the regalia will experience normal wear and tear. For instance, as seen in Figure 22 on the

[67] Martine, David. Personal interview conducted on June 2013. Shinnecock Museum, Long Island, N.Y.

left, Shinnecock member, Victoria Williams assists Eastern War Dancer James K. Phillips with his regalia in time for the annual powwow. Often times the dancer puts most of their energy in dancing and working with musicians so they need the assistance of those whom are more skilled in regalia-production to ensure that their pieces are unique and special every year. Additionally, on the photo, on the right, in Figure 22, Shinnecock members, Lacina Onca and Josephine Smith produce a Northeastern buckskin dress for display at the Shinnecock Museum. It is interesting to note that in the photo on the right, Lacina's son is watching his mother create the dress in the upper left hand section of the photo. This is a further example of 'learning-by-example', continuing the system of tribal learning to the next generation of tribal members.

Figure 22: Victoria Williams and James Keith Phillips work on his powwow regalia while on the right, Lacina Onca and Josephine Smith make a buckskin dress for museum display. Source: M. Sykes June 2011.

Furthermore, a large part of the classes consists of repairing and adding embellishments to regalia worn by young women in the Miss Shinnecock contest (Figure 23).

Figure 23: 2009 Miss Shinnecock pageant winners. Source: 2012, Shinnecock Powwow Booklet 2012: 28.

The Miss Shinnecock contest is indicative of tribal pageants across North America. The young women chosen to participate in this event must be between the ages of 18-25 (in some tribal groups, the age is lower), not married, not living with a partner, and must be adept at indigenous knowledge and tribal ways. The event includes a pageant parade, an exhibition of traditional tribal dress and an Indian giveaway in which the contestants give money and gifts to their sponsors or tribal communities. The women are judged on personality, namely their ability to be sociable, friendly, charming and intelligent; their knowledge of native culture, dress and traditions and lastly, their performance of a traditional native talent, like reciting a poem in their language or performing a traditional song. Examples of Native American beauty pageants include the powwow princess competition, Miss Indian World and Miss Native American USA (Roberts 2005: 152).

Figure 24: Pottery making: On the left, Beverly Gwathney and Tohanash Tarrant work on clay pots as part of a workshop led by community member and artisan Wunetu Tarrant, on the right, a photo of Beverly creating a pot on a moving turntable. Source: Shinnecock Revival Centre, http://www.shinnecock-revival-center.org/shaped-molded-god/

Some of the classes include pottery and basket-making which was a time-honoured activity amongst Northeastern tribes; they created lightweight structures for carrying, cleaning and holding materials (Hunter 1958). In Figure 24, Shinnecock members, Beverly Gwathney and Tohanash Tarrant make and design clay bowls with symbols evocative of the Northeastern region, such as the thunderbird and deer (Goddard 1971). While Matauquas Tarrant, in Figure 25, demonstrates how to use a whale blubber scoop, similar to what may have been used in the 1700s by the Shinnecock tribe and then, later the European settlers.

Figure 25: Whaling: Matauquas Tarrant demonstrates the use of a processing tool which aided in the manufacturing of whale blubber. Source, Shinnecock museum website, www.shinnecockmuseum.com

Lastly, the SNCEP funds a camp for Shinnecock youth during the summer. Children receive lessons in both the English and Algonquian languages as well as tutoring in math, science and literature; they learn to swim and even learn to play golf at the nearby Shinnecock Hills Golf Club.

Figure 26: The Shinnecock summer camp. Source: 2011 Shinnecock powwow booklet, pp. 25.

In Figure 26, children learn about dugout canoes with Shinnecock manager, Tohanash Tarrant while others learn to sing, drum or dance. The exuberance and excitement generated during the museum

workshops and summer programs led to the opening of the Wikun Village, a project orchestrated by the Shinnecock museum, to display life in the pre-colonial Shinnecock village circa 1700.

2.5.3 THE SHINNECOCK NATION WIKUN VILLAGE

The Wikun Village is a Native-run living history site paid for by members of the Shinnecock Museum, volunteers and finds from private benefactors. Peers (2007:61) notes that Native-run events and history sites would provide a semi-romantic portrayal of Native Americans but when they had the attention of visitors they would offer authentic tribal, traditional and regional performances. The Wikun village, which opened over the weekend from 25 to 27th May 2013, gives visitors the sense that they are stepping inside an indigenous community many centuries ago (Figure 27).

Figure 27: The front of the Wikun Village brochure, which features tour guide and museum employee, Jason Johnson. Source: Wikun Village grand opening brochure, 2012.

The weekend's grand opening activities included guided tours, demonstrations of skills and traditional food preparation, singing and social dancing and children's programs. The exhibition, which museum officials described as, 'living culture', is modelled after recreated American Indian

villages in Oklahoma, Florida and Massachusetts, according to David Martine[68]. The Wikun Village consists of ten mounds of black dirt growing corn, squash and beans (the three sisters) covered by a plastic gate to keep out deer. Shinnecock tribal members constructed the Wikun Village over the course of ten years, with the help of nearby tribal groups like the Mashpee Wampanoag and the Mashantucket Pequot[69] (Figure 28).

Figure 28: The construction of the Wikun Village, 2004. Source, Shinnecock museum website, www.shinnecockmuseum.com accessed on 12 February 2015.

Tribal members want the village to be a place where both the native and non-native community can experience their history first hand. Tribal members do not view the village as play-acting or re-enacting.

> So, now, with this village, when the Shinnecock kids come, they can see this, they can pick up that paddle, they can sit inside that canoe, they can walk in that longhouse, they can feel the warmth of that fire, and run their hands along the fragmites, and say, you know this is real, I can touch this. Yeah, you can touch it man - it is here! This is the whole reason why this village exists it doesn't exist for the people that were here it exists for the people that are here, that live here. There was a time when times were really hard for our people, from day to day; this is what they did to survive. This is

[68] Martine, David, 2013.
[69] Godoy, Andrea, 2012.

> real life. There comes a time when we will be in that long house, doing finger weaving, with those fires going, making bowls and spoons, they're actually going to be in there. It can be 18 degrees with snow on the ground and we're going to be in that longhouse. It just goes to show that our ancestors were tough, they went through a lot. They suffered hundreds of years for us to be here. Sometimes I walk down the road to work and see a deer jump out of the bushes and it means more to me, because I know what it means, you know, it's almost hunting season, it's almost time to tan the hide, to hang the meat. It just gives you more of an appreciation of Shinnecock and the Algonquin people[70].

Johnson states, in the above quote, that a Shinnecock tribal member can connect to the Wikun Village because one can 'feel the warmth of the fire', 'walk in the longhouse' and 'pick up a paddle' in a canoe – it is all physically there. Jason describes aspects of the Wikun Village as 'real life', a realisation of what their ancestors did to survive.

Cholena Smith, a Shinnecock tribal member states that she has gained a newfound sense of pride from her involvement with the village, "knowing these traditional ways gives you an identity - […] it's something my ancestors did."[71] Most of the work performed at the Wikun Village is backbreaking work especially, as it is based on a model of seventeenth century life in Northeastern New England. Bearing in mind the notion of backbreaking work, the Wikun Village has a collection of hand-made wickwams, also called wigwam or *nishweetu* is a "dome-shaped framework of bent troughs with crosses pieces tied on at intervals, and averaging perhaps thirty feet in circumference" (Skinner 1924:47; Stone, Smith, Martinez, Gumbs and Phillips 1983: 295-297) (Figure 29). Tribal members Jason Johnson, Mautauquas Tarrant designed these Wickwams but required the help of many individuals from the village to complete. Creating this Wickwam was a major part of the

[70] Johnson, Jason, 2013.
[71] Smith, Cholena. Personal interview conducted on 9 September 2012 in Long Island, N.Y.

authenticity of the Wikun Village as it helped tribal members feel like they were creating an item that sustained their ancestors for thousands of years.[72]

Figure 29: Wickwam house. Top photos: Jason Johnson demonstrates how to create a Wickwam. Bottom photo, Princess Chee Chee stands in front of the completed Wickwam. Source, Shinnecock museum website, www.shinnecockmuseum.com accessed on 12 February 2015.

Another part of the Wikun Village grand opening featured live dance performances by the Kingfisher Dance Troupe (Figure 30), in which individual dancers performed in their dance categories at the powwow. The dancers offered an exhibition of Northeastern-style dances such as the Eastern War Dance and the Eastern Blanket Dance as well as group dancing to include the participants who attended the grand opening weekend.

[72] Johnson, Jason Personal correspondence by structured interview on 11 September 2011 in Long Island, N.Y.

Figure 30: The Kingfisher Dance Troupe, including Danielle Hill, Jonathan Perry, Leah Hopkins and James Hakenson. Source: Matthew Ballard in the Wikun Village brochure, 2013.

2.5 CHAPTER CONCLUSION

This chapter gave an overview of the colonial history of the town of Southampton from both the native and non-native perspective in addition to providing instances of race and ethnic issues regarding the Shinnecock tribe. Most important, this chapter explained how the Shinnecock developed a Northeastern identity amidst the encroachment of their land with the implementation of the Shinnecock Hills Golf Club, the Shinnecock Summer Art School and the Long Island Rail Road and the attempted, continuous eradication of their traditional and cultural ways. The Shinnecock utilised the arts, such as music, dance, language, and performance and material culture through workshops taught at their own facilities to enable and maintain a tribal identity. The Shinnecock Museum displayed historical and contemporary exhibits which gave others a sense of their existence, pre-colonially while the SNCEP offered Shinnecock members the tools, through classes, to cultivate and preserve their ancestral identity. The recent addition of the Wikun Village has added to this renewal of cultural ways by providing a physical space for Shinnecock members to recreate pre-colonial life and connect to their ancestors through a form of visual expression.

Tribal museums, workshops, classes and re-enacted tribal communities, offer a sense of connective identity that fosters self-esteem, pride and cultural understanding for Shinnecock tribal members. Even if tribal members are viewing exhibitions in the Shinnecock Museum or learning to repair

buckskin dresses for pageants they are creating and claiming ownership of a newly formed identity – that which makes them feel Native American. This power over the representation of their Native American identity manifests itself in the performances of the Annual powwow. The powwow is a platform for the display of an indigenous identity that is evocative of Northeastern New England and more specifically, the Shinnecock tribe. We will now discuss the intricacies of the powwow event, especially as it relates to performance.

CHAPTER THREE

The Shinnecock powwow: Performing cultural identity on Native Space

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Renewed interests in maintaining and bolstering native identity resulted in the development of native-run businesses, museum and organisation, such as the Shinnecock Museum and the Wikun Village, as discussed in Chapter 2. The Annual Shinnecock Tribal Nation powwow "symbolises the revitalisation of Native American cultural practices and identity on the East End [of Long Island]" (Dolgon 2005:206). The reinstitution of the Shinnecock powwow began this political awakening within the Shinnecock tribe and continues, presently, to revitalise the culture and traditions of the tribe through its annual performance. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the powwow fits the four tenets of performance. In this chapter, performances are seen as 'sites of socialisation' or 'poiesis' in which the physical powwow space holds as much importance as the spiritual and emotional realm of the site (Guss 2001:8-11). This chapter will highlight the historical transformation as well as the cultural and social importance of the annual Shinnecock powwow.

Culturally, the powwow, offers tribal and regional connections to the ancestral past of the Shinnecock within the artistic realms of music, song and dance. As the Federal Recognition Process requires tribal groups to provide evidence which shows continued existence as a tribal unit, the powwow is the longest, sustained form of visual expression in the Shinnecock community and therefore is vital to their tribal identity. Singer (1959: xiii) states that cultural performance is not only performed for the tribe but are determined as "concrete observable unites of the cultural structure" therefore visual performance displays a community's identity and social mores.

What makes a ceremony like the Shinnecock powwow so distinctive? Festive forms, or ceremonies, are a way of grasping reality and "becoming" through constructing meaning and using direction (Bakhtin 1984:211; Guss 2001:12). Therefore, the powwow, as a cultural performance, is a way to

display identity to non-natives while also allowing native members to form a native identity for themselves, through its enactment. Performances become "sites of [local or public] memory where subjectivity combines with history creating an atmosphere of traditional remembrance for survival purposes" (Buff 2001: 7-8). Memory within performance is a critical concept when discussing the Shinnecock powwow. Tribal members remember or connect with performance ideals that are emblematic of their ancestors, their lineage and their historical past, which in turn, become a logical space for invention, intertribal meetings and cultural exchange.

Powwows become places where "elders speak about historical continuity with the past [while] Indian youths find a place to hang out and express themselves – [they see themselves] as the seventh generation that will rise to inherit a legacy of pride and continuity with the past" (Buff 2001:151). Loren Spears emphasises "powwows are only a tiny fraction of our culture but it is an outward expression of our culture and sharing it with the public so that they can get an understanding of who we are as a culture and a people[73]". Despite the importance of the powwow event, the meaning of the word powwow has contested meanings and etymology. Let us discuss these topics before we can create a discourse on the political, social and cultural aspects of the powwow event.

3.2 THE ETYMOLOGY AND MEANING OF THE POWWOW

Native American communities have been performing powwows and ritualistic ceremonies for hundreds of years. The origin of the word powwow is derivative of the Algonquian term, *pauau* that described both a shaman or medicine man and a curing or healing ceremony (Powers 1972:175). In the 17th and 18th centuries, New England native tribal groups called the powwow a *kintecoy*, which was the term used to describe a physical space where different tribal groups could come together to discuss war tactics (Laudin 2005:206-208). Over time, the word kintecoy became obsolete, especially as many decimated and disbanded tribes not have a use to communicate war tactics because the Europeans outnumbered

[73] Spears, Loren, 2013.

them. The word, powwow, was misused by European colonists to define a meeting of like-minded people (Simmons 1986:78).

Before contact with European colonists, Native American people used dance and songs as a form of celebration, creative expression and as a form of communication (Powers 1973:45). Tribes in the same region met twice a year, often to coincide with the spring and autumn harvest season and to exchange goods. For example, during the Strawberry festival between April and June, the Shinnecock exchanged their strawberries for the Wampanoag's cranberries and in the winter, they bartered their clams for the Pequots' corn (Bragdon 2001:13). Most importantly, Native Americans used dance and song as a way to honour the creator and their ancestors; as the Shinnecock Indian powwow booklet states, "[We dance] to honour the Creator, all of creation, the natural world and all our Relations, the People dance.74"

The powwow became a way for hunters to show, to their tribe, how they captured an animal or defeated an enemy during battle (Laudin 1973:30). The young man would have to use dance movement to display certain virtues that the tribe valued like bravery, silence, patience, fortitude and courage (Powers 1973:86). For one, after a successful hunting trip, the tribe would gather in a circle, surrounding a fire, to watch the hunter simulate the movements of himself and the animal during the hunting expedition. The hunters would often perform movements similar to the animals they captured. These dances formed the beginning of a few traditional dances performed today; for instance in the Buffalo Dance, two dancers' don buffalo headdresses and "graze, paw the earth, and fight over possession of the herd", simulating the movements of a buffalo in a herd (Squires & McLean 1963:52).

Secondly, a warrior would use the powwow circle to impart to the rest of the tribe what happened to him and his fellow warriors on the battlefield. The movements of this dance are similar to Victory, Honour and Warrior dances performed at powwows today. For instance, Northeastern Eastern War Dancers use the movements of Counting Coup, a method in which the hunter would sneak up on the

[74] 66th Annual Shinnecock Nation Tribal powwow, 2012, pp. 19.

enemy, as a mimetic way to connect to their ancestral past. During the dance, musicians would beat the drum at key points at the end of the warrior's story to accentuate pivotal sections of the warrior's story and as a form of applause for the dancer's efforts (Powers 1973:103). Women and relatives who were not warriors would wear the dancers' clothing and accompanying objects to both honour the warrior and to imitate the story told in the powwow circle.

European colonists were fearful and suspicious of groups of Native Americans communicating for long periods so these powwows became a "threat to the public order" (Stone 1983:42). Because of this threat to the public order of the Euro-American colonised towns, New England tribes were restricted from practicing their religious ceremonies, including the powwow. For instance, New York Governor Edmund Andros (1675) enacted an official decree banning 'any such public meetings, or kintecoys' without the tribes' being 'granted special leave' from their homes or Indian lands:

> Whereas I am informed, that the several Indyans […] are in a few dayes to have a great Kintecoy at Seaguetalke; which being unusual at this time of yeare, […] upon notice of the time or day […] Indyan kintecoy is to bee, with six or more men not exceeding ten, any such publique meetings, or kintecoys, without special leave, and to bring away with you all their said armes, which you are safely to lay up in your towne, till further Order (Governor Andros, 13 December 1675 in Christoph and Christoph 1982: 113).

Christian Euro-Americans, believed that the powwow consisted of "devilish stage players" who used their medicine to sway the newly converted native flock from Christianity back to their heathen ways (Laudin 1974, 1983). The Presbyterian Church, opened in 1659 "has served the people of the Shinnecock Nation since the late 1600s […] the church today remains, [as] a place to gather and offer prayers and thanks and hope for the continued unity of the people.[75]" Colonists believed that

[75] 65th Annual Shinnecock Nation Tribal powwow booklet, 2011, pp. 5.

Christianity would save the souls of the native, not powwow dancing or performing any of their traditional rituals, which they viewed as hedonistic, wild and savage.

Colonists felt that they were performing God's will and by extension a "historical mission" to convert the Native Americans or to expedite them off of their lands (Green 1994:9). Though forced assimilation through Christianity, legal bans and restrictions were used as a ploy to halt the performance of native ceremonies, Laudin (2005:206-208) speculates that the powwow became more "a rite of intensification or a reinforcing [of] the group bond [by] providing a feeling of security and reminding everyone of the values that they share" in the native community. This group bond was an important element in the native tribal structure, especially during cultural upheaval at the hands of European colonists. Colonial contact altered the cultural, social, physical and economic landscape of the region. Infectious diseases, like the flu, yellow fever and small pox, ravaged the native populations leaving a decimated indigenous population (Bragdon 2001:5, Cook 1970, Snow and Lamphear 1988).

As discussed in Chapter 1, Pan-Indianism, as a movement or way of thinking, promoted a unified identity amongst different Native American groups regardless of their tribal or local affiliations in order to remain relevant in the global sphere as a race of people (Browner 2004). Since the government confined Native Americans to reservations, the non-native society believed that native culture had vanished or that they had assimilated into Euro-American society. Vogt (1972: 93) believes that the institution of reservations inadvertently isolated Native Americans allowing them to heal from the trauma of displacement through colonialism in addition to maintaining their traditions and values. Reservation cultures combined "the older way of life with an increasing proportion of elements and practices taken over from the Whites" such as to make a profit, which would help boost the economy and morale of their tribes, by holding tourist events for the public (Conkey, Boissevain and Goddard 2000:178). Many tribes combined aspects of their tribal culture with those from other tribes, ushering the beginning of the pan-Indian powwow. Therefore, the pan-Indian powwow provided a sense of unity between tribal groups, first amongst tribes located in the same region and then tribal groups across North America.

The contemporary pan-Indian powwow is different from the historical powwow in a few ways. For one, the event is tourist-based, held for the public and performed for profit (Mandell 2008). Two, the pan-Indian powwow, due to the rampant loss of many aspects of individual tribal culture, combines particular aspects of native culture across North America. For instance, many powwows feature long feathered headdresses originally linked to Plains tribes, turquoise jewellery found amongst the Southwest Pueblo tribe and deer buckskin clothing that is associated with Northeastern tribes. Lastly, the contemporary powwow does not only include members of one Native American tribe instead a plethora of tribal groups and non-natives frequently attend the event in which traditions are often exchanged (Green and Troutman 2000, Mandell 2008, Browner 2004).

3.3 THE ORIGIN OF THE PAN-INDIAN POWWOW

Scholars of Native American culture debate the contested origins of the contemporary, or pan-Indian, powwow event. Browner (2004) and Ellis & Lassiter (2003) determine that the contemporary powwow originated in the Great Plains region - namely in the states of Oklahoma, North and South Dakota - from about 1910 to the 1930s. While others, believe that New England war societies and hunting groups influenced the existence of the contemporary powwow by implementing distinct clothing styles, colour themes and animal symbolism (Powers 1972, 1973, 1990 and 2005, Bragdon 2001). For instance, a tribe in New England used purple wampum on their regalia while a Plains region tribe used quillwork and beading; both were used decorative emblems indicative of the region they lived in (Powers 1973:92). Essentially, many aspects from numerous tribes became part of the pan-Indian powwow but the contested origin of the event adapts and changes across North America as each tribal group has had a different post-colonial experience. Beyond material culture and clothing, the pan-Indian powwow featured a blend of musical styles and dance performances. Leading from the four tenets of performance in Chapter 1, Boissevain (1992:3) notes that ‘performance is a discursive form of behaviour that is multivocal and dialogical with many meanings’. The pan-Indian powwow exhibited this multivocality as each individual could ascertain a different meaning from each dance, symbol or song performed during the powwow.

> We all know the same songs. We all sing our own songs, though. We have our own dances and steps that we still do here, but we – through the years – have gotten to know each other's songs and dances. So it has become Pan-Indian. We call it Pan-Indianism; [where] some tribes wear things from other tribes and vice-versa (Okaloran in Strong 2006:358).

As Okaloran illustrates in the above quote, although tribal groups spoke different languages, had different colonial experiences, created clothing, and material culture in disparate ways, they ultimately began to 'know each other's songs and dances' and this has made the result, pan-Indian in nature. Mason (1944:9-10) notes that regardless of the tribe, there is a certain similarity of movement, performed in all areas, that identifies it as "unmistakably Indian", such as toe-heel dancing, flat-heel dancing, stomp dancing and trot dancing. Sharing, learning and incorporating another tribe's traditions, songs and dances into their own has helped the Native American population, as a whole, band together against the social, economic, and cultural effects of colonialism.

These newly constructed songs and musical styles combined with the display of native culture to create a new native sound for the tourist market. Native people became entrepreneurs of their cultural skills through dancing, performing and craft making and highlighted the crowd-pleaser dances and clothing that were often colourful and dynamic in order to attract more spectators (Laudin 1974:33). For instance, the Men's Fancy War Dance and the Women's Fancy Shawl Dance are popular powwow dances not because of their authenticity or historic reverence but because the dances feature rapid-movements, bright colours, faster drum beats and are often performed on a competitive basis. To emphasise this assertion, out of the twenty non-native spectators interviewed, nineteen of them described the aforementioned dances as their favourite styles (Appendix 233). The majority of non-native interviewees had never attended a powwow before while the rest had attended several of the same manner. Despite this, both groups knew little to no history on the dances as a whole and made their decisions based on the visual aspects of the performance like the colours and pace of movement in addition to what they believed to be native culture.

In the beginning of Chapter 2, we discussed the complicated relationship between the Shinnecock tribe and the town of Southampton. Despite this, many Southamptonites attend the powwow every year to get a glimpse of native cultural life "in their own backyards[76]". The majority of visitors have never encountered a "real Indian" and view the powwow as a way to interact with the very reclusive Shinnecock tribe in a way that does not impede on their privacy[77].

> I feel very connected to the process and the symbolism of traditional powwows, and it is such a joy to come and share these things with others. I believe the powwow is a very powerful opportunity for energising everyone and everything with strong positive healing energy. It is soul food! On every level: primal, community, individual, spiritual, also for the tribes' spirit and the spirit of the land and everything in and on it[78].

Visitors, such as Storey, are in search of a spiritual or 'primal' connection to the Earth and a connection to the stereotyped environmentally friendly, naturalistic Native American. Each individual comes to the powwow for different reasons but the above example highlights stereotyped perceptions of Native Americans in American society. The 'tourist gaze' determines that tourists read their own cultural meanings into the places they see and go to, especially when it comes to historic sites (Urry 1990). Peers (2007: 36-40) notes that visitors to powwows and other living history sites often fall into "stereotyped responses" based on the Hollywood recreation of the Native American. Tourists want to see a romanticised portrayal of Native people regardless if it is a positive depiction as in Kassia Storey's recollection of the powwow as 'strong positive healing energy' or 'soul food'. Native American interpreters strive to dispel portrayals that place them in a stereotypical box by confronting these preconceptions and prejudices with a friendly, warm and welcoming demeanour (Peers 2007:110).

Visual representations, like the powwow and the museum, affect the opinion of the Shinnecock as a tribal entity. For instance, many local Southampton businesses support the tribe and the powwow event by

[76] Godoy, Andrea, 2012.
[77] Drayton, Fritz. Personal correspondence by self-completed questionnaire in July 2012 in Rhode Island, N.Y.
[78] Storey, Kassia. Personal correspondence by self-completed questionnaire on 26 August 2012 in Rhode Island, N.Y.

advertising in the Shinnecock powwow booklet. By showing support for the Shinnecock tribe, they are also gaining the support and business of others who attend the powwow. For instance, the non-native owned and operated business Tilden McCoy and Dilweg, LLP., sent a message stating "Congratulations to the [Shinnecock] Nation on becoming the 565th Federally Recognised Tribe" in an advertisement in the booklet. While the Brockett Funeral Home, Inc. displays a large central photo of its business with the words: "Serving the Shinnecock Reservation since 1922" in bold letters underneath. These organisations have created parallels with the Shinnecock powwow in order to procure supportive business from attendees and recognise the tribal existence of the Shinnecock, especially after gaining Federal Recognition.

Besides pleasing the tourist audience with crowd-pleaser performances, pan-Indian powwows incorporate aspects of American identity into the event. For example, regalia, clothing, bumper stickers on cars and t-shirts feature the American flag. Upon entering the powwow grounds, one can find the American flag hoisted alongside tribal and state flags. When contemporary pan-Indian powwows became popular tourist events, they often occurred around or on U.S. holidays such as on the 4th of July, Memorial Day, which is the last Monday in May, Labour Day weekend, which is the first weekend in September and during Thanksgiving held on the last Thursday in November. By connecting the Native American powwow with "patriotic underpinnings" such as the American flag and American holidays, Native American celebratory events did not pose a threat to the American sensibility (Troutman 2009:52). It is this connection to American culture that made the powwow a visual representation of Native American national identity.

Nevertheless, the pan-Indian powwow style remained a large part of the lexicon of Native American life across the United States and Canada as it served as a source of entertainment, cultural continuity, spirituality and most important - a sustainable source of income for reservation communities. Though the pan-Indian powwow was a successful way for native communities to maintain their tribal traditions, many tribal groups insisted on developing or redeveloping their powwows to focus more on traditions, culture and values based on their particular tribe or region.

This tribal powwow focus establishes a sense of longevity and longstanding cultural influence as described in Section (f) of the 83.7 (f) of the Federal Acknowledgement Process.

As per the U.S. government, a tribal group must not be a part of another acknowledged tribe and they must show proof that they existed as a 'separate and autonomous Indian tribal entity' or have a 'bilateral political relationship' with other tribes. Pan-Indianism, as a movement, provided cultural sustenance, community and comfort for Native Americans during a time of colonial upheaval and post-colonial discrimination. Unfortunately, it also alienated hundreds of tribes from receiving Federal Recognition. Associating and assimilating with other tribal communities, limits non-recognised tribes from receiving Federal Recognition along with such benefits as financial assistance. With changing governmental policies and standards many Native Americans have decided to identify more with a tribal identity rather than a pan-Indian, national one (Browner 2004).

3.4 THE SHINNECOCK POWWOW: DEVELOPING A NORTHEASTERN NATIVE IDENTITY

Many Northeastern New England tribes like the Shinnecock and the Narragansett have decidedly moved away from a pan-Indian identity and began to focus on developing a tribal identity as Shinnecock and to a lesser extent a regional identity as Northeastern[79]. After thirty-two years, the Shinnecock tribe received Federal Recognition in 2010 by fitting the seven-point criteria with one of the factors being the tribes' ability to demonstrate that they had a continued existence as a tribal entity separate from that of other recognised tribes. Were they to have remained entrenched on maintaining a pan-Indian powwow template, the tribe may never have achieved Federal Recognition, as the courts would determine that the tribe has not been performing their own dances and songs on their own land for a long period of time.

The Shinnecock powwow did not always perform tribal or regionally-based powwows; they often fit into the dictum of the pan-Indian powwow. In 1948, this all changed when Chief Thunderbird

[79] Godoy, Andrea; Brathwaithe-Hunt, Nicole; Thunderwolf, Blake; Campbell, Cindy and Chamorro, Maria Personal correspondence by self-completed questionnaire administered on 9 September 2011, 11 August 2013 and 11 October 2014 (see Appendix 5 and 6).

(Henry Bess) reinstated the annual Shinnecock powwow, as a tribal event, in 1946 and practiced it annually, as such, since 1948.

> I had a dream a few nights ago, or I think it could be called a dream. A path was leading from the sky and I saw many of our ancestors arrayed in their ancient Indian garments. They sang and danced and urged me to lead my people to do likewise (Thunderbird as stated in the 1957 Shinnecock powwow program in Strong 2006: 353).

Thunderbird states, in the above quote, that he received the impetus to reinstate the powwow as a tribal event, in a dream where his ancestors beckoned him to lead his people back to their native ways; they 'sang and danced and urged me to lead my people to do likewise'. According to Thunderbird, he received foresight, from his ancestors, into what the Shinnecock people needed to do in order to connect to their native heritage and that was to sing and dance.

Beyond the revelation of the importance of music and dance presented in a dream, the rationale for the reinstatement of the powwow and the effect on the Shinnecock community were three-fold. One, the proceeds from the powwow supported the Shinnecock Presbyterian Church – considered the oldest continuous reformed Native American congregation in the United States, operating since the late 1600s (Laudin 1973:34). The Church, though heavily grounded in Christian authority, combines elements of Native American tribal lore and traditions into their sermons and Sunday services.

Second, realtors in the town of Southampton threatened to build housing developments on the Shinnecock land off the Montauk highway and the tribal council fought to show ownership of their lands. Chief Thunderbird believed that the execution of the yearly powwow helped to build their case against the Southampton realtors; he states "they believed that Indians were still living there" and they left the tribe alone (Thunderbird quoted in Dolgon 2005:207, Brown 1956: 3). Thunderbird quips that the 'rich people living across the water' heard the drumming from the powwow:

> We heard rumours that the rich people living across the water heard the drums and were quite amazed to hear the savage drum beating on the Indian reservation. 'What was that?' they asked. We could see their lights across

> the way. They hadn't heard anything like that in years because the Indians here were used to thinking about making a living and how they were going to sleep and eat, and so forth, and didn't bother much with drumming because the white man taught him he should live in homes and houses and do away with old hogans and wigwams that the old people used to live in. It kind of got away from the old culture, but by associating with other Indians it came back (Thunderbird as stated in Strong 2006: 336).

Reinstating the powwow at the Shinnecock reservation showed Southamptonites that the local Native American tribe were still practicing their cultural traditions, "that they had a right to live on the land [and that] the land actually belonged to them"- this premise also helped during land disputes and Federal Recognition debates as discussed in Chapter 1 (Laudin 1973:58). The Northeastern powwow began to "symbolise the revitalization of Native American cultural practices and identity on the East End" of Long Island rather than a pan-Indian or national event (Dolgon 2005:206).

The third reason for the reinstatement suggests that Chief Thunderbird sought to renew the rarely-performed powwow for the Shinnecock tribal people in 1946 because he noticed that they were "forgetting who they were" (Thunderbird in Laudin 1973:89). Although the Shinnecock powwow did not occur between 1915 and 1937 because the majority of native men were either away fighting in World War II or were on long journeys as whalers, before 1915 there is documentation of the powwow event (Mandell 2008). The powwow reinstated after 1946, was more along the lines of the pan-Indian powwow in that it allowed tourists to attend but it focussed more on a Northeastern identity.

Chief Thunderbird believed that the powwow would invoke a sense of native pride and self-esteem into the Shinnecock community. Harvey Golden Laudin, who studied the acculturation of the Shinnecock powwow prior to 1976, noted that Thunderbird hoped that the event would "perpetuate the Indian conception of peace, moral conduct, and the sharing of an intrinsic Indian ethic rooted in nature" (Thunderbird in Laudin 1973:34). In a personal interview with an unnamed Shinnecock

participant, Laudin notes that “Indians are no longer ashamed to be identified as Indians, and many who live as whites off the reservation return to play roles in these traditional celebrations” as described in Chapter 2 by Shinnecock tribal member, Jason Johnson (Laudin 1973:75). Native pride became intrinsic to the perpetuation of the Shinnecock powwow and cultural continuity within the Shinnecock community.

Much of the information on the Northeastern tribes’ traditions and rituals has been lost due to assimilation and tribal removal because of wars, slavery and restrictions. In order for Thunderbird to reinstate the powwow, he had to gather information on Northeastern New England traditions, regalia and songs, so he visited other powwows and tribal groups in the region between the 1930s and the 1940s (Laudin 1973: 45). Thunderbird states that “by [attending] the powwows over there [in Rhode Island and Massachusetts] for a few years we began to get interested here at Shinnecock [while] talking it over with some of my relatives and friends, we thought it would be a good idea to bring something like that to Shinnecock” (Thunderbird, personal correspondence in Laudin 1973:40). In an interview with historian John Strong, Thunderbird discusses his interaction with the Narragansett and the Mashpee Wampanoag tribe in the quote below:

> The Narragansett Indians had their group over there along with the Massachusett Indians. The other Indians from the western tribes would come in with their beadwork…to show the Indian crafts…and so we struck up a fellowship that way. By doing the powwows over there for a few years we began to get interested here at Shinnecock. I could see the possibilities way back there when we were laying quiet here and no one knew there were Indian reservations on Long Island. To put Shinnecock on the map and it is recognised all over (Thunderbird as stated in Strong 2006: 356).

Tribal members had to regain and reteach themselves aspects of the Northeastern style of dress, design and dance. They not only attended other powwows and conversed with nearby tribes but also performed research at museums to get an idea of what ‘typical’ Algonquian regalia would have looked like. Princess Nowedonah, a tribal member of mixed Northeastern heritage suggests that

many of the women, including Princess Chee Chee, the daughter of Chief Thunderbird, spent time researching design elements:

> Our Gracie and Chee Chee are still wearing the Algonkian costume. The women's dresses remain the same but the men's dresses were enhanced according to the large or more flowery tribes. Princess Thunderbird's (Chee Chee) designs were authentic Algonkian designs. She made a thorough study of this. She spent hours in the Museum of Natural History looking up what was Algonkian (Laudin 1972:1).

Shinnecock tribal members take great pride in creating their own costumes based on designs of their ancestral past. Strong (2006:357) suggests that the native way of individuation keeps the regalia and dance moves personal but still adheres to the Northeastern-specific habits and behaviours though some aspects may be borrowed or appropriated from nearby tribal groups.

Concerning change within culture, it is common for Native American groups to borrow cultural elements from each other and incorporate them into their own ideologies if the context is appropriate (Vogt 1961). Many aspects of the Shinnecock powwow are historically associated with the Shinnecock but some traditions were transported or kept 'in trust' by local tribal groups, such as the Narragansett in Rhode Island or the Mashpee Wampanoag in Massachusetts. For example, in the 1955 Shinnecock powwow program, "former tribal enemies of the Long Island Indians, the Narragansetts, now make an annual pilgrimage bringing ceremonial dances" (Strong 2006: 350). This record shows that other local groups 'made a pilgrimage' or travelled to other tribal groups to exchange ceremonial dances with the Shinnecock during their powwow.

Mark Harrington (1924:281), an archaeologist with the Bureau of Indian Affairs noticed linkable "correspondence between [the] Shinnecock and Natick and Narragansett" tribes in which he concluded that there are connections between tribal performances across the Northeast. Therefore, the Shinnecock powwow, as with other national powwows, is a visual representation of historicity and a longstanding tribal connection prior to colonial contact. We will now take a brief look at the 2011 Shinnecock

powwow, which is significant because it was the first powwow performed after the tribe received Federal Recognition in 2010.

3.5 THE SHINNECOCK POWWOW – PREPARING FOR THE EVENT

In April 2011, the Shinnecock powwow earned a position as one of the top powwows in USA Today[80] next to the Gathering of Nations powwow in Albuquerque, N.M. and the Morongo Thunder and Lighting powwow in Cabazon, C.A. According to Andrea Godoy[81], this promotion in a national newspaper raised attendance at the powwow by about 10,000 attendees, with final numbers reaching almost thirty thousand visitors in 2011. Many native people travelling from afar stay with family or friends on the reservation while others set up tents and camper vans in the reservation parking lot. Staying connected to family is an important aspect of the Shinnecock powwow event. For instance, Suzette King and Maurice Dunham, Shinnecock tribal members who live in North Carolina, make the arduous twenty-one-hour journey to Long Island to take part in the powwow festivities every year:

> We come home up here every year. It's a good last-minute vacation before school starts next week; the kids get to see their cousins and we get to see my grandmother [Princess Chee Chee Thunderbird/Elizabeth Haile], who is getting quite up there in age. We work on our regalia throughout the year and then we show it off! The kids love it too – my daughter has been working on her Eastern Blanket turns for a month now, she can't wait to show her grandmother what she knows.[82]

King describes her daughter's excitement with getting to show her aging grandmother the new dances that she learned over the year. This connection of continuity occurs with tribal members even when they do not reside on the reservation. As King states, her and her family 'come home' to visit relatives and to show off regalia that they worked on throughout the year. Hence, tribal members, both living on or off the

[80] McKechnie, Gary. 8 April 2011, '10 great places to be wowed by American Indian culture'. *USA Today Magazine* http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/travel/destinations/10great/2011-04-14-american-indian-powwows_N.htm
[81] Godoy, Andrea, 2012.
[82] King, Suzette and Maurice Dunham, Personal interview conducted on 3 September 2011. Long Island, N.Y.

reservation, connect to their family and their roots by performing in the powwow. The powwow also serves as a socialising event for young people to make new friends, connect with old associates and meet potential mates. Before the days of social media, writing letters to powwow friends, who might possibly live in other states or even across the country, was common. Jason Johnson describes the powwow as "waiting for Christmas just the excitement and the anticipation of who you're going to see, what kind of food there going to have." [83] Many contacts and interviewees stated that, the powwow was a group achievement; one could not perform or create alone. For example, Spears states that powwow costs can quickly accumulate with some families spending almost $200 a day on gas, food and craft items for themselves and their children.

> We also have big families, so if it was a Western way of thinking, people would bring their own food and it would be tightly supervised, and only your crew would eat it. That's not what happens at a powwow. I have thirty-one nieces and nephews and if they come strolling by and see that Aunt Loren has chicken on the grill, they will help themselves to some chicken, or some chips, some whatever. I think that comes back to that communal way of being for indigenous peoples, I would never think to say to my niece or nephew that they couldn't have some of what we were having. It's just the way it is[84].

Spears, her family and friends often share food, shelter and even money, which she equates as a 'communal way of being for indigenous people' as communal living was a common concept amongst Native American communities, especially in the Northeast region. The extended family of cousins and kinship clans are necessary in executing a successful powwow event. Holly Haile Davis, Shinnecock tribal member and eldest daughter of Princess Chee Chee (Elizabeth Haile), recalls that everyone in the family performs certain responsibilities and activities to facilitate the powwow event.

> It's a process, in powwow, you know, families are there and they're doing different things and there are people who have certain strengths. Just like in any other household, you might be the one that is cooking, he might be the one

[83] Jason Johnson, 2013.
[84] Spears, Loren, 2013.

> putting up the tents, and your kids might be helping, everybody has their place in the puzzle. If you are camping out, there are those roles. On the other hand, if you are working the vendor table, there are those roles. I find everybody in the family helps, and they all have their different things, but for me they are not overtly defined roles.[85]

Preparing for the powwow event takes several months and in many cases begins the day after the previous powwow of the following year. Johnson acknowledges that, "As soon as the Shinnecock powwow ends I start taking my stuff [regalia] apart. The powwow ended on Monday and I started on Tuesday[86]". The reworking and sewing of new pieces of regalia - as seen in the buckskin dress classes at the Shinnecock Museum in Chapter 2 - take time, money and the help of many skilled people. In Loren Spears' family, her husband, her brother-in-law, her friend Ruby, her sister and herself adds certain components to the regalia pieces.

> We're getting ready for the powwow and I make a lot of things, but my husband also makes a lot of things. My son, Robin, needed new regalia so we were working to make his new leggings, which his uncle actually helped make because his father had gone out of town, so he helped to make the leggings. When we were doing the breechcloth, I gotten the ribbon shirt together but I had my friend Ruby make it for me. […] My husband, he made him an antler with wampum, and he made him a dance stick with Eagle feathers hanging off of it and wrapped in fur. I tended to be the one, especially when they were little to make my son's moccasins and so I tended to do those parts and my husband tended to do the accoutrements, the dance stick and the headpiece. I might make the choker and he might make an antler beaded pendant and the list goes one. For me, it's a bit of both. And I see that with my sister and my brother in law as well they both do their part and when getting the kids ready they're both helping each other. So, we kind of work as a team.[87]

[85] Davis, Holly Haile, 2013.
[86] Johnson, Jason, 2013.
[87] Spears, Loren, 2013.

For instance, Ruby often completes ribbon shirts; Spears' husband creates decorations made with wampum while Loren generally creates chokers and pendants for her families' regalia pieces.

Figure 31: A series of photos of dancers putting on their regalia pieces before the powwow. Source: Photo still from YouTube clip: HeapPlentyFunny https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OCR2Dq8Lb38 accessed on 9 January 2012.

Preparing the dancer for the performance is a laborious task. Many of the men's and women's dancers apply paint to their faces, many add the finishing pieces to their regalia such as shoes and headdresses, others repair broken accoutrements and dancers help each other put on difficult regalia pieces like a bustle added to the back of the regalia piece (Figure 31). In the quote below, Spears states that putting on regalia involves many pieces such as leggings, breechcloth, garters, belts, armbands, dresses, shirts and moccasins:

> If you ever put children in regalia, it's not like putting on a t-shirt and a pair of shorts. It is a lot of pieces. I think its worst for the boys than it is for the

> girls, in my personal opinion. You know the leggings and the breechcloth, and all of the material, to get it just right, and the material from the sashes, and the belts, and the leg garters and the arm bands and all these little pieces. You can almost put a girl in her dress and she only has hair pieces and I'm not saying there isn't anything to do for them but it's always been much easier for me to get my daughter dressed than my son. The men always seemed like there were more pieces to put together and they needed help each one of them needed help including the daughter, so you had all of these heads of hair to come and to braid[88].

As seen in (Figure 32) a mother braids her son's hair before she helps him with his Grass Dancer regalia outfit. With this hairstyle, called shoelace braids, the hair is divided into three sections, one on the top that is put into a hole on the top of the roach while the two braids at the base resemble ponytails that hang down the back and move when the performer dances.

Figure 32: A Hopi mother braids her son's hair before she adds the roach headdress to his head at a local powwow in New England. Source: Photo still from YouTube clip: HeapPlentyFunny https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OCR2Dq8Lb38 accessed on 9 January 2012.

[88] Spears, Loren, 2013.

The preparations for the powwow event, which include reworking and adding embellishments to regalia, renting camper vans, applying for holidays from work, contacting suppliers for crafts materials and foodstuffs are all part of the process.

3.5.1 THE SHINNECOCK POWWOW EVENT: VENDORS, CRAFTS AND FOOD

Vendors are an important part of the livelihood of the powwow event. They sell Native American based food and crafts and provide a sense of how material culture was produced prior to colonial contact (Ellis and Lassiter 2005). For instance Meredith Vasta, a Shinnecock tribal member who works for the Mashantucket Pequot Museum, demonstrates how to make a cornhusk doll using all natural materials for powwow spectators (Figure 33).

Figure 33: Meredith Vasta making a cornhusk doll. Image on the right contains a basket of finished dolls, the above right doll made in the author's likeness. Source: M. Sykes, July 2012.

In the figure on the left, she begins the process by gathering cornhusks that have soaked for up three days into the form of a woman. In the second image, she braids the hair of the doll but continues wetting the husks so that they do not dry out and become unmalleable. In the last series of images, a basket of dried finished dolls wearing traditional buckskin dresses and trousers made of thing deer hide. Powwow spectators are able to observe Native American artisans make the crafts that they would like to purchase before they buy them.

Travel is a large part of the vendor experience. Some vendors come from as far as Maine, California and Florida while others are local to New York or parts of New England. They tend to follow the powwow trail by trailer camper or by bus, bringing their goods with them as the summer progresses along the coast. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, family is a large component in the construction of the powwow event and this carries into vending as well. Loren Spears recalls the skills she learned while attending powwow events with her grandmother, such as: cleaning up the powwow grounds, setting standards of business, working with customers, sales and marketing:

> Our grandparents were a big part of it, [the powwow experience], and going from place to place, whether it was going to Mashpee, to Shinnecock and of course, our own powwow. I remember I went to Jersey and Delaware with my grandparents. My grandparents always had a stand at all of these powwows, but you were familiar with going to all of the stands. People learn a lot of things being on the powwow trail; people become role models. If your family makes and sells things, you learn a variety of things, how to be a salesperson, how to handle money, you're learning how to keep the grounds clean, to set up your stands and presentation, and you're learning about marketing and how things have to work. If you're working in a food vendor stand, you learn about hygiene and how things should be prepared and those types of things. It's a multitude of things that you learn and that you are exposed to and live with.[89]

Vendors at the Shinnecock powwow must sell goods made by a native person and if it is not, the item should declare how it was created (Ellis and Lassiter 2005). In 1935, the Indian Arts and Crafts

[89] Spears, Loren, 2013.

Board determined that each item sold at a powwow must "have a rubber stamp [which] shall bear a distinctive letter and may be used only by the person to whom it has been issued[90]".

Figure 34: Plaque of a vendor showing that he is a 'Native American business owner' and therefore authentically selling goods at the powwow. Source: M. Sykes 3 September 2011.

For instance in (Figure 34), a vendor proudly displays his plaque as a 'Native American business owner', which declares that his crafts and goods are authentically native. Alternately, a native individual would not be able to receive a pass for these regulations without first obtaining Federal Recognition. Goods sold at the powwow include dream-catchers, in various sizes, styles and colours; handbags and saddlebags made primarily of leather or cloth; embroidered clothing; jewellery made of wampum; beads and shells; leather hair goods; bows and arrows whittled from wood; animal skins and fur pelts; wooden canes with beaded embellishments and miniature versions of hand drums (Figure 35).

[90] U.S. Department of The Indian Arts and Crafts Board declaration 25 CFR 83 Ch. 3 Sec. 4, pp. 1.

Figure 35: Clockwise from top left: vendors selling dream catchers, jewellery with purple-coloured wampum shells, saddle bags hung on display while school children look on and an array of vendors tents on display. Source: M. Sykes September 2011.

Popular food posts sell variations of classic Native American foods such as fry bread, a traditional food made of fried dough topped with powdered sugar, and the Indian Taco which is fry bread topped with lettuce, tomato, beef or chicken, guacamole, chilli and beans (Figure 36). Due to coastal proximity, most of the food sold at the powwow is seafood based such as clams, oysters and variations of fish. Varieties of roasted corn, wild rice and succotash, sausages made of buffalo meat and beef burgers made of venison are other popular items but for the most part, most of the vendors stick to American-style foods such as French fries, smoothies and chili for the non-native spectators.

Figure 36: Food stalls at the Shinnecock powwow. Source: M. Sykes, 2011.

3.4.2 THE SHINNECOCK POWWOW EVENT: THE POWWOW COMMITTEE

The Shinnecock powwow is organised by the Tribal Council and Trustees, the Shinnecock Nation Cultural Centre and Museum. Fundraising from local businesses (such as with the local advertisements in the booklet) and almost one hundred tribal volunteers provide money and physical support. The powwow committee is also responsible for contacting the media, finding sponsors, raising funds and setting an amount for prize money directed towards contest dancing. Members of the powwow committee are often tribal members or respected members of the Native American community, not necessarily of the same tribe. They need to be able to garner the support of the local non-native community for additional funds as well as for attendance numbers.

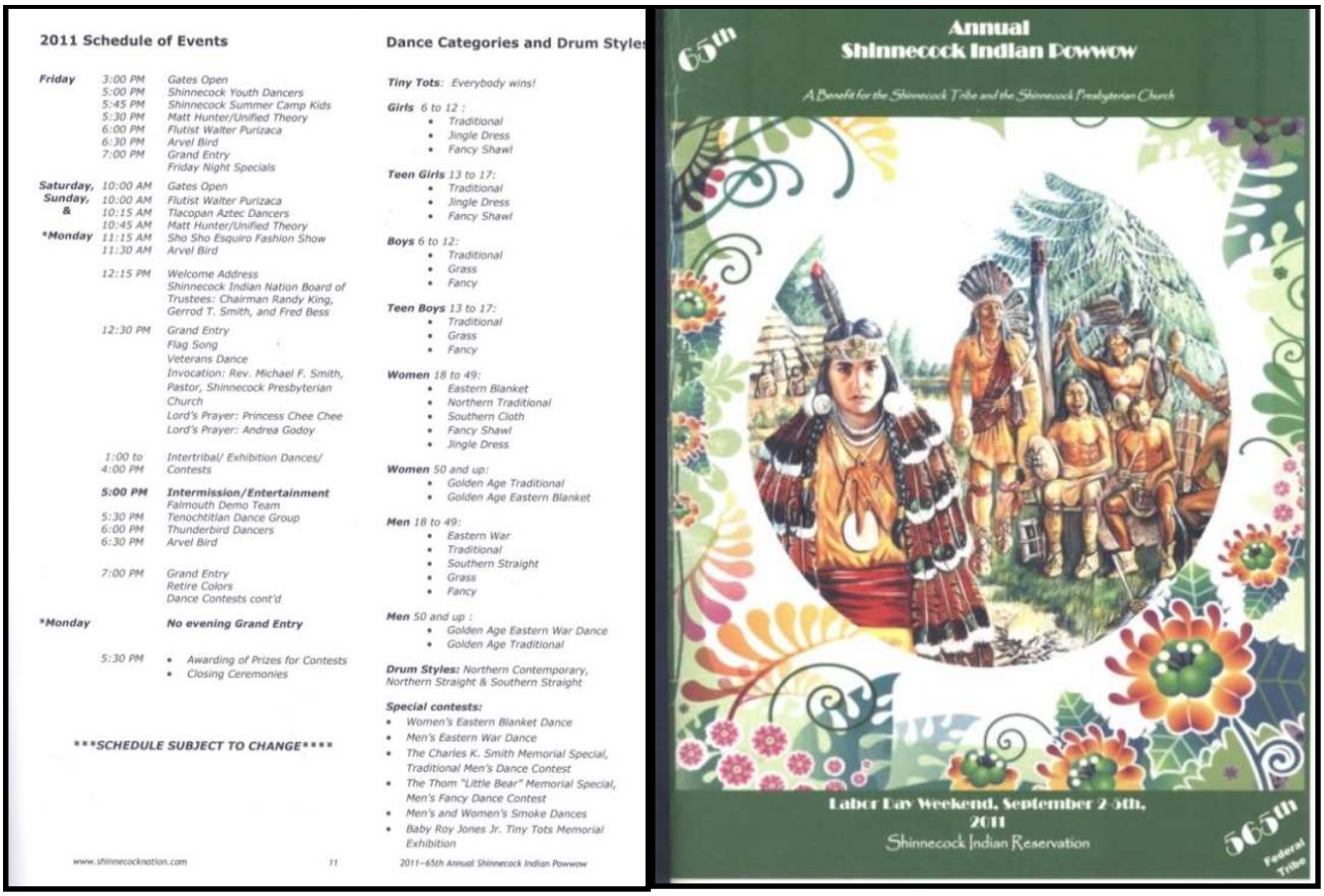
The Tribal Council determines who will become the head men's and women's dancers for each type of dance style, the head singers and head (host) drum groups, which vendors will showcase their wares and food, and who will be added as supplementary entertainment while the dancers and drummers are resting between performances. The emcee or announcer has one of the "most important jobs during the powwow

event for he must give the attendees a sense of rejuvenation and peace when they leave the grounds, he must make them feel good about being there" (Ron Thunderwolf 2012; Johnston and Nahanee 2003: 85). He must be knowledgeable in all aspects of the powwow performances, regalia and event planning, as well as be a socially aware, charismatic, insightful and funny individual[91]. It is the emcee's job to keep the powwow upbeat and entertaining, to announce the dancers and to keep the audience informed on native customs and the itinerary of the powwow event (White 1996:26, Gelo 2005: 137-143).

Each dancer must register his or her name, tribal affiliation, and dance style and performance history at the arena on the day of the powwow event. They then receive a number placard to affix on the front and back of, their regalia outfit. All singing groups are eligible to compete for the prize money but they can only sing with their assigned drum groups and cannot 'drum hop' or move to other groups during the event[92]. As most dancers are also singers and most singers perform dances, they can both alternate positions when there is an interlude in each performance.

The Shinnecock powwow booklet as seen in (Figure 37) gives an overview of the performances throughout the day, a history of the Shinnecock tribe, advertisements from local businesses and sponsors and a section on the present news of individuals on the reservation such as graduations, births, marriages and deaths. The powwow booklet also details the rules and regulations that all dancers and singers must adhere which are important for first time powwow spectators to read, so as not to offend tribal members.

[91] White, David Tall Oak, 2013.
[92] Johnson, Jason , 2013.



2011 Schedule of Events

Friday	3:00 PM	Gates Open
	5:00 PM	Shinnecock Youth Dancers
	5:45 PM	Shinnecock Summer Camp Kids
	5:30 PM	Matt Hunter/Unified Theory
	6:00 PM	Flutist Walter Purizaca
	6:30 PM	Arvel Bird
	7:00 PM	Grand Entry Friday Night Specials
Saturday, Sunday, &	10:00 AM	Gates Open
	10:00 AM	Flutist Walter Purizaca
	10:15 AM	Tlacopan Aztec Dancers
	10:45 AM	Matt Hunter/Unified Theory
*Monday	11:15 AM	Sho Sho Esquiro Fashion Show
	11:30 AM	Arvel Bird
	12:15 PM	Welcome Address Shinnecock Indian Nation Board of Trustees: Chairman Randy King, Gerrod T. Smith, and Fred Bess
	12:30 PM	Grand Entry Flag Song Veterans Dance Invocation: Rev. Michael F. Smith, Pastor, Shinnecock Presbyterian Church Lord's Prayer: Princess Chee Chee Lord's Prayer: Andrea Godoy
	1:00 to 4:00 PM	Intertribal/ Exhibition Dances/ Contests
	5:00 PM	**Intermission/Entertainment** Falmouth Demo Team
	5:30 PM	Tenochtitlan Dance Group
	6:00 PM	Thunderbird Dancers
	6:30 PM	Arvel Bird
	7:00 PM	Grand Entry Retire Colors Dance Contests cont'd
*Monday		**No evening Grand Entry**
	5:30 PM	• Awarding of Prizes for Contests • Closing Ceremonies

SCHEDULE SUBJECT TO CHANGE*

Dance Categories and Drum Styles

Tiny Tots: Everybody wins!

Girls 6 to 12 :
- Traditional
- Jingle Dress
- Fancy Shawl

Teen Girls 13 to 17:
- Traditional
- Jingle Dress
- Fancy Shawl

Boys 6 to 12:
- Traditional
- Grass
- Fancy

Teen Boys 13 to 17:
- Traditional
- Grass
- Fancy

Women 18 to 49:
- Eastern Blanket
- Northern Traditional
- Southern Cloth
- Fancy Shawl
- Jingle Dress

Women 50 and up:
- Golden Age Traditional
- Golden Age Eastern Blanket

Men 18 to 49:
- Eastern War
- Traditional
- Southern Straight
- Grass
- Fancy

Men 50 and up :
- Golden Age Eastern War Dance
- Golden Age Traditional

Drum Styles: Northern Contemporary, Northern Straight & Southern Straight

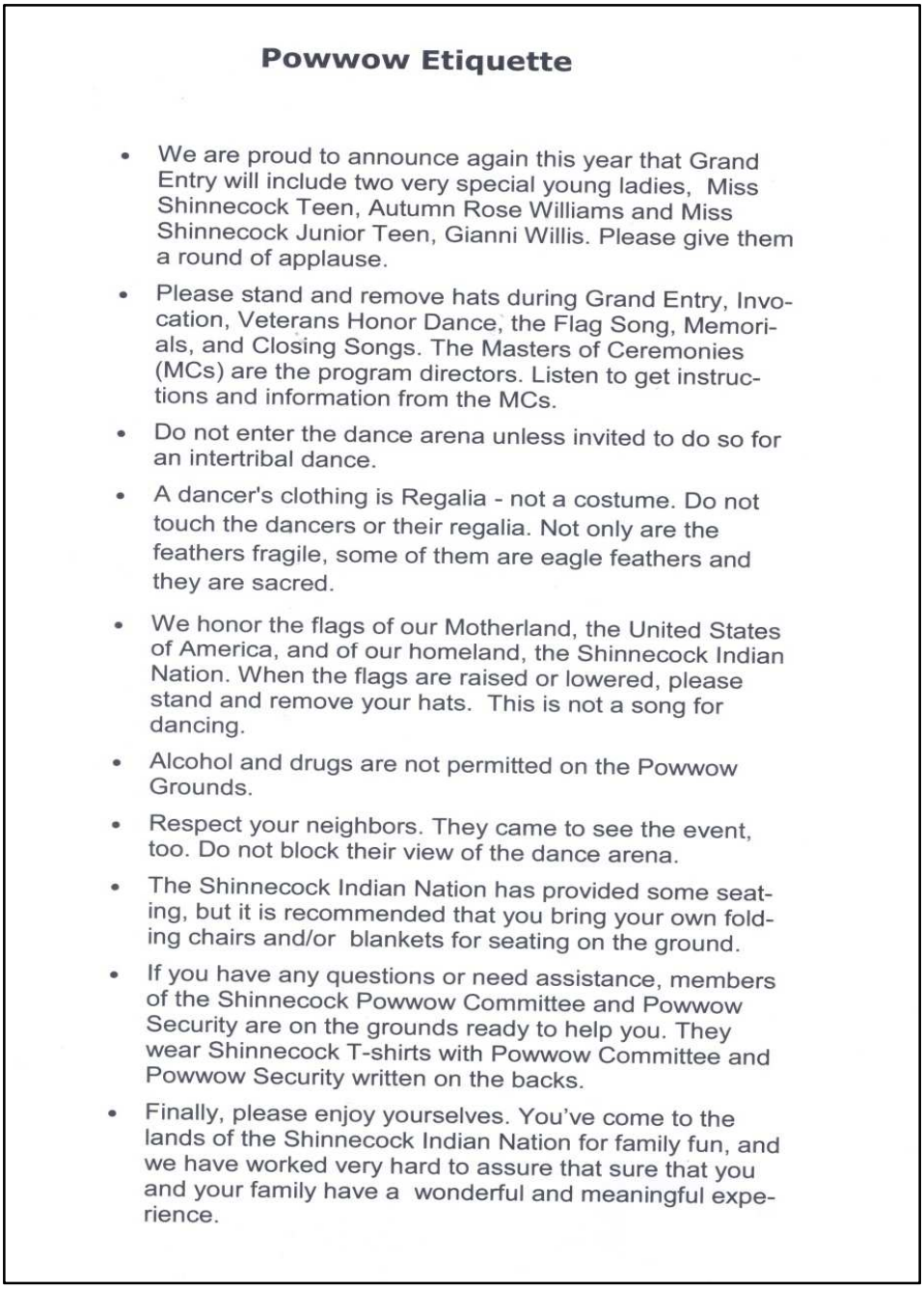
Special contests:
- Women's Eastern Blanket Dance
- Men's Eastern War Dance
- The Charles K. Smith Memorial Special, Traditional Men's Dance Contest
- The Thom "Little Bear" Memorial Special, Men's Fancy Dance Contest
- Men's and Women's Smoke Dances
- Baby Roy Jones Jr. Tiny Tots Memorial Exhibition

Figure 37: On the left, listing of Shinnecock powwow performers and on the right, the front of the Source: Shinnecock powwow booklet, 2011.

3.4.3 POWWOW ETIQUETTE: RULES AND REGULATIONS

Various powwows have both traditional and contemporary rules modified in accordance to the specific tribe or region (Figure 38). For instance, Northeastern powwows require spectators to stand and remove their hats to show respect for the dancers, to honour the ancestors and the native powwow space. The lowering and raising of the tribal and American flags as well as the playing of the Veterans Honour Dance, the Flag Song, Memorials and Closing songs, require the same amount of respect. The emcee requests that spectators do not photograph or videotape during the performance of these songs. Additionally there is no alcohol or drugs allowed on the powwow grounds. One can speculate that the high preponderance of drug and alcohol related dependency that

continues to be an issue on the reservation, might be an explanation as to why this is so. If one comes to a powwow drunk or high, they would be asked to leave[93].



Powwow Etiquette

- We are proud to announce again this year that Grand Entry will include two very special young ladies, Miss Shinnecock Teen, Autumn Rose Williams and Miss Shinnecock Junior Teen, Gianni Willis. Please give them a round of applause.
- Please stand and remove hats during Grand Entry, Invocation, Veterans Honor Dance, the Flag Song, Memorials, and Closing Songs. The Masters of Ceremonies (MCs) are the program directors. Listen to get instructions and information from the MCs.
- Do not enter the dance arena unless invited to do so for an intertribal dance.
- A dancer's clothing is Regalia - not a costume. Do not touch the dancers or their regalia. Not only are the feathers fragile, some of them are eagle feathers and they are sacred.
- We honor the flags of our Motherland, the United States of America, and of our homeland, the Shinnecock Indian Nation. When the flags are raised or lowered, please stand and remove your hats. This is not a song for dancing.
- Alcohol and drugs are not permitted on the Powwow Grounds.
- Respect your neighbors. They came to see the event, too. Do not block their view of the dance arena.
- The Shinnecock Indian Nation has provided some seating, but it is recommended that you bring your own folding chairs and/or blankets for seating on the ground.
- If you have any questions or need assistance, members of the Shinnecock Powwow Committee and Powwow Security are on the grounds ready to help you. They wear Shinnecock T-shirts with Powwow Committee and Powwow Security written on the backs.
- Finally, please enjoy yourselves. You've come to the lands of the Shinnecock Indian Nation for family fun, and we have worked very hard to assure that sure that you and your family have a wonderful and meaningful experience.

Figure 38: Listing of the Rules and Regulations during a powwow event. Source: The 65th Annual Shinnecock powwow booklet, 2011:15.

Regalia are sacred items that must not be touched or photographed without the performer's permission. A dancer's regalia reflect the spirit of their ancestors, their tribal community and

[93] Andrea Godoy, 2013.

the customs that that community values, touching such an item can mar the blessings offered during constructing the item (Browner 2002:56, White 1996: 21).

Figure 39: Herbs used during the powwow. Clockwise from top Tobacco, Cedar, Sweetgrass and Sage. Source: 'Mi'kmaq spirit' website: http://www.muiniskw.org/pgCulture2a.htm accessed on 10 November 2012.

Before the powwow event begins, there is a fire lighting ceremony only attended by tribal members and by special invitation for non-tribal members. In the centre of the dance arena or native space, tribal members light a sacred fire with a combination of the following herbs: sage, sweetgrass, cedar and tobacco that purify the native space and the bodies of the performers from negative energy (Figure 39). The sacred fire encompasses the elements of fire (masculine) and earth or the herbs (feminine) which, when combined, balance the energy of the native space. As mentioned earlier, the rituals of smudging and the lighting of the sacred fire send prayers and thanks from the tribal members to the Creator.

3.6 THE CREATED NATIVE SPACE OF THE SHINNECOCK POWWOW

A native space or separate dance arena is essential in a powwow performance. The connection produced between a physical space, like the Shinnecock reservation and the ancestral history of the area makes it a sacred entity enabling the proper enactment of rituals and ceremonies. In regards to the four tenets of performance in Chapter 1, the powwow space is a 'site of socialisation' or 'poiesis' in that the physical, emotional and mental aspect of the site are important to the livelihood and maintenance of the event (Guss 2001:8-11).

The Shinnecock native space is a marvelous reconstruction of a raised circular drum (Figure 40). Shinnecock tribal member Roland Smith constructed the stage in 1955. It is about four feet high and between sixty and seventy feet in circumference. The stage resembles a drum with white and red cross-hatching along the sides. Tightly packed with dirt, grass makes it an ideal place for dancers to perform. Young Bear and Thiesz (1994:177) also denote that circular spaces in Native American communities represent the "continuity of time and life itself". For instance, the drum is placed in the centre of the dance arena or native space. In this instance, the 'drum' or raised stage is literally in the centre of the Shinnecock native space; it is where the dancers perform, tribal members watch the performances on the sidelines and drummers and singers play their music on the outskirts. The drum is called the 'Heartbeat' of the powwow performances because it is placed in the centre of the arena and it is also where the dancers and singers perform; without the drum, there will not be a powwow as we know it (Browner 2002: 10).

Figure 40: The Shinnecock stage fashioned to resemble a drum. Source: M. Sykes September 2011.

The setup of the Shinnecock powwow arena is unique in that a raised stage, almost five feet tall, separates the spectators from the powwow performers and tribal members. The spectators place their chairs on the ground level of the stage in a half-circle (Figure 41). At the rear of the stage is a gate-enclosed with the sign 'for performers only', where those who are not involved with the powwow cannot enter. Andrea Godoy points out that this is for the protection of the Shinnecock performers as well as to preserve the notion of native space that is sacred. [94] This separation capitalizes on the non-native desire to know more about the Shinnecock tribe, or any native nation to get the full powwow experience.

[94] Godoy, Andrea, 2011.

Figure 41: Spectators at the Shinnecock powwow, 2011. Source: M. Sykes, 2011.

As mentioned before, the powwow stage is broken into two main areas: the dancer's space and the native space where tribal members, drummers and singers are located. The former, encompasses the front and centre areas of the stage while the latter, includes the outskirts of the sides and the back area of the stage (Figure 42, on the left). The native space includes a shaded Arbor where musicians and drummers sit on the stage away from the spectators (Figure 42, on the right).

Figure 42: Shinnecock tribal members sit on the outskirts of the stage, on the left. The shaded Arbor located in the back of the Shinnecock stage for drummers and musicians, on the right. Source: M. Sykes, 2011.

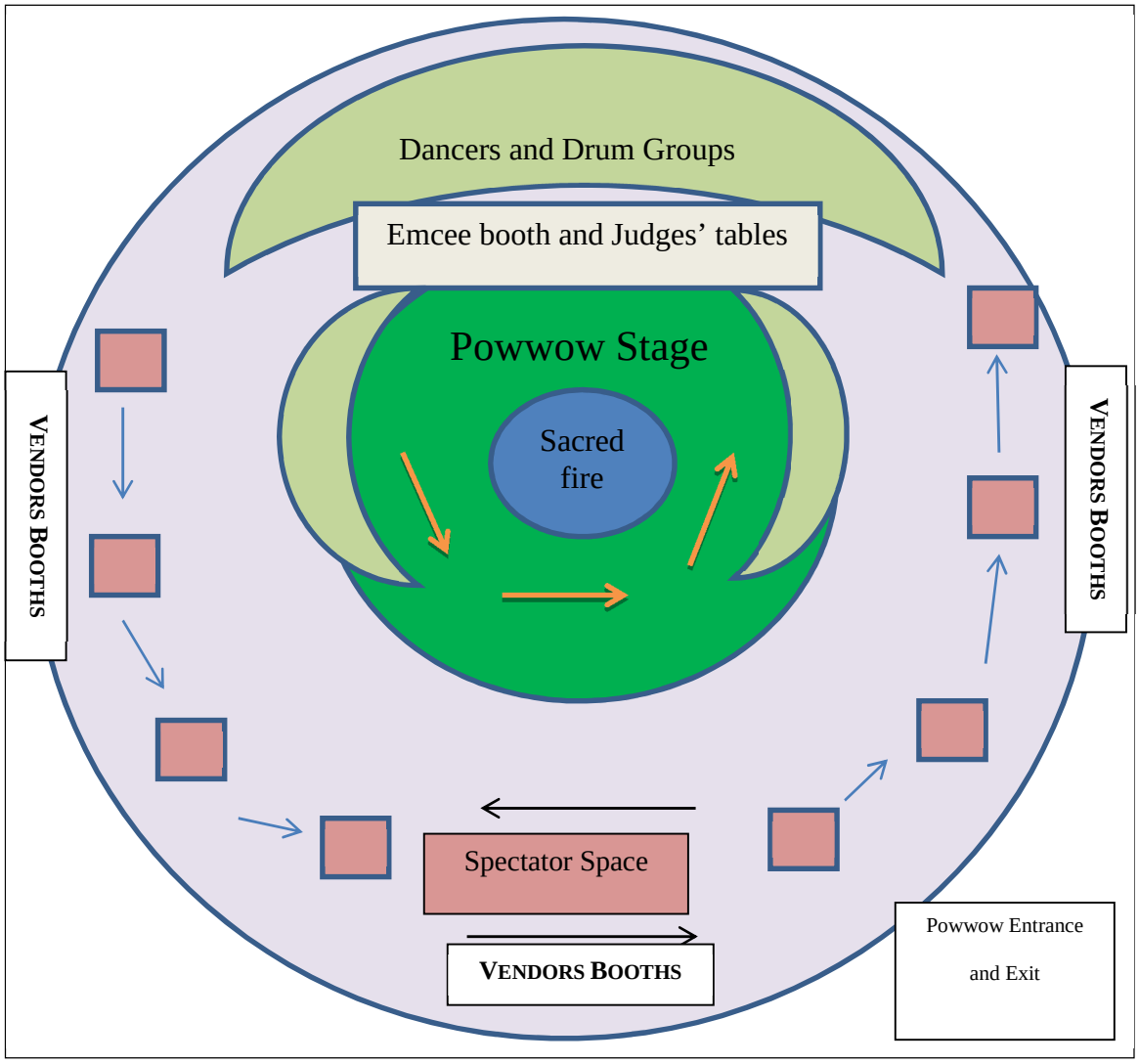


Figure 43: Configuration of the Shinnecock powwow grounds, created by M. Sykes 2013.

In (Figure 43), the raised powwow stage is coloured green in the centre of the powwow space. The orange arrows moving counter-clockwise represent the dancers' movements on this space, encircling the sacred fire. The light green half-moon shapes represent the space where powwow participants sit; it is away from the spectators both on a raised stage platform and in the centre of a well-barricaded area. The large light-green half-moon shape represents the arbor where the dancers and the drum groups sit and perform during the powwow performance. One can hear the drum very loudly, as there are speakers everywhere, but one may not necessarily be able to see them, as the emcee and judges' table in the centre block the stage. The pink squares indicate the spectators who

are free to roam the ground level of the powwow area but never allowed on the actual powwow stage. Vendor booths flank the spectators completely around the powwow arena in white squares.

The separation of the powwow dance arena is, as mentioned earlier, an important component in maintaining the spiritual and sacred elements of the performance the "invisible membrane between the physical (seen) and the spiritual (unseen) realms (Browne 2002:98)." Many powwow participants state that when they dance, they perform with their ancestors, if not in spirit then through the wearing of passed down regalia. For instance, Bob Wellman,[95] a native dancer at the Lake Siog powwow, confirms the ancestral connection as "being in the circle often puts me into an altered state of consciousness, which makes it spiritual. You certainly feel it during the Grand Entry, when we invite our ancestors into the circle to dance with us, is very spiritual". This connection to the unseen world is part of the powwow experience as much as the event itself, as Cheryl Watching Crow Stedtler, a Nipmuc tribal member notes, "dancing gives you a tremendous feeling you could just feel it washing over you. And from that moment on, I didn't want to leave [the arena]. It's hard for me now, and even my daughter, she does not want to take her regalia off, because she knows we're leaving and her heart is here[96]". Dancing in the powwow space becomes part of a spiritual connection that Native Americans feel with their ancestors.

3.7 THE HEARTBEAT OF THE POWWOW: THE DRUM, MUSIC AND SONG

Singers and dancers both get the majority of their directional and transitional cues from the drum, making it the most important aspect of the performance. The Native American powwow drum requires a "high degree of cooperation for performance […] and the faculties of many people" to be performed accurately and effectively (Blacking 1976:44). The drum itself has two definitions: one, a large structure in which men surround and beat in unison and two, and a term that denotes a group of men performing at the drum structure. The large, suspended drum held on a wooden splint "allows the music and vibrations to flow into Mother Earth and to be returned to Mother Earth, to resonate through your feet and into your heart"

[95] Wellman, Bob. Personal interview conducted on 7 September 2013 at the Lake Siog powwow.
[96] Watching Crow Stedtler. Cheryl, Personal interview conducted on 7 September 2013 at the Lake Siog powwow.

(White 1996:28). It is between two and four feet in diameter and one to two feet high, situated on the ground or at the knees surrounded by eight and twelve players (Figure 44, on the right). Though Northeastern tribal groups used hand-held water drums during ceremonies[97] (Figure 44, on the left and centre), the larger drum was incorporated during powwow events because of its' booming sound and accessibility with the crowd (Bragdon 1997:35). The second meaning of the drum constitutes the group of men performing. It is spelled Drum, with a capital 'D' rather than a lower cased 'd'. The drum, the large structure, is representative of the ancestors and through the multiple individuals becoming one Drum - the group - they connect to their ancestral past, as well as each other[98].

Figure 44: Northeastern-style water drums: left, Cedar-style hand drum and on the right, Steven Chavis, Lumbee/Shinnecock, performing with the water drum at the Shinnecock Strawberry Festival, June 2011 and a larger 'powwow-style' drum. Source: M. Sykes, 2011.

Native nations refer to the drum as the horse, "because it carries their spirit into other realms and other times. 'Ride the horse', is an expression which means to free your mind and allow your body to feel the power and pulsations of the drum, so that your spirit can travel" (White 1996:28). The songs evoke important sounds that have a medicinal or healing effect on those that need healing, spiritually or emotionally. Songs and music "may be sung as expressions of joy, sadness, victory, defeat, love, or

[97] Northeastern tribal groups predominantly used the smaller, hand-held water drums because it would carry the sound better through the Woodlands area, it was easy to carry as northeastern tribal members moved between villages in the summer and winter and it was durable. The smaller hand drum offered a loud sound because of the 'reverberation of water' that sits inside the drum (White 1996).
[98] Hunt, Richard, Personal interview conducted on 7 September 2013 at the Lake Siog powwow.

anger—any emotional or spiritual feeling can be addressed in song" (Lee 2007:89). Some even believe that the native songs are "the Creator's thoughts" transposed into a musical form (Von Rosen 2009: 61).

The human performer is the musical instrument, not the physical drum, itself.[99] Shove and Repp (1995:60) agree with David Tall Oak in that there is no difference between the music and the human motion that accompanies it; they essentially become the same. Some performers believe that playing on the drum perpetuates the dancing body, where they both influence each other into action or movement. The drummers have an embodied awareness of the musical material which dancers feed off, therefore allowing the drummer to feed off the dancer's energy producing a song in which both are able to stop and start simultaneously (White 1996:90). Furthermore, the song and dance in the powwow performance work together as "danced speech" in which the rhythm of a song may directly come from the dance itself (Lomax 1968:272). Consequently, the Drum is the 'Heartbeat of the powwow', because it becomes a personified version of the dancer and the performers; it has a heartbeat as if a living being would.

> Amongst the drummers, there is usually a Drum keeper. He does not own the drum but is left to care for the drum when it leaves the circle. There is a bundle keeper, who keeps the spirituality of the drum, smudges the drum, say the prayers over the drum, open and awaken the drum for playing, and the Song changer this is the lead singer who chooses the song.[100]

As Marie Travers recalls in the above quote, each member of the Drum has a responsibility in the creation of powwow music for instance, the drum keeper cares for the drum while the bundle keeper maintains the spirituality of the drum by smudging before and after each performance. The song changer, also referred to as the lead singer keeps the singers in line with each other and directs the intensity or direction of the song.

[99] David Tall Oak White, 2013.
[100] Travers, Marie, Personal structured interview in her home on 8 September 2013. Ellington, CT.

Figure 45: Drum circle featuring the 'Young Bloodz' Drum group. Source: M. Sykes 2011

Please play

Video Clip 1

'Drum Group Singers – 'Young Bloodz Singers'

For instance, in (Figure 45) and (**Video Clip 1**), the Young Bloodz Drum group performs in a circular formation surrounding the large drum. The man on the far left wearing a white t-shirt, glasses with long braided hair is the lead singer. When he utters the opening phrase, the other singers follow suit and repeat his phrase; this song progression is a Call and Response technique where the lead singer utters a phrase, the secondary singers respond and the chorus repeats the phrase; this sequence is repeated throughout the song. The lead singer can decide to end the song at any point after a few final beats in which the song reaches a deafening crescendo and then dissipates (Browner 1997:77). Therefore, the other singers must pay attention to the drum sequence and any changes that may denote the ending of the song.

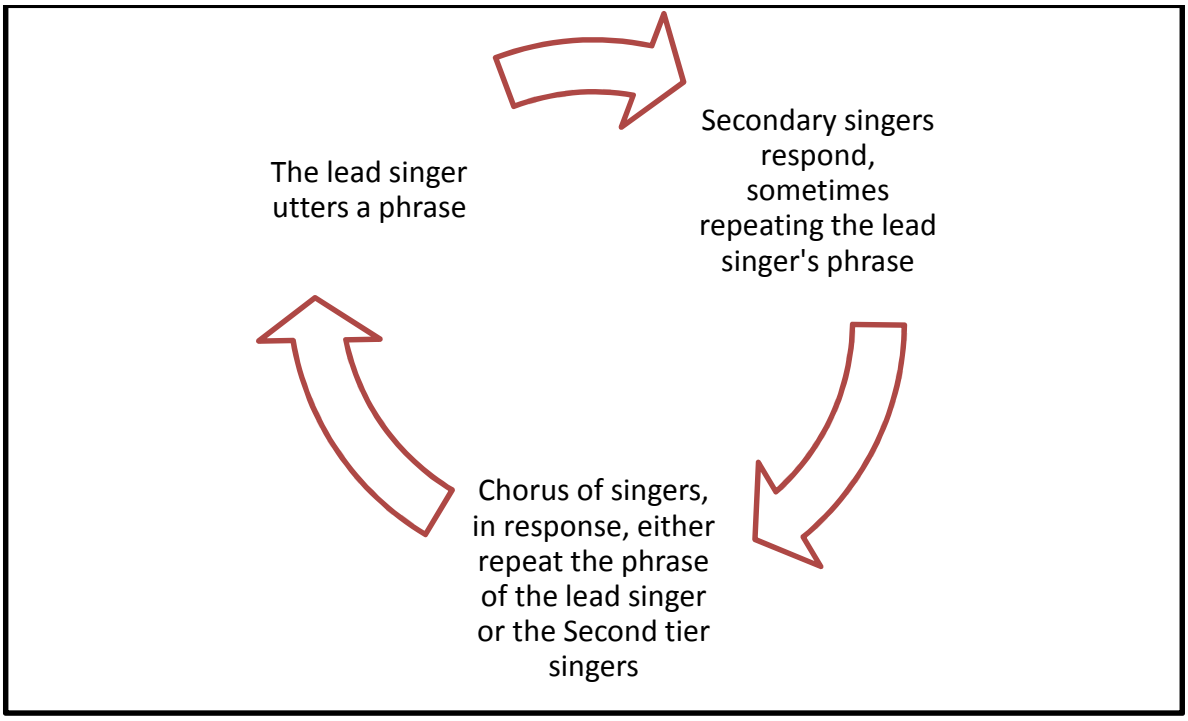


Figure 46: Call and Response singing style. Chart made by M. Sykes.

Drum songs are performed in a circular formation, hence the Call and Response technique. This continues the notion of the sacred circle in the powwow arena, as drums are circular; the Drum sits in a circle around the drum connecting to the vibrations and movement of the drum while the song is performed in a repeated or cyclical motion. Browner (2009:9) states that the "cyclical nature of the songs is mirrored in the cyclical passage of time within each dance/music session, each session's beginning and ending is marked by the dancers' entrance and exit". As noted in Lomax (1968: vii) "song style symbolises and reinforces certain important aspects of social structure in all cultures"; they connect expression, communication and social structure with cultural patterns. Within a sung performance, voice quality and mode of presentation become characteristic of certain regions rather than song temperance like tempo, rhythm or melody. Therefore, the song style, timbre, voice quality and technique become indicative of a certain region or tribe.

Due to the loss of the Algonquian language and the different spellings and pronunciations of the words (see Chapter 2, section 2.2.1), the songs feature English words with a combination of vocables or sounds that follow the Algonquian alphabet (Browner 2007:10). For instance, a song can begin

with, “Listen to me honey, I got the blues”, while the chorus responds with vocables, such as “Wah-hee-yo-yay-yoo” – this is often continued until the song is finished (Powers 1972:170). The vocables in this song correlate with the Algonquian alphabet of elongated –qu, -ay and – ee sounds. The song includes both Lakota and English words in addition to vocables. The stanza in (Figure 47, on the left) reads, *pi-ya, ah-way-ah, ah-way, way-ah-ho, ah-way-yah, hay-ya-ya-ya-ya, which* means ‘This good song makes them dance’. The drum line, which is on the second stanza, is a steady beat while the men’s dancers (on the third stanza) move two left foot taps then two right foot taps and so on while the women (on the fourth stanza) move back and forth in coordination with the men’s left, left, right, right movements.

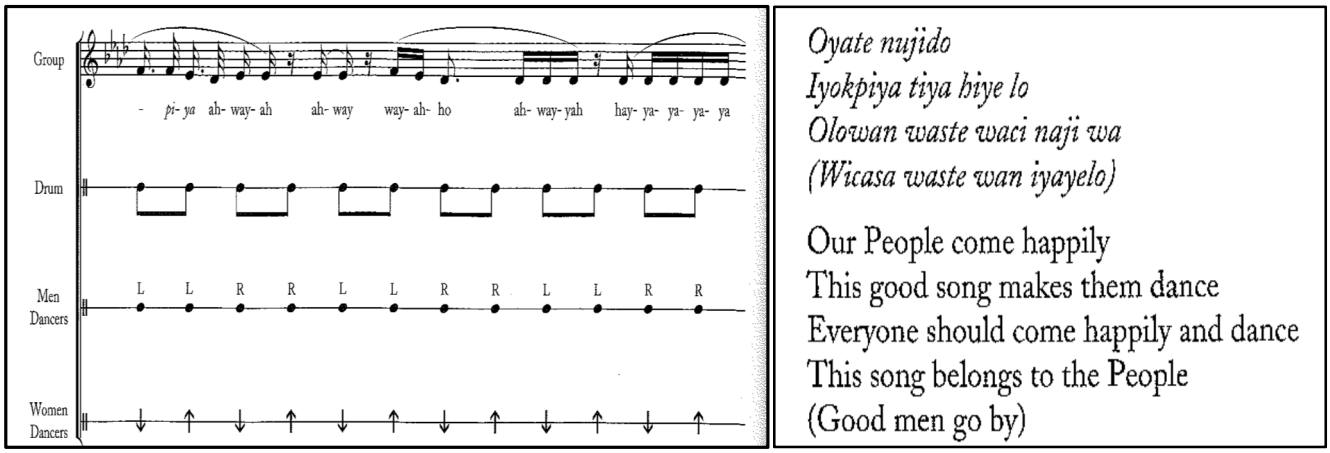


Figure 47: Grand Entry Song from Drum group, Native Thunder. The English translation, performed by Tara Browner and Miles Whitecloud is on the right. Source: Browner 2009:47.

The Grand Entry song listed above in (Figure 47), performed in four rounds of an A-B-B format and tempo is the standard powwow drum pattern. This sounds similar to a high drum beat with two thumping downbeats added in rapid succession afterwards (please refer to **Video Clip 1** of the Drum Circle in Table 1). This example shows how the music from the Drum and the dancers’ movements must work together in order for the song progression to operate effectively.

3.8 SHINNECOCK POWWOW: DANCE STYLES

The Shinnecock powwow has six main dance styles:

1. Men's Traditional Dance which includes different variations of the dance such as the Eastern War, Northern Traditional and the Southern Traditional dances
2. Women's Traditional Dance which includes the Northern and Southern styles and the Eastern Blanket Dance
3. Men's Grass Dancers
4. Women's Jingle Dress Dancers
5. Men's Fancy War Dance
6. Women's Fancy Shawl Dance

These six dances are present during every powwow performance with variations on the styles, for example, there may not be enough Northern Traditional Dancers so that category will be off the roster for that year. Including these six main dance styles, there are dances not performed every year and are not native to the Northeast region, called Special Dances.

Figure 48: Aztec Dancers. Source: M. Sykes 2012.

Aztec Dancers are a popular addition to the Shinnecock powwow roster of performers (Figure 48). According to dancers, Juan and Joanna Salinas, Aztec dancing originated in Mexico City, Mexico

and performed in their country for hundreds of years[101]. They travel the world sharing their knowledge of Mexican and Aztec culture. As per their website, "we often take part in powwows and ceremonies sharing our heritage as we believe that regardless where the borders are set, we are all native people of the Americas[102]".

Figure 49: Hoop Dancer. Source: M. Sykes, 2011.

[101] Salinas, Juan and Joanna, Personal correspondence by informal interview on 19 June 2011 in Brooklyn, N.Y.
[102] Aztec Dancers website http://www.aztecdancers.com/ accessed on 21 June 2011.

The Hoop Dance, like the Aztec Dance, it is not performed at every powwow but due to its technical skill, showmanship and entertaining capacity it is often a very popular dance (Figure 49). The performer, while using between multiple hoops, dances in and out of the hoops while simultaneously creating fancy loops and figures with the hoops (Figure 49, top images). This dance originated with the Ojibwe tribe of Minnesota but popularized by the Taos Pueblos of New Mexico[103]. The circular hoops represent continuity in the universe while the dancer's movements show the difficulties that we all must face in life[104].

The six main dance styles are the main elements of the Grand Entry Procession before the Special Dancers enter the native space; it is a way of offering respect for the hosting tribe[105]. Men's Traditional Dancing (Figure 50) includes Eastern War, Northern Traditional and Southern Traditional/Straight dance styles.

Figure 50: Photos of Men's Traditional Dancers. On the far left, Eastern War, at the centre, Northern Traditional and the far right, Southern Traditional. Source: M. Sykes, 2011 and 2012.

[103] Lonehill, Rey. Personal correspondence by informal interview on 19 June 2011 in Long Island, N.Y.
[104] American Indian Thunderbird Dancers Website (http://www.ctmd.org/touringartists/StudyGuides/ThunderbirdSG.pdf)
[105] King, Suzette, 2011.

The Eastern War Dance encapsulates the Northeastern style of buckskin material. Men wear buckskin breechcloths and leggings, are normally bear-chested with painted faces and body with shaved heads or 'Mohawk' hairstyles (Figure 50, on the left). The Northern Traditional Dance, originated in the Northern half of the United States and is a more solemn performance with men wearing buckskin regalia that is often dyed to match the rest of the outfit while their headdresses can range from animal pelts and skins to feathers (White 1996:40) (Figure 50, centre). Unlike the other two dance styles, the Ponca and Omaha tribes of the southern Plains region influence the Southern Traditional/Straight Dance (Browner 2002:191). They wear coloured ribbon shirts, matching cloth leggings, a trailing headdress, breechcloth and otter skin embellishments and skins (Figure 50, on the right). However, all three dances are traditional to the Northern half of the United States, during the Shinnecock powwow, the Eastern War Dance is the main performance, followed by the Northern Traditional and lastly the Southern Straight. The tribal powwows, like the Shinnecock, are representative of a region or tribal group, so the Eastern and Northern dance styles would perform first in the procession of the powwow to offer respect to their ancestral dance forms[106].

Women's Traditional dancing consists of the Northern Traditional Dance, which includes the Eastern Blanket Dance and the Southern Traditional Dance. The Eastern Blanket Dance is similar to the Northern Traditional Dance in clothing but the meaning of the movements is entirely different (see Chapter 4 of this thesis). Northern Traditional Dances feature buckskin clothing made from softened deer hide, long fringe and blankets worn over the left arm of the dancer, which is a form of respect for the performance space[107] (Figure 51, top row). The Southern Traditional Dances feature colourful clothing made of cloth decorated with fine beading, shells or Algonquian floral designs (White 1996:43) (Figure 51, bottom row). Women may also carry fans or awls which how women carried feathers earned over the course of a lifetime for completing tasks in their tribal community, cooking, or some other talent (Powers 1972: 160).

[106] Godoy, Andrea, 2012.
[107] Godoy, Andrea, 2012.

Figure 51: Women's Traditional Dancers. On the top, Northern Traditional Dancers and on the bottom, Southern Traditional Dancers. Source: M. Sykes, 2011, 2012.

Both dances are solemn and slow-paced with the women dancing around the outside of a circle while making miniscule foot movements in accordance with the drum beat. The women's body posture remains upright, almost erect, either staring straight ahead or with their eyes downcast, with alternating lowering of the head at times throughout the movement. Powers (1972:166) notes that

women's performers keep this posture as a way of "honouring the drum"; these movements are representative signs of femininity, grace, beauty and respect. Traditional women's dances are performed similarly to how the women performed during pre-colonial powwow performances when the warriors or hunters returned from their trips; women would raise their awls or fans in honour of them, which is what they do during the dance on the downbeat of the drum.

The Men's Grass Dance originated in the Plains region, mostly amongst the Lakota Sioux of North Dakota (White 1996: 60). It is said that due to the high grass of the Plains region and the need for buffalo for sustenance, a couple of hundred men would stomp the grass down so that buffalo can graze and camp can be set up by the warriors (Browner 2002: 120). As White (1996:39) adds, "the dance itself, and especially the footwork, does create the impression of weaving through tall grass and smoothing it down". Their regalia consist of multi-coloured fringe on a yoke that slips over the shoulders, long fringed shirts and trousers, belts, suspenders, cuffs, armbands and moccasins. The performers wear headdresses that consist of a single or double row of feathers that are fashioned on to a roach, or rotating disk, so that it can move while they dance (this headdress is also used in the warrior dances, like the Straight dance and Traditional dances) (Figure 52).

Figure 52: Men's Grass Dancers. Source: M. Sykes, 2011 and 2012.

The Women's Jingle Dress Dance originated in the Ojibwe tribal nation of the Eastern Woodlands region; it represents a young girl dancing for the health of her sick grandfather (White 1996: 39-40). The 'jingles' of the dress were originally made from horn, turtle shells, wampum shells or hooves but are now made from tin cones; they still produce the same jingle sound as the dancers hop and jump. The dresses are made of cloth, often in a shiny texture or colourful fabric (Figure 53). The women wear a headpiece with one feather, two ponytails on each side of the head with added fur or cloth embellishments on the ends, matching colourful moccasins, a leather belt with reflective material, such as mirror[108] and they carry a feathered awl or fan.

Figure 53: Women's Jingle Dress Dancers. Source: M. Sykes 2011.

The Men's Fancy War Dancers, also called the *Dancers of the Rainbow* are adorned with colourfully dyed "fluffies" or downy feathers alongside two bustles and extra ribbons (Johnston and Nahanee

[108] Mirrors or reflective material worn on regalia pieces warded off evil spirits and negative energy (Tooker 1898: 24).

2003:49-50) (Figure 54). The term Fancy Dance refers to the fancy, elaborate movements and intricate steps that the dancer performs (Powers 1972:165).

Figure 54: Men's Fancy War Dance. Source: M. Sykes, 2011.

The Women's Fancy Shawl Dancers or the *Butterfly* Dancers wear colourful shawls with long flowing fringes, a cloth dress, high top moccasins, silver or reflective belts, beaded headpiece and a yoke or vest at the front (Figure 55). This dance originated from the aforementioned Men's Fancy Dance, as the Northeastern women attempted to emulate the movements of the men[109]. Both the Fancy War and the Fancy Shawl Dances' movements are very intricate, fast and light – in many cases the movement is so quick, the colours and fabrics seem to blend.

[109] Haile Elizabeth or Princess Chee Chee. Personal correspondence by informal interview on 15 September 2011 at the Shinnecock Museum.

Figure 55: Women's Fancy Shawl Dance. Source: M. Sykes 2011.

Performed annually, these dances exemplify the standard of performances at the Shinnecock powwow. They are presented to spectators and non-performing tribal members during the Grand Entry procession, which signals the beginning of the Shinnecock powwow event.

3.7 SHINNECOCK POWWOW GRAND ENTRY PROCESSION

The Grand Entry performance, which is a presentation of all of the performers to the audience, is the first big dance feature of the day. It is performed twice in the day, once at midday and then at about 7pm after dinner. The performers entered the arena based on categories of age and gender (Figure 56). In Variation 2 of Figure 56, men enter the arena first, in every dance category while the women enter afterwards in each dance category. For instance, after the powwow princesses enter the native space; Men Traditional Dancers enter, followed by Men's Grass Dancers, Men's Fancy War Dancers, Boy Traditional Dancers, Boy Grass Dancers, Boy Fancy War Dancers followed by the Women's Traditional Dancers, Women's Jingle Dress Dancers, and so on. Variation 2 is performed at powwows in other tribal areas. For instance, tribal powwows in the Plains region would use this Variation because traditionally men's warriors and hunters were placed in a higher social standing than other tribal members (Browner 2002: 102).

Through experience, Northeastern tribal powwows tend to use Variation 1 within their procession starting with Men's Traditional Dancers, followed by Women's Traditional Dancers, then Men's Grass Dancers, followed by Women's Jingle Dress Dancers and so on (Figure 56). In the Northeast, men and women are on similar levels of equality, existing on a complementary plane of balance amongst tribal responsibilities and social standing in their community (Bragdon 2001).

Variation 1	Variation 2
Flag Bearers/ Colour Guard	Flag Bearers/ Colour Guard
Honoured Guests, Elders and Veterans	Honoured Guests, Elders and Veterans
Head Dancers	Head Dancers
Powwow Princesses	Powwow Princesses
Men Traditional Dances (Eastern War, Northern Traditional, Southern Traditional/Straight)	Men Traditional Dances (Eastern War, Northern Traditional, Southern Traditional/Straight)
Women Traditional Dancers (Northern Traditional, Southern Traditional) • Buckskin Dancers • Cloth Dancers	Men's Grass Dancers
Men Grass Dancers	Men Fancy War Dancers
Women Jingle Dancers	Boy Traditional Dancers
Men Fancy War Dancers	Boy Grass Dancers
Women Fancy Shawl Dancers	Boy Fancy War Dancers
Boy Traditional Dancers	Women Traditional Dancers (Northern Traditional, Southern Traditional) • Buckskin Dancers • Cloth Dancers
Girl Traditional Dancers • Buckskin Dancers • Cloth Dancers	Women Jingle Dancers
Boy Grass Dancers	Women Fancy Shawl Dancers
Girl Jingle Dancers	Girl Traditional Dancers • Buckskin Dancers • Cloth Dancers
Boy Fancy War Dancers	Girl Jingle Dancers
Girl Fancy Shawl Dancers	Girl Fancy Shawl Dancers

Figure 56: Grand Entry Order of Procession. Source: M. Sykes, 2012.

Concerning age, in both variations, older participants enter the arena before the younger participants starting with Golden Age dancers and ending with Girl or Boy dancers in each category. After the

last dancers enters the procession special dancers, such as Aztec dancers and Hoop dancers enter the native space.

When the emcee declared that the Grand Entry is about to begin, spectators began to settle into their seats, or select a position to stand in, on the packed grounds. The host drum performs the opening Grand Entry song while the emcee announces the tribal members, dancers and visiting performers at the powwow. Dancers must perform the dance styles that they are dressed for throughout the procession. This is a way to present the dancers to the spectators as well as give the performers a sense of entering the native space on the Shinnecock stage. The feeling of solemnity, seriousness and pride were palpable as the native event dancers made their way onto the drum-shaped stage. The dancers move past the spectators, hardly making eye contact. Very few dancers smile but stare straight ahead. They avoid eye contact with spectators while performing the intricate foot and arm movements gently swaying to the beat of the drumming and singing in an intoxicating rhythm. The music, the singing, the pride displayed by the performers and the colourful and intricately made regalia are intoxicating. Very quickly, one is aware of the jingle and rustling of bells, the shaking of hooves and the sound of rattles, all in perfect synchronicity, as they pass by.

Figure 57: Video Clip of Grand Entry Performance – Shinnecock powwow, 2011. Source: M. Sykes, 2011

Please play

Video Clip 2

'2011 Shinnecock Annual powwow Grand Entry procession'

All performers proceed in a counter-clockwise formation around the base of the stage, past the spectators and up towards the elevated main stage (Figure 57) **(Video Clip 2).** The head girl, Cholena Smith and the head boy, John Boyd begin the procession of dancers and tribal members **(Video Clip 2: 00:00- 00:28)**. They are followed by the flag bearers and colour guards who include tribal trustees, dignitaries and tribal elders **(Video Clip 2: 00:29 – 00:52)**. The flag bearers hold a series of flags including the American flag, the New York state flag and the flags of various Northeastern tribes that includes the Mashpee Wampanoag, Shinnecock, Narragansett, Mohegan, Oneida, Unkechaug, Mashantucket Pequot and the Poospatuck.

Figure 58: Flag bearers entering the dance arena during the Grand Entry, spectators are on the left of the photo behind the rope barriers and the raised stage is to the right. Shinnecock powwow 2011. Source: M. Sykes, 2011.

The Eagle Staff (seen in the middle of Figure 58), is covered in eagle feathers that represent the history and longevity of the tribe (Browner 2002:89). The flag bearers are followed by the Shinnecock powwow princesses **(Video Clip 2: 00:55 – 01:01)**; they represent young women who have provided an exemplary example of Shinnecock livelihood, culture and tradition (as mentioned in Chapter 2 Section 2.4). Next, if there any honoured guests or war veterans – which includes police officers, firefighters and ambulance workers - they would normally had entered the

procession[110] at this point **(Video Clip 2: 01:02 – 01:08)**. At the Shinnecock powwow that year, war veterans and honoured guests performed in a separate procession after the Grand Entry performance. At **(Video Clip 2: 07:32)** the dancers had made their way up onto the raised stage and waited for the rest of the procession of dancers to enter the dance arena.

As the dancers were at the top of the stage, the Silver Cloud Singers performed a Flag Song while the flag bearers place the flags on stage (Figure 59, on the left). Meanwhile, a tribal dignitary hoists the Shinnecock flag onto the flagpole to symbolise that the Shinnecock are ready to begin their powwow (Figure 59 on the right). The Drum performed an Honour song to give respect to a family member who has passed away. For instance, in the 2011 Shinnecock powwow, an elder that passed away was honoured on stage. The entire family danced in a clockwise fashion on the stage, while other performers, participants and spectators came up to shake their hands, offered condolences or gave money or gifts if they knew them personally.

Figure 59: Flag bearers. On the left, powwow flag bearers and colour guards at the end of the Grand Entry procession on the Shinnecock powwow stage. On the right, tribal dignitaries hoist the Shinnecock flag. Source: M. Sykes, 2012.

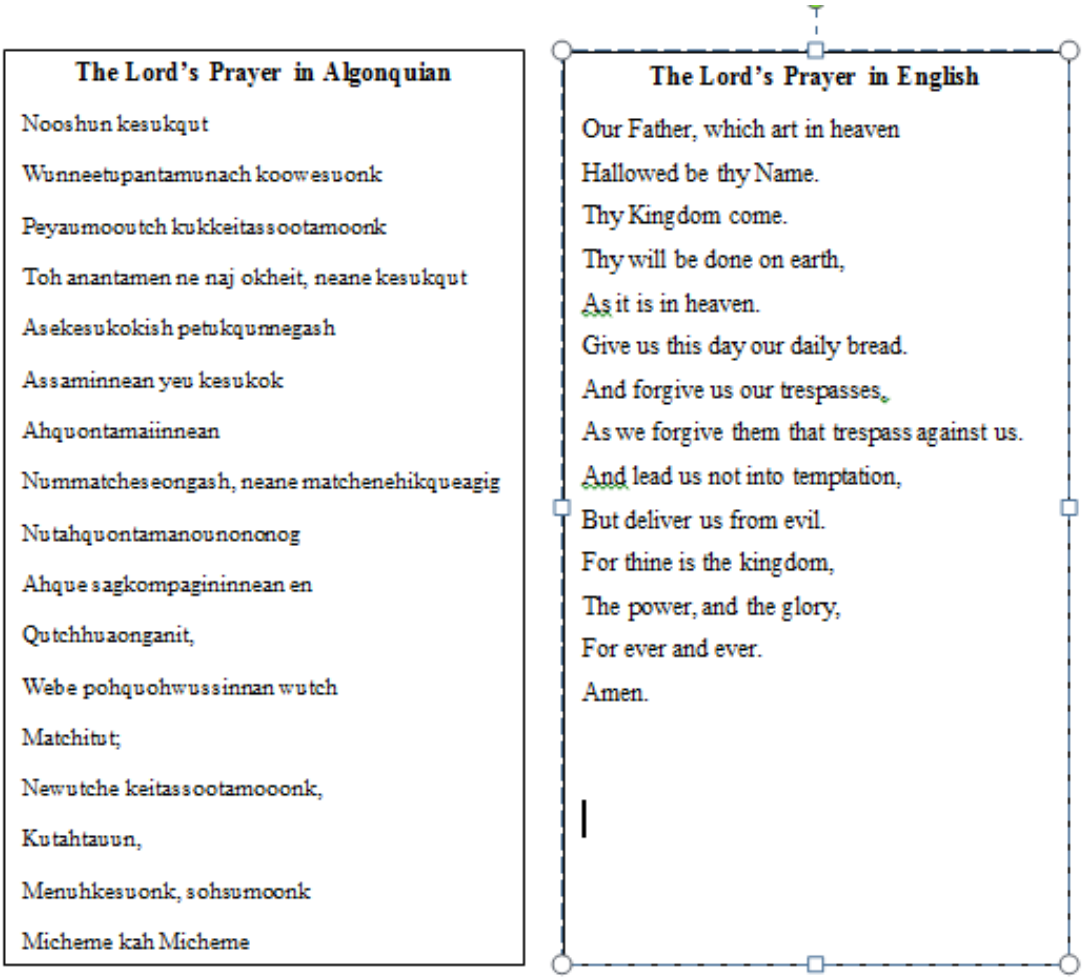
Following the posting of the Flags, a prayer was recited by Reverend Michael Smith of the Shinnecock Presbyterian Church. Afterwards, Princess Chee Chee and her granddaughter performed an

[110] Godoy, Andrea, 2011.

interpretive dance rendition of the Lord's Prayer (Figure 60). This performance was followed by a second reading of the Lord's Prayer in the Algonquian-L dialect[111] by Andrea Godoy (Figure 61).

Figure 60: Princess Chee Chee Lord's Prayer interpretive dance with her granddaughter. Source, M. Sykes, 2 September 2011.

[111] The Lord's Prayer. In the Algonquian-L dialect on the left and in English on the right. Taken from the first bible printed in North America created by collaboration between Rev. John Eliot and Hassanamesit James the Printer at the Indian School now known as Harvard University. Source: The Shinnecock Powwow Booklet, 2011 and with translation help from Andrea Godoy, Shinnecock Museum.



The Lord's Prayer in Algonquian

Nooshun kesukqut

Wunneetupantamunach koowesuonk

Peyaumooutch kukkeitassootamoonk

Toh anantamen ne naj okheit, neane kesukqut

Asekesukokish petukqunnegash

Assaminnean yeu kesukok

Ahquontamaiinnean

Nummatcheseongash, neane matchenehikqueagig

Nutahquontamanounononog

Ahque sagkompagininnean en

Qutchhuaonganit,

Webe pohquohwussinnan wutch

Matchitut;

Newutche keitassootamooonk,

Kutahtauun,

Menuhkesuonk, sohsumoonk

Micheme kah Micheme

The Lord's Prayer in English

Our Father, which art in heaven
Hallowed be thy Name.
Thy Kingdom come.
Thy will be done on earth,
As it is in heaven.
Give us this day our daily bread.
And forgive us our trespasses,
As we forgive them that trespass against us.
And lead us not into temptation,
But deliver us from evil.
For thine is the kingdom,
The power, and the glory,
For ever and ever.
Amen.

Figure 61: The Lord's Prayer written in Algonquian and English. Source: Andrea Godoy, Shinnecock Museum and Cultural Centre, 19 June 2011.

The emcee then calls for an intertribal dance, which incorporates all of the different styles of dancers onto the stage to perform together in a clockwise formation. This powwow performance template is indicative, with a few slight changes, of powwows in the New England region.

3.9.1 COMPETITIVE DANCING

Dances at the powwow are separated into age categories and then through men's and women's distinctions. Competition dancers are normally placed in categories dependent on age: such as the Golden age (50 and over), adult (18-49), teen (13-17), boys and girls (6-12), and lastly tiny tots (six and under). Competition and prize money fuelled the need for dancing and became a large factor in

participation within the powwows. There are disparate opinions on the issue of competition dances within powwows. They can "impose order and add suspense to long series of short songs or long dances" and they remove the spirituality and sacredness of the native dances (Goertzen 2001:63). Along with bringing a bit of excitement to the event, the difficult dances bring the more skilled and talented dancers to the competition, which would therefore bring a larger crowd, bringing in more money for the tribe. Some believe that the "commercialisation" of powwow cultural traditions denotes "threatened […] attacks on solidarity, and [possibly] the competitions will slowly be eliminated" (Powers 1990:57). Alternatively, others believe that the money promotes immense competition and animosity between contestants, steering away from the friendly vibe of the events.

> We were always taught that it wasn't always about the competition. You are representing you tribe, you're representing yourself, you're representing your community and the elders that can't dance anymore, you're representing the ancestors that have gone on before you, you're dancing with pride and respect, and honour and you're doing it because you love to do it. And if you happen to place that's a cherry on top[112].

Loren Spears adds her opinion on dance competitions; she believes that people should be 'out there dancing because you love to dance' and by doing that, you are 'representing your tribe', 'yourself' and 'your community'. Therefore, for Loren, and traditionalists like her, dancing at powwows should be more about 'pride, respect and honour' rather than financial gain. Judging and scoring has become a serious affair due to competition within the powwow performance and is therefore, scored in a methodical fashion.

3.9.2 JUDGES AND SCORING

The requirements for the judges and the scoring of dances and singing is information that is not included in the booklets or discussed with the non-native public but there are very specific rules to follow during

[112] Spears, Loren, 2013.

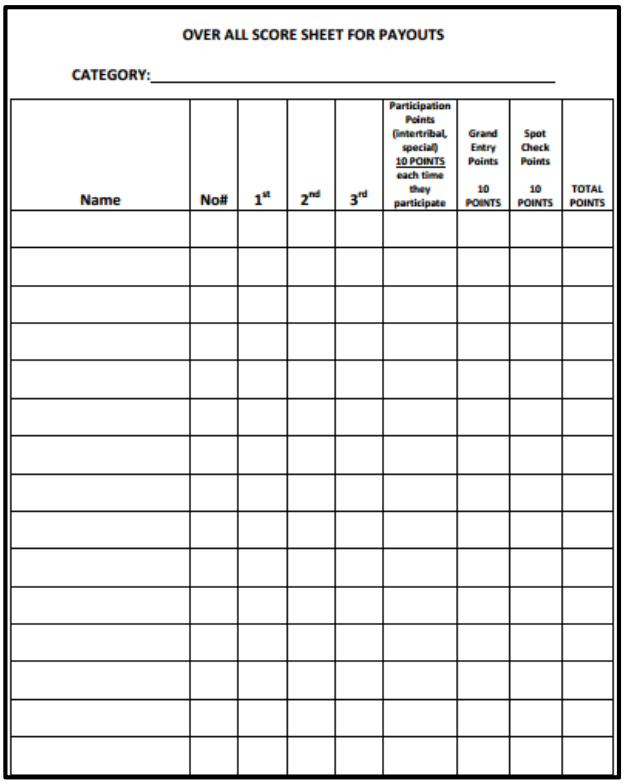
the powwow event. Judging requires a sense of democracy and fairness. Based on experience at Northeastern powwows judging in this manner alleviates any confusion or misconceptions amongst the performers. There are often between five and nine judges, always in an odd number to break a tie, if necessary. Judges also stand in various spots on the powwow stage to observe different angles of the dancers' performance. The various judges' work together to assess the performance in a 360-degree fashion.[113] Judges must also be a member of a tribal group. Relation, by marriage or kinship to any of the dancers or singers that are competing is prohibited. If this does occur, the judge can move to any other category spate from what their family member or spouse is performing in regardless of gender, i.e. a mother cannot judge her daughters or sister-in-law in a category and a son cannot judge his grandfather or cousin in another.

In addition, many of the judges are not from the Shinnecock tribe alone. They can be members of the Pueblo tribe in the Southwest or the Cherokee in the Southeast, so it is essential that there is one judging criteria for all of the performers. People from different tribes might have contrasting ideas of what constitutes a good performance or on the postures of a certain performance. For instance, a performer from the Lumbee tribe in North Carolina may perform the Eastern War Dance in a crouched position for the majority of the dance while another from New England may fluctuate between a crouched and upright position. A judge may needlessly take off points for the dancer not being in the crouched position because of the different regions and ways of performing. So, this universal standard helps dancers conform to one standard of performance.

The head powwow judges, chosen by the powwow committee, can recommend between five and seven judges that they feel understand the powwow rules. The head judge must have universal knowledge of the contest dances and the songs of that region and must have been a singer or dancer at some point in their lives. Each individual judge must look at the individual dancers and singers in order to reward them additional points for adhering to the aforementioned rules set for the powwow such as: keeping in time with the drum, performing during the Grand Entry and watching to see if the regalia are intact.

[113] Lonehill, Rey, 2011.

Each judge is given a scorecard in which to place an individual dancer or singing group as first (given three points); second (given two points) or third (given one point) (Figure 62). The dancer or drum group can attain additional points by maintaining a complete regalia outfit that should include a headdress, apron, moccasins, bells, rattles and other accoutrements. The Shinnecock tribe uses a six-point spread system with an odd number of judges that makes a tie-score difficult.



OVER ALL SCORE SHEET FOR PAYOUTS

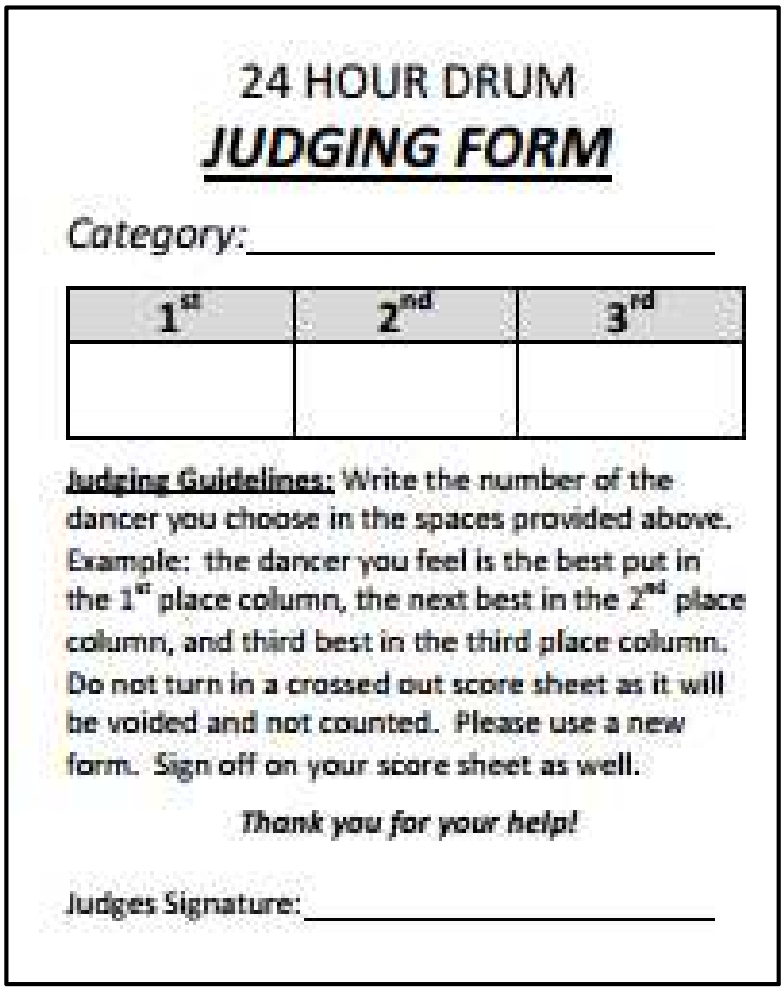
CATEGORY:_____

Name	No#	1st	2nd	3rd	Participation Points (intertribal, special) 10 POINTS each time they participate	Grand Entry Points 10 POINTS	Spot Check Points 10 POINTS	TOTAL POINTS

Figure 62: Overall Scorecard sheet used during the Shinnecock powwow. https://sd48seatosky.files.wordpress.com/2013/09/pow-wow-judging-forms.pdf accessed on 14 May 2015.

The dancer receives points based on these four main categories: speed and timing with the drum, their regalia, and their sportsmanship before and after the powwow and lastly, that both feet must be on the ground at the last drumbeat. Beyond the judging and scoring criteria, a Drum or drumming team are essential components to the maintenance of the livelihood of the powwow and the systematic flow of the dancer's performances. When there is a good Drum, all of the dancers gather around them to pay tribute to their phenomenal drumming and singing skills. While talented dancers receive praise from tribal members, who blow whistles to symbolise a good performance (White 1996:27). A 'good' Drum shares many distinct characteristics such as (1) a good blended voice with high

volume, stamina, clarity (2) good memory of the song. As well, they must possess (3) good Drumming skills, the ability to slow down and speed up the song and to stop on the last beat and (4) the ability to connect with the singing of others; they do not sing out of turn. Lastly, they (5) should be able to sign/drum 'off the beat' in which a good drummer "puts the song's text between the drum beats" (Hatton 1974:126) and (6) focus on the hard beats for the serious dancers who like a varied challenge in the song. On the scorecard, each judge lists the number of points on the overall score sheet (Figure 63) and after tallying the scores lists the dancers and drum group in the order of first to third. The head judge collects the scores, later displayed on the judges' desk during the powwow.



24 HOUR DRUM

JUDGING FORM

*Category:*_____

1st	2nd	3rd

Judging Guidelines: Write the number of the dancer you choose in the spaces provided above. Example: the dancer you feel is the best put in the 1st place column, the next best in the 2nd place column, and third best in the third place column. Do not turn in a crossed out score sheet as it will be voided and not counted. Please use a new form. Sign off on your score sheet as well.

Thank you for your help!

Judges Signature:_____

Figure 63: Judges Scorecard used during the Shinnecock powwow. https://sd48seatosky.files.wordpress.com/2013/09/pow-wow-judging-forms.pdf accessed on 14 May 2015.

Figure 64: Video Clip of the Judging Process. Source: M. Sykes 2011.

Please play

Video Clip 3

'Judging of the Golden age Eastern Men's War Dance'

In the above video clip (Figure 64), at the end of the Golden Age Eastern Men's War Dance performance the emcee asks the men to line up so that the judges can make their final comments, look at their number placards and score them accordingly (**Video Clip 3 00:55- 01:10**). The performers line up on the stage, seen in the far left of Table 2 while the judges confer with each other and finalise scoring to the far right of Table 2 (**Video Clip 3: 01:17)**. At **(Video Clip 3: 01:52)** all of the judges thank each other with either hugs or handshakes and leave the stage while the performers do the same at **(Video Clip 3: 01:57).** As noted in the above Video Clip, judging of performers is a process that requires multiple tribal members and a further discussion to make sure that their scores are agreed upon. Both the judges and the performers leave the stage in good standing by congratulating and thanking each other.

Winner in each category are awarded a cash prize and a trophy (Figure 65), for example, the Men's (18-49) Fancy War Dance earns the first place winner $1000, second place $600, third place $400 and fourth place $200.

Registration: Open Friday 4:30 pm and Closes Saturday 2:30 pm. $10 Registration Fee for Dancers 6-60 yrs. Free for ages under 6 and over 60 yrs. $25 entry for drum contest. All must show proof of tribal affiliation and/or age upon request. Point System Begins Friday @ 7 pm Grand Entry. Hospitality dinner for participants Saturday & Sunday 5pm. Camping for dancers, singers, vendors w/ hot water showers.

Category	Event	1st	2nd	3rd	4th
Men's Golden Age	Traditional * Eastern War Dance	$1000	$600	$400	$200
Women's Golden	Traditional * Eastern Blanket Dance	$1000	$600	$400	$200
Men's (18-49)	Northern * Southern Traditional Grass * Fancy * Eastern War Dance	$1000	$600	$400	$200
Women's (18-49)	Northern * Southern Traditional Jingle * Shawl * Eastern Blanket Dance	$1000	$600	$400	$200
Jr. Men's (13-17)	Traditional * Grass * Fancy	$500	$300	$200	$100
Jr. Women's (13-17)	Traditional * Jingle * Shawl	$500	$300	$200	$100
Boy's (6-12)	Traditional * Grass * Fancy	$100	$75	$50	$25
Girl's (6-12)	Traditional * Jingle * Shawl	$100	$75	$50	$25
Drum Contests		$3500	$3000	$2500	$2000
SPECIALS	TO BE ANNOUNCED				

Figure 65: Categories and cash prizes from the 2011 Shinnecock powwow. Source: https://sd48seatosky.files.wordpress.com/2013/09/pow-wow-judging-forms.pdf accessed on 12 May 2015.

After the judging process, the first, second and third placed winners walk around the powwow arena to receive congratulations and blessings from their fellow competitors, tribal members and spectators. For instance, the winners of the Men's Fancy War dance at the 2011 Shinnecock powwow walk around the arena with their large gold-plated trophies in hand. Number 650 on the left is the third place winner, the middle dancer is in second place and number 687 on the right is the first placed winner (Figure 66).

Figure 66: Winners of the 2011 Shinnecock powwow Men's Fancy War dance competition. From left to right, third to first placed winners. Source: M. Sykes, 3 September 2011.

3.9.3 CHAPTER CONCLUSION

The Shinnecock powwow is a visual representation of Shinnecock identity. The Shinnecock have chosen to focus on a regional Northeastern identity rather than a pan-Indian, national identity. As is shown in this chapter, the powwow is the main contributor of funds for the Shinnecock community, it is widely known as being one of the longest and popular powwows in the country and despite tension with the town of Southampton, many locals still support the tribe in their endeavours. This identity has helped with the obtainment of Federal Recognition status in 2010, as per the law, it demonstrates the tribes continuous existence as an Indian tribe namely since 1946 but records prove the powwow was performed before 1915, making it a longstanding event suitable for proving continuity. With further analysis of two of the traditionally Northeastern dances mentioned earlier, the Men's Eastern War Dance and the Women's Eastern Blanket Dance in the next chapter, one will be able to ascertain how the powwow and more specifically Northeastern dances personify a Northeastern tribal identity.

CHAPTER FOUR

Performance and Material Culture, symbols of tribal identity: An ethnographic analysis of the Men's Eastern War Dance and the Women's Eastern Blanket Dance

4.1 INTRODUCTION

As noted earlier in this thesis, Federal Recognition is determined on printed or written material such as kinship and marriage logs, historical documents and tribal rolls. Unfortunately, many pre-colonial tribal communities were often non-literate in that they "relied on the spoken word and the image to convey the essence of both myth and history" rather than written documents (Maurer 1979:135). Therefore, Native American tribal communities relied on methods such as oral storytelling in addition to visual expressions such as dance and the creation of symbolic designs on material culture to convey cultural beliefs, individual affiliations and social rank – as seen in the powwow event described in Chapter 3. Turner (1967:107) determines that movements, gestures and postures are just as important as music and written texts in determining ethnic, cultural, gender and class identities in any community.

Amadahy (2003:144) notes that Native American ceremonies and rituals connected the individual to the external world:

> Making music, drumming and dancing were ceremonies in and of themselves – spiritual acts that connected the 'artist' to her own spirit, her community, her ancestors, all her relations and certainly the Creator. Music as any other art form in our precolonial societies was not a commodity to be brought, sold, owned or collected. It was not performed by experts for the 'entertainment' of others. It was not something that one could listen to or produce in isolation from the rest of Our Relations [her capitalisation].

Thus, visual, auditory and material culture expressions are highly valued in Native American communities. These expressions linked individual members within the same tribal community. One of these links became evident within dance performance. Dance is an agent of embodied communication in that "movement is both culturally and personally significant and each sense of movement relates to the context of the mover, her culture, her memories, her intentions or objectives" (Butterworth 2012:149). Material culture, movement and dance determine how an individual or a community views itself in relation to their external environment. Foucault (1982:110-111) sees the body as a political minefield in that it can be inscribed with a variety of meaning or ideologies that represent the beliefs or culture of a society. Gesture imprints social values onto the individual so that their body becomes an object of symbolic societal representation. Thus, society imprints itself into the very tissue of its members through the performance of gestural patterning, while the performance of these gestures is part of the fabric of their society.

Dance, together with material culture, is a form of communication in the Native American community. Within the framework of embodiment, the body represents the symbols and signs of native culture. By performing tribal or regional dances or performances, native people connect to their tribal heritage rather than the heritage of another tribe. Similar to the Comanche powwows researched by Kavanagh (1982:12-13), native participants "have realised that the symbols and signs through which they have identified themselves with are now ambiguous and that those symbolic expressions of identity need tightening". Specifically, Northeastern natives hope to retain their 'tribal-centricity' or Northeastern identity, by maintaining ideals based in the Northeast rather than those that focus on a pan-Indian identity. For instance, the Shinnecock powwow focusses on Northeastern dances like the Men's Northern Traditional Dance rather than on exhibition or theatrical performances, like the Hoop Dance which originated in Oklahoma or the Mexican Aztec dancers (Powers 1995).

This chapter will present a detailed analysis of two Northeastern-derived performances – the Women's Eastern Blanket Dance and the Men's Eastern War Dance – with an emphasis on Northeastern-style regalia, material culture and movements. Both performances embody various

cultural and social aspects of the Northeastern region, and the Shinnecock tribe; their longevity highlights the Shinnecock tribes' connection to an ancestral past.. Both dances show aspects of the male and female relationship in regards to their collective communities. For instance, the Men's Eastern War Dance is a collection of movements based on pre-colonial men's activities such as hunting or war fighting. The Women's Eastern Blanket Dance is a traditional courtship dance where women use bodily movements with the assistance of a large blanket to tell a story about their lives, regardless of age.

The cultural longevity of these performances may have helped the tribe obtain Federal Recognition in 2011. As per the Shinnecock Petition for Federal Recognition, these performances show "a distinct community" that has "existed continually, as a community from 1789 to present" as they originated before colonial contact in 1649. After receiving Federal Recognition, the Women's Eastern Blanket Dance and the Men's Eastern War Dance became the main attraction at Northeastern powwows, particularly amongst the Shinnecock and Narragansett tribes. Many believe this is because they emphasise more of a Northeastern style than other dances. For instance, the Women's Fancy Shawl Dance - though upbeat in movement and a yearly crowd-pleaser - is in the periphery of the Northeastern powwows while performances like the Women's Eastern Blanket, though slower and not as popular, is a main attraction. We will also show how these dances have come to represent the Shinnecock or a Northeastern sensibility in the public sphere. The dances have now become synonymous with the Northeastern tribes as they can claim its origin and meaning as representative of their cultural heritage.

Northeastern powwows moved towards a Northeastern sensibility in their dance regalia and dance styles. With the resurgence of a tribal identity over a pan-Indian national one, Northeastern tribal powwows like the Shinnecock, reflect an affinity to the Eastern Woodlands region more so than powwows performed in other regions of the United States. This connection to the Northeast has solidified their tribal identity as original and longstanding giving them ammunition when others doubt their authenticity as a tribal unit. To begin, let us first analyse what defines a Northeastern

style in regards to movement, regalia-style and beliefs that will then help us understand a detailed analysis of the Eastern Blanket and Eastern War Dances.

4.2 DEVELOPING A NORTHEASTERN STYLE: MATERIAL CULTURE AND DESIGNS OF THE NORTHEAST

> "All visible things are emblems; what thou seest is not there on its own account; strictly taken, is not there at all: Matter exists only spiritually, and to represent some Idea, and *body* it forth. Hence, Clothes, as despicable as we think them, are so unspeakably significant. Clothes, from the King's mantle downwards, are emblematic" Carlyle (1869:70).

Adornment and material culture can function as a form of individual expression; define social roles; infer political, religious, economic and social standing; establish individual self-worth; a release of recreational activity; a reflection of magico-religious ideals and as a reinforcement of the beliefs and values of a community (Roach and Eicher 1979:21). Flores (2004:131) believes that indigenous objects are "summarising symbols [that] focus, draw together, and catalyse emotions [and] are […] significant as icons of collective identity". Material culture, along with dance performance, becomes a powerful claim to heritage and identity, particularly in the close-knit communities where meaning often represents kinship and tribal affiliation.

Clothing in Native American culture serves two main purposes: the practical and the symbolic. Practically, clothing provides protection against the elements to provide comfort during extreme weather – which is the case for any individual in any society. Symbolically, clothing is often associated with a clan or tribal affiliation, as visual communication about the individual or about the community that they came from, a description of their status or role and as a symbol of privilege or honour (Maurer 1979:119, Miller 2005). External accoutrements to the physical body display feelings of pride, prestige, confidence and visual beauty. Regardless of the ability to speak similar languages, these external facets communicate social cues or beliefs. For instance, the fringed buckskin dress or Men's Fancy Dance bustle would not be worn every day, they are special

outfits, with imbued meaning, that are worn on special occasions like a powwow, a wedding or a naming ceremony.[114] Likewise, clothing and dress are just as important as oral history. It showed others aspects of the individual that, perhaps could not, or did not need to be, communicated through words.

4.2.1 THE NORTHEAST: DESIGNS AND PATTERNS

Spiritually, the Northeast tribal region included gods and spiritual beings of children, women, animals, the sun, the moon, water, the sea, the Earth, directions, seasons, houses, the wind and even colours, such as deities or *Manitous* (Simmons 1986:38). The belief in multiple souls and deities encountered during dreams and visions is widespread in the Northeast region, with some tribes having up to almost three hundred known deities in their jurisdiction (Simmons 1986:45). People believed that material culture had the power to invoke negative or positive reactions from the Creator and these other living or inanimate beings. Animal and natural spirits visited tribal members in dreams or vision, often acting as a guardian spirit and in some cases becoming the symbol of a person, or clan (Wilson 1984:7). For instance, the principal deity, Hobbamock or Abbomacho appeared to humans in visions and dreams but, in waking life, also took on the form of Englishmen, other natives in the village, animals and inanimate objects (Simmons 1986:39). Hobbamock often bestowed gifts onto warriors in battle, powaws or sorcerers, the *pniese* (a medium or psychic) and shamans.

Native people placed images of deities and spiritual beings on clothing, weapons and tools with the thought that positivity and good will would inhabit these objects and therefore the wearer. Maurer (1979:120) notes that the creator of the garment received guidance and protection under the jurisdiction of deities and gods in the Northeast:

[114] Naming Ceremonies were events in which individuals would change their names, often many times throughout the course of their lives, to show a change in personal or social status, such as through a marriage or a birth. “Sometimes two or three families join in naming their children, so make great preparation for a dance. They will begin their dance, and to distribute gifts, and every person that receives the gifts or liquors, gets up and pronounces the name that a child is to be called by, with a loud voice three times […] and at different times, old people very often gave new names to themselves (Occom 1809:108).

> "Often the act of making the garment would also reflect great honour and peer status on the person who made or decorated the piece of clothing [which] was under the guidance and protection of sacred powers who taught the people techniques such as weaving, or sent them inspiration for the conceptions of decorative forms and the perfection of their execution".

Patterns based on a mythical creature or animal invoked the qualities and powers of that being onto the person wearing the design. For example, the Thunderbird, an "eagle-like avian creature of great power" was designed as a bold, abstract lined representation of a bird with four lines for wings and a triangular cross-hatch or rectangles for the lower body (Maurer 1979:123) (Figure 67).

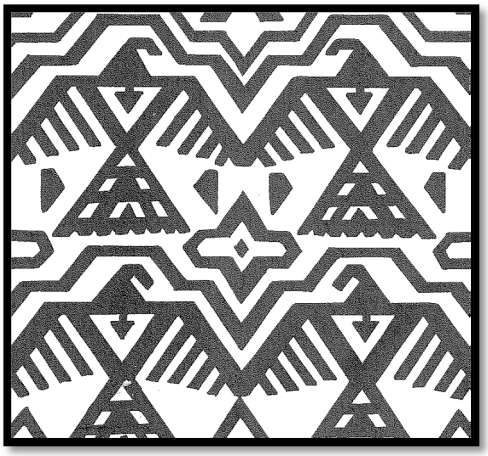


Figure 67: Thunderbird depiction on Eastern woodlands bag, Wilson 1984: 39

The symbolic representation of the Thunderbird comes in the form of a thick rectangular cross with another smaller cross in the middle (Figure 68). This design is on many Northeastern garments, men's and women's, as it is associated with fertility and strength.

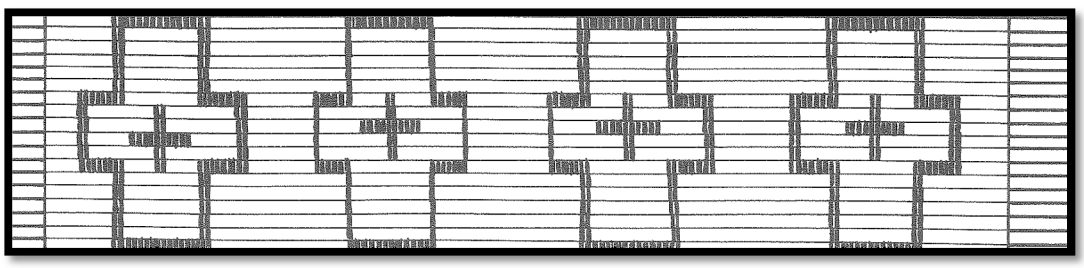


Figure 68: Depiction of Thunderbird cross, Wilson 1984: 38.

Other designs found exclusively on tribal regalia in this region are the Underwater Panther, Water Panther or Water Lynx a pivotal deity representation in the Northeastern Woodlands region who was the antithesis to the airy Thunderbird deity.[115] The Underwater Panther has hundreds of names across various tribes in the Northeast, Southeast and Canada but in the Algonquian language, it is *Matchi-Manitou, mih-shih-bih-zhew* and *Mishipeshu* (Simmons 1986:87-89).

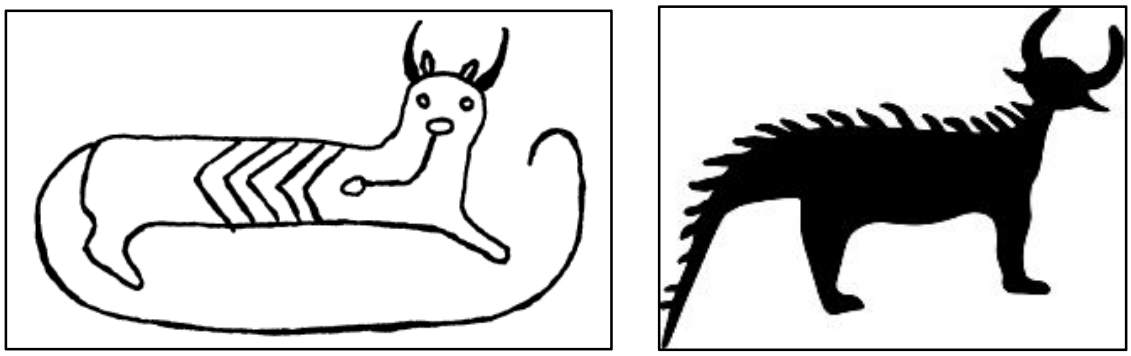


Figure 69: Figurative drawings of the Underwater Panther. Bibliotecha-secreta.com http://bibliotecha-secreta.tumblr.com/post/98821062638/underwater-panther accessed on 10 March 2015.

The Underwater panther is a furry, horned feline creature that resembles a cross between a dragon and a cougar with a long spiked tail and daggers down its back (Figure 69). There are many narratives regarding this underworld being; for one it is known to be able to summon the power of earth and water and while living in deep water beckons women and men to their death in the sea (Wilson 1984:12).

Figure 70: Symbolic representations of the Underwater Panther. On the left, a man's sash, the Underwater Panther is depicted in blue beading, photo taken by M. Sykes, 2011. On the right, artist George Morrison's

[115] Haile, Elizabeth, 2011 and Lonehill, Rey, 2011.

rendition of the Underwater Panther https://www.stqry.com/v/13.-Underwater-Panthers/i_3455c85ea2bf706dc02696dfce14d0bd accessed on 13 March2015.

The symbolic representation of this animal is a triangular figure with an upper torso reaching towards the sky and legs on the ground both representing the animal's connection to the sea and land. In Figure 70 to the left, the Underwater Panther is depicted in blue beading on a man's sash while the Thunderbird is depicted in the symbol underneath it, in yellow, red and black. The Underwater Panther symbol imparts the wearer with a ruthless, fighting spirit useful during battle. Also, if a hunter has to cross water on his journey it is helpful to have a symbol of the Underwater Panther on his garments as a way to placate the beast into allowing him entry across the sea (Loren Spears, personal correspondence, 2013).

Closely-set chevron lines formed a herringbone design in most of the pottery and basketwork in the Northeast region (Figure 71). According to Wilson (1984:40-41), these zigzag designs represented a bird in flight and grants the wearer similar airy and light on their feet qualities, needed for dance, during hunting expeditions and in battle.

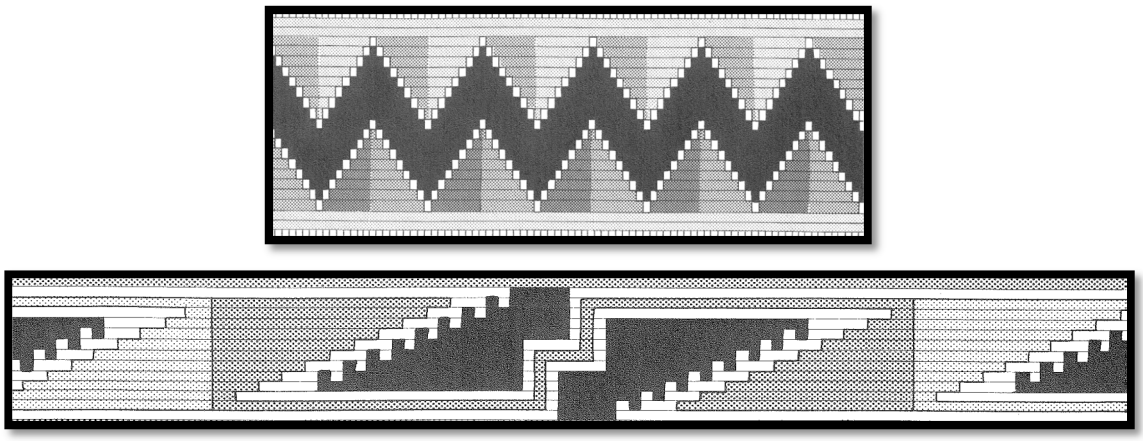


Figure 71: Zigzag designs that represent an eagle-like bird in flight, Wilson 1984: 40-41.

After trade with the English and French traders, floral designs became prevalent amongst the Northeastern and Northern Canadian tribes where previously geometric shapes, as seen above, decorated items (Powers 1973:146) (Figure 72).

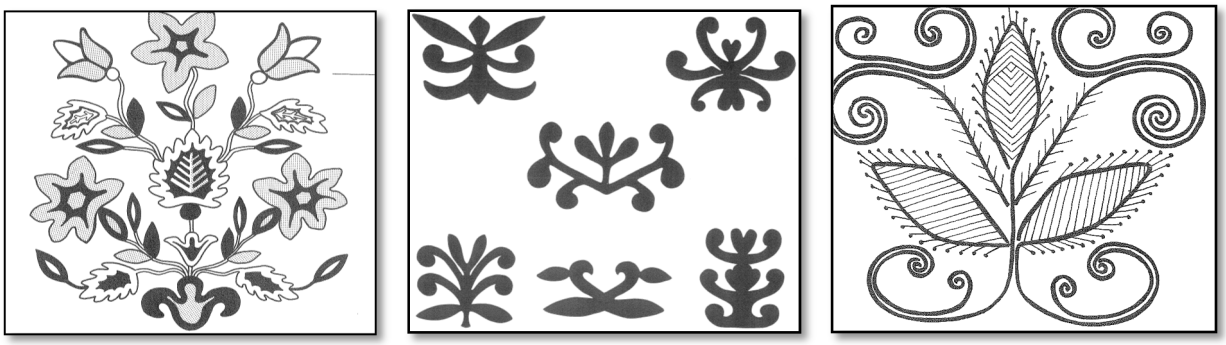


Figure 72: Traditional Curvilinear Eastern woodlands designs mixed with European floral embroidery to develop this hybrid style. These designs can be seen in moose hair, silk, cloth and buckskin regalia pieces. Source: Wilson 1984: 46-47.

4.2.2 THE NORTHEAST: CLOTHING

Traditional clothing in the Northeast is grouped according to the regions of the body in which they are worn: the head, neck, torso and arms, waist, lower body and the feet. Men wore roach headdresses, sashes, necklaces, buckskin and ribbon shirts, garters for the arms and legs, leggings, belts, breechcloths, aprons and moccasins while the women wore buckskin and cloth dresses, headbands, hair ties, braid ornaments, woven blankets, short leggings and moccasins. Both sexes wore embellished material of wampum and beaded rosettes on their garments (Paterek 1994:46-57).

The inclusion of European colonists in the 17th century changed the manufacture of Native American garments. *Stroud,* an English woollen cloth made exclusively for Native American trade during the seventeenth century replaced, for a short time, some of the traditionally made items listed above (Maurer 1979:128). The most obvious example of this phenomenon occurred in the Northeast region. Women created dresses from cotton introduced by the Europeans and even made a new category of dancing style separate from the buckskin style of dress (Paterek 1994: 69-72). The cotton dresses were lighter and allowed the women to move more during the performance. The clothing for the Fancy Shawl Dance, introduced around the 1920s, was a direct result of the creation of the cotton dress.

> Our women and men, donning traditional buckskin decorated traditionally with shells, antlers, and dewclaws and holding sticks or fans or rattles in their hands, did these fast dances. As time passed, a lot of these decorations

were replaced with beads and sequins, and buckskin replaced with ribbon work and Eastern style cloth, i.e. calico.[116]

Although many of the tribes appreciated the ease and convenience of European fabrics and thread they often mixed the cotton dress, sashes and garters with traditional materials like beaded headbands, wampum decoration and moccasins made of tanned hide (Maurer 1979:121). Although cloth and *stroud* was introduced through European trade, buckskin and un-tanned hide became fashionable again around the 1850s in many Native American communities[117]. Buckskin was a sacred object procured from the skins of an animal, such as a deer, elk, bear or a fox. To prepare the material for production, the animal skin was scraped clean of hair, flesh or fur, which then allowed the hides to be softened and tanned by soaking and then laying on the ground to lighten naturally from the sun or smoked in a fire to develop a darker finish (Powers 1973:144).

Figure 73: On the left, buckskin dress worn by Chee Chee Thunderbird and on the right detail of an Eastern Blanket Dancer's fringed buckskin dress - she also wears a blanket across her left arm. Source: M. Sykes, Shinnecock Powwow September 2012.

[116] Spears, Loren, 2013.
[117] Freeburg, David, Personal correspondence by structured interview on 07 May 2011 at the Mashantucket Pequot Museum.

Buckskin was used in the creation of fringed dresses for women and leggings or breechcloth for men (Figure 73). Untanned rawhide shrinks and can develop a hard surface that is useful for items like rattles, moccasins, drum covers, shields, and tomahawks and drum batons. To sew this material, women used sinew (the tendon of an animal) which when dried to a similar in consistency to thread.

4.2.3 THE NORTHEAST: BEADS, QUILLS, WAMPUM AND BELLS

According to Powers (1973:155), the years 1860 to 1900 were the "great age of beadwork". After many Native American tribes were placed on reservations, their past nomadic lifestyle ceased and they were forced to live a more sedentary life. Native women had more time to create intricate designs on materials and clothing. Today, beadwork is one of the few native crafts that are still taught on the reservation today. Many beading styles became popular after European traders introduced them after 1850 such as the spot stitch, the overlay and the lazy stitch. The 'overlay stitch', also called 'couching' was a method similar to quillwork in that it used two different threads, one to thread the beads, the other to sew the string to the garment. This stitch produced flat, long lines and was popular with floral designs, especially in the Northeast. The 'lazy stitch' or the 'hump stitch' was good for covering large sections of a garment quickly. In this process the beads were sewn front and back in very neat rows, though when the beads were pulled tightly, they produced a slight 'hump' in the fabric which gave the design texture (Taylor 1966).

Many Native American tribes in the Northeast region consider quillwork to be a sacred technique. Quills are an important material used in this region, mainly because the porcupine which was a natural inhabitant to the land, allowed for a multitude of the material. Working with quills was a very complicated process (Figure 74). The poisonous quills from the porcupine were softened in water and flattened, while the white quills were dyed to their desired colour (Bonin 1921:21). Spliced and overlapped quills would uncover the inner quill colour. The woman must pass the quills through her teeth to ensure that they are flattened while she is applying them to the material. There were many ways to apply the quill such as overlapping them in neat rows or sewing them in place with sinew

(and later thread). The quills decorated a piece of rawhide or applied as fringe. They were also braided to decorate the handles of objects such as rattles and drum batons.

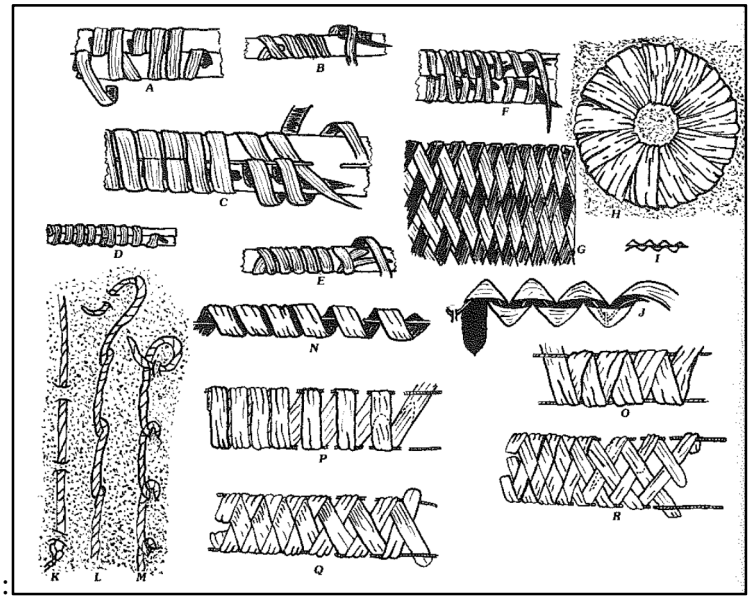


Figure 74: Quillwork techniques, Koch 1977: 36.

Found only in the Northeast region, wampum beads and shells were the biggest trading commodities before and after colonial emergence (Powers 1973:178). Wampum beads – which were made from the purple or blue *Mercenaria mercenaria*-L shells - had ceremonial and ritual significance, but they "were [also] used to convey messages and to confirm treaties with the Europeans and other nations" (Wilson 1984: 13) (Figure 75). The shells were affixed to clothing by a warp of leather thongs or fibre cords. Comparatively, glass beads were often woven onto material by a loom or stitched by appliqué by using spot or overlay stitching , often called lazy-stitch (a line of threaded beads which when sewn in, would get covered by another piece of thread). Native American tribes often traded with each other pre-contact with Euro-Americans.

Figure 75: Wampum beads and jewellery. Clockwise from top, Wampum beaded on a loom, wampum jewellery and a whole wampum quahog shell. Source: M. Sykes June 2011.

In addition to cloth and thread, trade goods such as brass and iron kettles were fragmented and formed into decorative embellishments on the garments (Miller 1979:323). Northeastern tribes created dangling ornaments called ‘tinklers’ or coins that were used as decoration in the hair, as shiny earrings or as musical accompaniments to the beat of the drum while the performer danced. These sounds became part of the melody of the music assisting the drum with the completion of the song. Prior to the importation of brass and metal materials, tribes used shells, wampum and stones to create similar sounds. They decorated ornaments on belt buckles, pipes, chokers, necklaces, bracelets and so on. Silver also became a high commodity during trading. They were used to decorate hair ornaments,

necklaces, earrings, and to fashion bells (such as the ones used on the dresses of jingle dancers). Bells became an important facet of the dancer's regalia, the Siouan even say that a "warrior wore a bell for each time he was wounded" (Powers 1973:172). Worn around dancers' ankles, knees, and wrists or on the actual clothing itself, they produced a sound that worked in tandem with the beats of the drum.

4.2.4 THE NORTHEAST: FEATHERS

Feathers were gifted to dancers and tribal members as a sign of respect and honour, i.e. young people received an eagle feather after a vision quest or as a representation of a kind deed or an outstanding act of bravery (White 1996: 81). Most regalia decorated with feathers are generations old and are immeasurable in sentimental value. Feathers wrapped with beading, wampum or cloth, as seen in the (Figure 66) below, decorate headdresses or awls. In the United States, feathers are prized possessions and a person must have governmental permission to purchase or own an eagle feather.

Figure 76: Eagle feathers. On the left, a dark brown mature eagle feather while on the right, a beaded golden eagle feather. Source: M. Sykes – courtesy of Bear and Marie Travers collection, June 2011.

> In healing ceremonies, someone might be actually touched with the feather directly. You cannot obtain a feather legally without being a Native American and to have a card, they will confiscate the feathers and will charge you $20,000 and if you try to sell them you will get 5 years per feather. Sometimes they use Owl feathers. On the feathers, if they have beading on it then it is most likely used in ceremony. Eagle feathers placed

> on regalia is for medicine and is not commonly used on them. Owl feathers on the West coast are considered a sign of death and would not want owl feathers on their regalia or powwow. Nothing should be painted or descriptive of an owl[118]

Certain birds' feathers are particularly important to Northeastern tribal groups especially those from the eagle, hawk, owl, crow, magpie, pheasant and the raven. In particular, the Eagle, *(Killion, killien, killieu or killien)*, feathers are the most prized feathers because the eagle is a symbolic representation of the Great Spirit and carries prayers and blessings upwards; a single feather represented "super physical potency" (Taylor 1996:93). Owl feathers can be a bad omen as the owl carries souls of the deceased to the Great Spirit or the Creator and often straddles the line between the living and the dead (White 1996:82). The crow is said to hold the secrets and "sacred laws of the universe", as it is known to be psychic and otherworldly (White 1996:83). Lastly, the raven's feathers represented high intelligence and survival skills in the wild; warriors wore them before and during battle (Taylor 1996: 27). As mentioned earlier, dance and material culture are performed in tandem. Dance offers one an opportunity to understand the context of the performance and the material culture that is worn with it; it operates as a form of oral history and non-verbal communication for the performer.

4.3 THE EASTERN BLANKET DANCE: ORIGIN AND MEANINGS

A story of life

A story of beauty

The story of our women

-Running Deer, Eleazar[119]-

[118] Travers, Bear. Personal correspondence by structured interview on 7 September 2011 at the Lake Siog powwow.
[119] Running Deer, Eleazar. Personal correspondence by informal interview on 21 June 2013 at the Shinnecock Museum.

Written records at the Tomaquag Museum indicate that the Eastern Blanket Dance was performed at the first documented Narragansett powwow in 1581 and on the Shinnecock lands since the arrival of colonists in 1649. [120]Some believe that the Eastern Blanket Dance is one of the oldest dances in the Northeastern region next to the Eastern War Dance and the Smoke Dance. This dance displays Northeastern regional garb such as buckskin dresses, shawls with earth-based colours such as brown, black and white and open-toed moccasins while Eastern designs such as the thunderbird, the Algonquian cross and the underwater panther are found on all of the material. As mentioned in the above quote by Eleazer Running Deer, the dance is 'a story of beauty, a story of life, the story of our women', it is meant to personify the qualities that are exemplified and desired in Northeastern tribal women. This dance became part of the public powwow performance within the last one hundred years but for generations existed amongst private events like naming ceremonies, birthdays and weddings.[121]

As Suzette King states, although the Eastern Blanket Dance hails from the East coast and is Northeastern in its movements, meaning and style it is moving into 'mainstream' celebrations, such as powwows in other regions like the Plains, the Northwest and even Canada:

> For a lot of people new to attending powwows on the east coast, you will see this dance [the Eastern Blanket Dance] done at a lot of events. It is not, however, by any definition, a "new" dance; perhaps "new" to those who are new to attending powwows on the east coast! But, we have always done this dance, and a lot of others that haven't made their way to "mainstream" celebrations yet.[122]

As LaFrance (1992:29) asserts, the Eastern Blanket Dance represents a "locus of social interplay", meant to display the dancers' skills – either through the execution of the movement or through the creation of the regalia that she wears. This display of movement or regalia represents a transitional moment in the woman's life – similar to rites of passage – where she may meet her future mate or

[120] Spears, Loren, 2013.
[121] Harrington, Lonnie 2013, Loren Spears, 2013 and Haile 2011.
[122] King, Suzette, 2011.

move up in rank or status within her social community for her expertise (Josephine Smith, personal correspondence, 2013).

The Eastern Blanket Dance has two meanings: (1) as a ceremonial dance that highlights a woman's life transitions while the other is (2) a courtship dance in which women revel in the opportunity to 'show off' their blankets to the public and to choose a perspective suitor at the end of the performance. The blanket can be made by the dancer, a close relative or purchased through the Pendleton Company. The presentation of the blanket shows the dancers' dedication, loyalty to their tribal affiliations, their marital status and their adherence to traditions. The dance and the accompanying blanket reflect the dancer's accomplishments of grace, beauty and strength.

4.3.1 REGALIA AND EXTERNAL ACCOUTREMENTS

Eastern Blanket dancers perform in either plain, fringed buckskin with no design or cloth dresses. For example, in 1975, women at the Shinnecock powwow wore deerhide, fringed buckskin dresses found primarily on the East and Northeast coasts embellished with necklaces, hair ornaments and bracelets rather than designs made on the buckskin itself (O'Brien 1993, Mandell 2008) (Figure 77).

Figure 77: Sarah Hopson, Danielle Hopson, Loretta Silva and Darlene Silva at the Shinnecock Powwow, circa 1975. Photo courtesy of the Shinnecock collection at the Roger Memorial Library in Southampton, N.Y.

Dancers may also wear an underskirt with a long-fringed top, plain soft-skin boots, natural-coloured hide, short traditional leather fringe, porcupine quill embroidery and finger weaving design. From observation, the dancers seem to wear mostly buckskin fringed regalia dresses while a minority wear cloth-style t-dresses, which consist of a ribbon shirt and buckskin skirt or cloth skirt. The neutral colour of the buckskin dresses make the shawl or blanket the focal point of the performance[123]. Women can also wear feathers in their headbands but because of the nature of the dance i.e., twisting and turning the blanket over their heads and holding it over their shoulders, the feathers might be damaged. Feathers are considerably important – as is worn by Eastern Blanket Dancers Josephine Smith and Bella Noka – represent beauty and pride for Northeastern women (Powers 1973) (Figure 78).

Figure 78: On the right, Eastern Blanket Dancer, Josephine Smith wears a single feather in her hair as her only form of decoration. On the left, Bella Noka, world champion Eastern Blanket Dancer wears a similar feathered ensemble but with a set of turkey feathers which mimic the design in her awl or fan. Source: Schemitzun Powwow 1999, Mashantucket Pequot Museum archives.

The blanket, or shawl in some cases, is a representational object of the woman performing with it; it symbolises her tribe, her region, her ancestors, her family and herself; it is worn in accordance to the individual dancer's personality and tribal affiliation. The blanket measures sixty by sixty inches long and wide and features minimal designs. Blankets must correlate with the beadwork and regalia that

[123] Spears, Loren, 2013.

the women like, are tribally affiliated or that match other regalia, like cuffs, moccasins, cuffs, headbands, etc. Creating a blanket is a very long process; it includes gathering plants, twining the fibres, dying the resulting strings, creating the design (which may include the dancer dreaming of a design or thinking about a necessary meaning and then spending time weaving the material into a blanket (Powers 1996:89). The weaving process may take up to two seasons to make, most likely fall and winter, in time for the spring ceremonies and the summer powwows. Contemporary blankets are purchased through the Pendleton Woollen Mills[124], located in Portland, Oregon, a company that specialises in the creation of Native American-themed blankets and outer garments. The blanket is a major component of the dance performance but the movements tell more of the dancer's story than accoutrements would be able to.

4.3.2 MOVEMENT AND STYLE

Some of the comments used to describe the girls and women that perform the Eastern Blanket Dance include: 'regal', 'these ladies move as graceful as Mother Nature herself', 'I feel her pain in her story', 'so light on her feet', 'some float some seem to glide', 'they dance with their hearts' and 'she's a role model'. [125] These descriptions belie the pride and honour represented when one performs this dance. Spectators like to see these women perform to the best of their abilities, i.e. 'she's a wicked dancer' as well as communicate their story in a way that represents their tribal community in a positive and respectful light, i.e. 'I feel her pain in her story' and 'she's a role model'. The dance tells a story and the dancer must emit emotion within her performance.

In the Eastern Blanket Dance, women 'tell their story' by moving their blankets between a closed and open motion. If a woman is in the adulthood phase for example, she will remain in that phase until the end of the song, remaining open and upright in order to tell her story. Reportedly, the Blanket Dance is more exuberant than the Women's Traditional Dance and less energetic than the Jingle and Fancy

[124] Pendleton Blankets website: http://www.nativevillage.org/Archives/2013%20News%20Archives/OCT%202013%20News/A%20tradition%20of%20Craftsmanship%20Pendleton.htm

[125] Spears, Loren, 2013, Elizabeth Haile 2011, Running Deer Eleazer, 2013, Henry Bess, 2013 and Tohanash Tarrant, 2013.

Shawl Dances[126]. The dancer must listen to the rhythm and beat of the drum to hear when it is appropriate to drop her shawl or blanket. If the Narragansett or Shinnecock performed the dance three hundred years ago then it is highly likely that a water drum, illustrated in Chapter 3, was used rather than a large booming hide drum.

The dance begins rather slowly, with the drums moving at the slowest rhythm for any other song in the powwow repertoire. The movements focus on the toes than on the heels. The dancer can either make sweeping steps that cover a large expansion of space or smaller movements in order to control the direction of her blanket. The steps for this dance vary. One dancer can perform a hopping motion while on her toes for most of the performance while another will focus on spinning the blanket to show the many trials that she has had to go through in her life and a third dancer can decide to keep herself enclosed until she gets to the end of the performance.

4.3.2.1 EASTERN BLANKET DANCE: CEREMONIAL DANCE MEANING

The Eastern Blanket Dance represents a "continuous renewal, a balance of life and death, positive and negative energy" amongst the tribe, particularly their women (La France 1992:25 in Heth). Ceremonial dances coincide with natural events, like harvest, a change in seasons, death, childbirth or marriage, enhanced with prayer, blessings, songs, music. Northeastern tribes believe that women are the maintainers of traditional values and possess the sustenance of life in their bodies and in the harvests that they produce. A young girl who is blossoming into a woman as rite of passage performs the ceremonial Eastern Blanket Dance. During this dance, the young girl must go through stages or seasons that symbolise major life milestones like birth and old age. Throughout the Eastern Blanket Dance, the performer constructs her own personal story of evolving into a woman, which may offer its own form of medicine for those watching her perform bravely on stage.

As LaFrance (1992: 25 in Heth) reasons, "as human beings, the Ongweh-oh-weh-ney were formed from the flesh of the Mother Earth and return to her womb at the end of her time [life through death],

[126] Spears, Loren, 2013.

thus completing the life cycle". This ending of the life cycle could represent either the dropping of the blanket or the dancer covering herself up again at the end of the performance. Some believe that the woman must drop the blanket to symbolise death after old age while others feel the blanket must be wrapped around the dancer again as in the beginning steps symbolising the butterfly going back into a cocoon, or once again, death[127].

Please play

Video Clip 4

'Women's Eastern Blanket Dance'

> The first part of the dance with the blanket wrapped around the body and head, is to symbolize being inside the womb. The 2nd, with partial face covered, shows the child, and the shyness of the child, the 3rd shows the woman - she tells her story of her own children (where they are embracing or cradling their arms like they are holding a child.) The fourth section of the dance shows them being an elder, with arms outstretched, (I like picturing a grandma with her arms open, waiting to hug all the children) and finally, the blanket drops, symbolizing completing the life cycle.[128]

The first part of the dance, or the Spring, represents newness or the baby leaving the womb, ready to embrace the world (Figure 79) **(Video Clip 4: 00:24)**. The dancer stands in an upright position and covers her head with the blanket completely. Her back and arms outstretched in front of her, facing east. The dancer then moves to the other directions: north, south and then west, these directional cues represent the life cycle in Native American culture with birth or growth occurring in the East and death or endings occurring in the West (Browner 2002:78).

[127] Smith, Josephine Personal correspondence by email on 13 October 2013.
[128] Smith, Josephine 2013.

Figure 79: The closed opening of the ceremonial Women's Eastern Blanket Dance. Source: M. Sykes, 2011, video still.

The second part of the dance represents the summer season, in which the light shines through all things new from the spring, displays the women in adolescence (Figure 80). At this point in the dance, her movements begin to accelerate. On the honour beats, the dancer twirls the blanket over her head and body with a bowing posture while her knees are bent. In twisting the blanket around her body, the dancer is showing off her blanket and displaying her design-making skills. Although this facet of the dance does not represent courtship the woman at this phase is looking for a mate and is ready to embrace motherhood or womanhood.

Figure 80: The second stage of the Eastern Blanket Dance. Source: M. Sykes, 2011.

The third stage of the ceremonial Eastern Blanket Dance represents the fall or autumn seasons (Figure 81). This section is the adulthood phase in a woman's life[129].

[129] Smith, Josephine 2013.

Figure 81: Open armed Blanket dancer, Narragansett Powwow: http://www.flickr.com/photos/genny164/7766805380/in/photostream/ accessed on 20 March 2015.

In this position, the dancers perform symbolic movements that represent a mother cradling a child. For instance, the Haudenosaunee, another Northeastern tribe, performs a similar dance called the 'Woman's Shuffle Dance' in which the dancers display symbolic movements which exude notions of "oneness, comfort and fertility" exhibited in this Eastern dance (LaFrance 1992:27). In the dance at the Shinnecock powwow in 2011, most of the women have decided to hold the blanket in an open arms position that displays her openness to the world **(Video Clip 4: 00:56-00:58)** (Figure 82).

Figure 82: The third stage of the Eastern Blanket Dance. Source: M. Sykes 2011.

The last and final section of the ceremonial dance represents the woman in her Golden Age or post-menopausal age - women over the ages of sixty-five. At this point of the ceremonial dance, the performer's movements represent the Grandmother or matriarchal family figure. The dance movement gets slower and the dancer begin to bow down her posture. Older women, over sixty-five, should not start with the blanket closed as they are in a different stage of their lives as compared to middle-aged or younger women.

> For golden age women, they do not spin their blankets. Their dance shows honour and respect for their family and by dancing and displaying their blanket, they are showing how well their blankets have stood the test of time and how it has held their family together. It is significant in the fact that it shows longevity in their relationship and family. Golden age women also do NOT drop their blankets at the end of the song. [130]

They also should not swing the blankets around their heads and bodies as they have already been through the major obstacles of life. The dancer prepares either to drop the blanket or to move back into the opening sequences of dance with a closed blanket over her head. The closed blanket wrapped around the body shows that the woman is now ready to return to the spirit world if she is of an older age or the closed blanket can signal her return to the womb.

4.3.2.2 Eastern Blanket Dance: Courtship Dance Meaning

The second meaning of the Eastern Blanket is a courtship or sweetheart dance. Although the dance focusses on the courtship phase of a woman's life, it is performed by women of all ages. Traditionally, the dance was a Coming of Age dance performed by young women and teenagers, followed by a great feast attended by their family and tribal members.[131] Women display marriageable qualities such as: creativity, intelligence, beauty, balance, pride, love for her tribe and self-respect. Similar to the ceremonial Eastern Blanket Dance, the blanket is the focal point of the performance.

[130] Smith, Josephine 2013.
[131] King, Suzette 2013.

The movements are similar to the ceremonial dance in which the women begin the dance covering their head. Older women also do not start with their heads covered as they are in a different life stage than the younger women. The dance progresses with the performer twisting and turning the blanket around her head and body while moving in a clockwise circular motion. Older women, over the age of sixty-five, or who are not looking for a mate, show how sturdy their blanket is, how it has sustained the test of time, and how its values have held the family together (Josephine Smith, personal correspondence, 2013). The dance ends with the woman once again covering her head if she is married or not looking for a relationship, but if she is, she will drop her blanket at his feet.

> As the young woman spins her blanket, it signifies her ability to handle change throughout life and the course of the marriage. At the end of the dance, the young woman lays her blanket in front of the man she is choosing. If the man accepts, he picks up the blanket and wraps it around the two of them. A sweetheart dance (aka two-step/rabbit dance) then follows and that signifies their courtship has progressed to marriage. The blanket dance was done only when the man/warrior had proven himself worthy of the honour of marriage. For the Narragansett people, the men married into the woman's family and he had to prove that he was warrior enough to provide for them once they were married. This included gift giving to the woman's family and so forth. Hence, the lengthy courtship process to prove his worthiness[132].

Loren Spears, an experienced Eastern Blanket Dancer explains that spinning the heavy blankets around her head and body is synonymous with the dancer's ability to handle changes and turbulence in her life, which therefore shows that she will make a suitable mate in marriage.[133] When dropping the blanket she before the feet of a prospective partner, she is showing that she is ready for marriage, if the man picks up the blanket, then it symbolises that he has her chosen her as well. Although the Eastern Blanket Dance performed at the Shinnecock powwow did not feature women dancing the courtship-style of the dance, it can be seen at the Schemitzun 2008 powwow, in (Figure 83) below.

[132] Spears, Loren 2013.
[133] Smith, Josephine, 2013.

Figure 83: The ending of the courtship-style Eastern Blanket Dance at the 2008 Schemitzun powwow. Source: Youtube https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SshnFiEQZaI accessed on 20 February 2015.

A woman in the courting phase can drop her blanket to show assertion in deciding on a mate, leaving herself open to rejection or love – this in itself makes her vulnerable, but also strong. This mimics the notion of women's strength within the Northeastern communities – women are not commodities but are instead, in control of how they represent themselves and their tribes and whom they choose to marry. By not creating the same mechanisms of movement that the men use in their performance, she is also telling her story but not in an overtly masculine way with quick movements and aggressive stances, she does so in a way that remains true to who she is at her particular phase in life.

In the past, a suitable mate would prove himself during battle to show that he was ready to enter into marriage. Since many tribal nations in the Northeastern area are matrilineal, after marriage, the men lived with, worked with and eventually joined the women's family and tribe, leaving his tribe behind (Simmons 1986:123). This proved his devotion to the woman and his worth as a suitor for the young woman.[134] If he accepts her invitation, he will pick up the blanket and wrap it around the two of them. After the blanket wrapping, the partners perform a variety of couples dances or a sweetheart dance,

[134] Smith, Josephine, 2013.

like the two-step or the rabbit dance that signifies courtship progressing into marriage (Powers 1996:190).

4.4 THE EASTERN WAR DANCE: ORIGINS AND MEANINGS

Unlike the Eastern Blanket Dance, the Eastern War Dance associated its movements with men's hunting and war societies rather than courting. In the Northeast region, warrior or hunting societies became commonplace amongst the men in this region (Bragdon 2001:98). These societies consisted of young men who would join based on his particular individual skills, the visions that he had in a dream granted by Hobbamock or through his personal or social accomplishments. [135]In puberty or initiation rites, boys in these warrior societies are separated from women and live in the company of men "the novice is separated from his previous environment in relation to which he is dead, in order to be incorporated into his new one" (Van Gennep 1960:81). These boys become men through rites of passage in which he begins as 'dead' but develops into a 'new' person[136].

For Northeastern native men, pre-contact, their lives centred around bravery on the battlefield, hunting large prey like bears and deer or through fishing or *powdawe* in the sea. The necessary skills like bravery, silence, patience, fortitude and courage made the difference between coming home alive or dead (Powers 1973:86). To decrease societal pressure young men's children under the age of eleven were taught how to become a warrior through games; for example, in 'counting coup', young men learned how to be silent and to sneak up on your enemy rather than murdering them, in a straightforward manner, which they believed to be cowardly. [137]

The reason for war was very different from the movie version of the Native American who killed pioneers in their wagons and proceeded to scalp them while hooting and hollering, instead they fought to prove "bravery in battle" (Powers 1973:87). More than half of the native tribes in the

[135] Chavis, Steven, Personal correspondence by structured interview on 3 September 2011 at the Shinnecock powwow.
[136] Dunham, Maurice, 2012.
[137] Thunderwolf, Donald Blake, Personal correspondence by structured interview on 11 May 2012 in Long Island, N.Y.

Northeast did not practice or engage in active warfare at all, "the intent was not to annihilate the enemy, but to accrue honour through bravery. One accrued honour by getting close enough to an enemy to touch him and leaving him alive than by killing him" (Smith 2005:19). Traditional Native American warfare had much more in common with Euro-American contact sports, like football, boxing and hockey, than with wars fought in the European manner" (Holm 1992 in Smith 2005:19). In this regard, bravery and therefore warfare centred on getting close enough to your enemy to harm them or break their defences rather than kill them. Powers (1973:88) adds "the greatest method of gaining Recognition on the battlefield was not by killing an enemy, but by touching him with a harmless stick, or bow, and getting away to tell the tale" – this was called Counting Coup. A warrior would count how many coups he accumulated and he would come back to his tribe to tell his story through dance performance during the powwows.

> Counting Coup, is an honour thing in which they sneak up on the enemy and then run away, in which getting the best of your opponent and possibly taking their horses, rather than slaughtering people. Fighting and criminal activity was not a big facet of the group. You were cut off from your society and were difficult to survive on your own. [138]

From these warrior societies emerged the popular, and still active, *Heduska* or *Irushka* (they are in the fire), which originated from the Plains region and did not have much to do with warfare per se but became well known through dances and ceremonial associations (Powers 1972:102). Depending on the structure of the particular warrior society their dances, regalia and function would change. Likewise, they developed their own dances, songs, sacred items, emblem and rituals normally based on the dreams or visions of one of its members provided by the deity Hobbamock (Powers 1973:92). Many traditions now used during the powwow ceremonies in the Northeast came from this society, for instance: the owners of the drum, the leaders of the society, tail dancers, the origin of the roach headdress and whip dancers, as discussed in Chapter three of this thesis.

[138] Travers, Bear and Marie, 2012.

War parties were often organised for revenge against the murder of a family or tribal member as well as a completely unjustified raid on another tribe (Powers 1973:95). The practice of scalping enemies, though started amongst Euro-American pioneers in frontier towns in the late 1880s, became associated with victory dances (Powers 1973:104-105). Often the 'scalps' were not actually human scalps but sacred material from the other tribe, or skins of dead animals (Paterek 1994:42). The women of the tribe would collect the 'scalps' accumulated and decorate them on a long staff. They would then parade around the village with the stick, wearing their spouses' or men's kin's headdress and battle gear while singing the song of their victory - this became the origin of the War Dance (Powers 1973:115). After the victory dance, the warrior would stand in the middle of the grounds and use pantomime and sign language to communicate his story to tribal members.

> It is late in the night, but the merry warriors bend and bow their nude, painted bodies before a bright centre fire. To the lusty men's voices and the rhythmic throbbing drum, they leap and rebound with feathered headgears waving. Women with red-painted cheeks and long, braided hair sit in a large half-circle against the willow railing. They too join in the singing and rise to dance with their victorious warriors (Gertrude Bonin 1921: 147).

After World War I and World War II, participation in War Dances increased and the victory songs became active again. The men and now women that came home to the village after war were seen as modern day warriors and were honoured as such – "now the people sang of the Indian boys who had gone 'over there' and fought against the enemies of the United States" (Powers 1973:105). According to the U.S. Census, more than 44,000 Native Americans served between 1941 and 1945 (World War II) while the entire population of Native Americans in the United States was less than 350,000 at the time. According to the U.S. Census, Native Americans serve in the military at a higher rate and have more male service members enrolled than any other racial or ethnic group in the country and they represent the youngest veterans to serve in amongst all branches of the military.[139] This is interesting as during the time of the wars, Native American tribes were highly discriminated

[139] American Indian and Alaska Native Service members and Veterans, September 2012 http://www.va.gov/vetdata/docs/SpecialReports/AIAN_Report_FINAL_v2_7.pdf

against by local white-owned businesses, homeowner associations and employment agencies yet they still enlisted to fight for a county that did not acknowledge their status as native people.[140]

> It is well recognized that, historically, Native Americans have the highest record of service per capita when compared to other ethnic groups. The reasons behind this disproportionate contribution are complex and deeply rooted in traditional American Indian culture. In many respects, Native Americans are no different from others who volunteer for military service. They do, however, have distinctive cultural values which drive them to serve their country. One such value is their proud warrior tradition. In part, the warrior tradition is a willingness to engage the enemy in battle. This characteristic has been clearly demonstrated by the courageous deeds of Native Americans in combat. However, the warrior tradition is best exemplified by the following qualities said to be inherent to most if not all Native American societies: strength, honour, pride, devotion, and wisdom. These qualities make a perfect fit with military tradition[141].

Likewise, the victory dances performed after WWI and WWII did not display scalps but the captured flags and various souvenirs from the wars in Germany, Korea[142] and Vietnam. The sense of pride that a native person feels as a veteran in the contemporary powwows is synonymous with the feeling of pride that an ancestor felt after battle, pre-contact.

> My people honoured me as a warrior. We had a feast and my parents and grandparents thanked everyone who prayed for my safe return. We had a "special" [dance] and I remembered as we circled the drum, I got a feeling of pride. I felt good inside because that's the way the Kiowa people tell you that you've done well (unnamed Kiowa Vietnam Veteran[143])

[140] The Administration for Native Americans http://www.acf.hhs.gov/programs/ana/resource/native-american-veterans-storytelling-for-healing-0?page=all
[141] Native Americans and the U.S. military history: http://www.history.navy.mil/faqs/faq61-1.htm
[142] World War I (1914-1918) which included the major world powers at the time and World War II, the United States fought with many European super nations against Nazi Germany (1939-1945)
[143] Native American Veterans Association http://www.navavets.com/ accessed on 14 May 2014.

Fighting in modern wars supplemented the missing self-esteem and pride given to tribal men and women after they succeeded in battle, the hunt or in sport. As mentioned in previous chapters, the essential component missing in the development for cultural survival was that of pride, the belief in oneself amidst cultural and social expectations and a way to gain leadership and confidence. By fighting American wars in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, "the cultural expectation to be a warrior provided a purpose in life and was an important step in gaining status in Native American culture."[144]

4.4.1 REGALIA AND ACCOUTREMENTS

Historically, men's warriors often wore the very bare minimum of clothes to ensure better movement and flexibility during hunting and battle. In many cases, the dancer wears regalia reminiscent of a warrior on the battlefield with bare chest, buckskin breechcloth, high-top moccasins, and leggings (*gu'ngu* or *gu'ngawante)* and waist belt with pouch or *makas, makasante*, similar to (Figure 84) below (Paterek 1994, Powers 1973). In (Figure 84), Eastern War Dancer, Annawon Weeden wears regalia reminiscent of a warrior on the battlefield. The main objective was to wear the least amount of clothing possible to ensure maximum movement through the battle. The dancer is normally bare chested, wearing high-top moccasins, leggings, and a small breechcloth around the waist to cover the front and back genital region[145].

[144] Navy History.com http://www.history.navy.mil/faqs/faq61-1.htm accessed on 14 May 2014.
[145] Weedon, Annawon, Personal correspondence by informal interview on 5 September 2013 at the Shinnecock powwow.

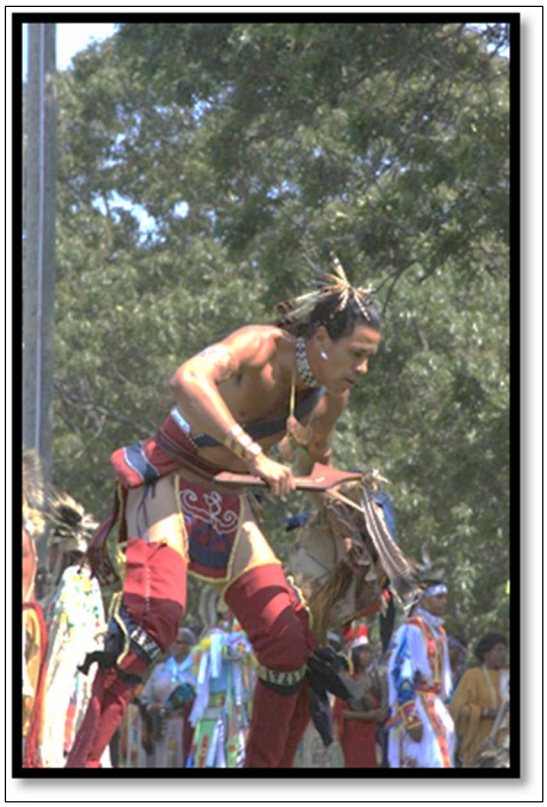


Figure 84: Eastern War Dancer, Annawon Weedon at the Shinnecock powwow, 2011. Source: M. Sykes, 3 September 2011, Shinnecock powwow.

Adornments, like silver, were common in the decoration of clothing while white and purple wampum beads embellished leggings and moccasins (Wilbur 1978). The dancers also carried a war shield, rattle, turtle shells, staff, fan, a war weapon, a dream catcher or even a medicine wheel (White 1996:41). For instance, in (Figure 85) John Boyd, Shinnecock, Eastern War Dancer wears buckskin leggings, decorated pouches, a turtle-shell shield, a ribbon shirt and the skin of a wolf on his head worn in a cape-like fashion.

> The men will where a fancy button down tee, with ribbons hanging down the sleeves, the colours will most likely be the colours of their nation. Some people wear the buckskins that are very hot. Some people dance in a loincloth.[146]

[146] Boyd, John, Personal correspondence by email on 7 September 2014.

While the other (Figure 85) instruments show an awl made of eagle feathers and a rattle made of tanned buckskin and decorated with a single eagle feather wrapped around with rawhide and coloured beads.

Figure 85: On the left, John Boyd, Shinnecock, Eastern War Dancer at the Shinnecock powwow, 2011. In the middle, a feathered awl or fan and on the right a rattle covered in buckskin hide and an eagle feather. Source: M. Sykes, courtesy of the collection of Bear Travers, September 2011.

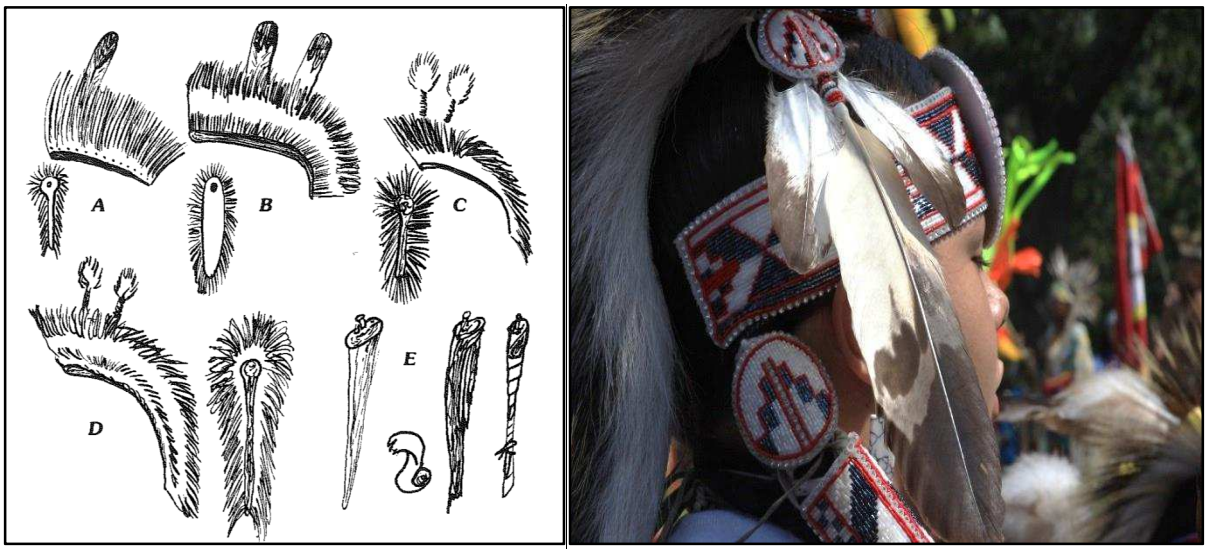


Figure 86: On the left, chart of various roach headdresses, from Koch 1977: 100. On the right, photo of Shinnecock youth wearing a Mohawk-style headdress. Photo by M. Sykes, Shinnecock powwow, 3 September 2011.

The styles of the headdresses came in horned bonnets, headbands, elaborate flared headdresses with tails and crowns of feathers (Figure 86). Groups of feathers were often collected within *medicine bundles*, or *war bundles* also called *waxube*, which held "various consecrated items, such as the skins and feathers of birds, pipes, and other ceremonial objects" (Powers 1972:104). A popular headdress style in the Northeast was the horned bonnet that was decorated with animal horns, especially animals that are native to the woodlands region, i.e. the buffalo, deer and elk, (Taylor 1996:91). The hair on their head was fashioned into a 'scalp-lock' or a bundle of hair on the head in a diagonal fashion - which is visually similar to a Mohawk (Powers 1972:109).

Eastern War Dancers wear roach headdresses; though they are said to have originated in the Plains region and were worn by warriors of high ranking status after their battles – previously a symbol of military rank which is currently depicted as a "powerful symbol of Indianness" (Taylor 1996:9). For instance, in (Figure 87), James K. Phillips an Eastern War Dancer at the Shinnecock Powwow wears long-fringed buckskin leggings, fringed high-top moccasins, a calico cotton shirt decorated with ribbons and turtle designs which represent his clan. He holds a fan of feathers in his right hand with a decorated tomahawk in his left. A feathered headdress and multiple pouches surround his waist. His headdress is short but encompasses a large collection of eagle feathers possibly accumulated while he served time in the Armed Forces during the Vietnam War. [147] When a warrior wears the headdresses, he "ceases to be a man, but becomes, or tries to make his followers believe that he has become, the power he represents" (Taylor 1996: 27).

[147] Boyd, John 2014.

Figure 87: James K. Phillips, Eastern War Dancer at the Shinnecock Powwow. Photo courtesy of Nicholas Chowske at the Hampton Jitney Paper: http://danspapers.com/gallery/67th-annual-shinnecock-powwow/ accessed on 20 March 2015.

Tribal groups in the Northeast region primarily used red, black and white face paint during ceremonies. Cordwell (1979:48-49) observes that makeup and facial paint was a significant part of the Native American social life in that it determined social distinction – such as status, age and role within the tribal community and the individuals' cultural heritage, clan or tribal affiliation. Cosmetics and makeup masked one's identity and intimidated adversaries during war. They applied red paint to their foreheads and cheeks during wartime. The red paint was ground from the minerals limonite and hematite, found in ancient burials in the Northeast (Cordwell 1979:69, Harrington 1924:268). Red face paint was synonymous with war, empowerment and cultural pride (Banks 2004) while red paint in someone's hair symbolised fertility and a connection to the earth (Densmore 2006).

Black paint, derived from the mineral graphite, was primarily used to mourn the dead; it was also worn with red paint to symbolise a particularly brutal war or bloody battle (Harrington 1924:274). Paterek (1994) states that Native Americans in the Northeast region rubbed fish oil and bear fat onto their skin for protection against the environment (DeVries 1853: 155, Skinner 1924: 42, Wilbur 1978). In agreement with this theory, Lewis (2009) believed that the natural materials used in the paint gave the person animating powers such as health, stamina, strength and stealth. Similarly,

Maurer (1979:123) agrees with Lewis, in that the use of natural materials in the creation of ceremonial garments created an “elemental interrelationship of the sacred and the mundane worlds”.

4.4.2 MOVEMENT AND STYLE

Please play

Video Clip 5

‘Men’s Eastern War Dance’

Concerning performance, men’s native dancers possess an innate natural masculinity, determination and strength. The dance movement consists of a combination of movement sequences that tell a story.[148] As seen in (**Video Clip 5),** the Eastern War Dance is performed using a variation of three main dance styles: the Duck and Dive Dance, the Sneak-up Dance and the Counting Coup Dance. The men alternate between the different movements, interchanging them while they tell the story of either their war or hunting exploits. (1) During the Duck and Dive Dance, the warrior acts out a battle scene in which the enemy spots him, he recoils, hides, advances again and then wins – he then performs a victory dance. (2) In the Sneak-up Dance, the warrior is tracking an animal or the enemy through a brush. The performer must remain low, through ‘skulking’ or in a crouched motion, throughout the dance while constantly searching and looking to his left and right. (3) The third dance, Counting Coup, recreates the warrior outwitting an enemy by touching him and then moving away rapidly. Some dancers create scenes that one would see during battle, such as rescuing a friend and carrying him home, wounding an enemy, being wounded by an enemy or replicating the warrior performing around his captive who is placed in the middle of the circular arena space[149].

[148] Boyd, John 2014.
[149] Weedon, Annawon 2013 and Harrington, Lonnie 2013.

4.4.2.1 DUCK AND DIVE

Please play

Video Clip 6

'Men's Traditional Dance, Duck and Dive'

This dance is a common form of the War Dance in which the performer uses the stepping-out motion which is similar to horse trotting, which features an exaggerated forward leg elongation and a diminished step towards the back of the dancer[150]. His posture is normally crouched and diminished as if to take up less space in his movements – this is necessary when in battle, as the enemy must not catch the warrior. The performer also shakes his head in an exaggerated motion to make sure that his headdress or feathers shake while the rest of his body is in motion[151]. Some dancers equate this posture with the performer attempting to simulate movement in the wind while others believe it is to keep the beat of the drum and for visual effect.[152]

As seen in (Figure 88) **(Video Clip 6: 00:05 – 00:11)** dancer Keith Longhorn performs a mixture of crouched, raised and then rapidly crouching movements. He first tells a story of the warrior going out into the field and then raising his awl and tomahawk to give thanks to the Creator before crouching down again. After the rapid succession of Omaha or honour beats, normally in stanzas of two to six, the dancer ducks or crouches rapidly as if to signify the sudden appearance of an enemy or his prey. The performer must move quickly as this will show his skill and agility, especially when on the battlefield. The men normally hold two forms of external accoutrements: a tomahawk, a turtle shield and a fan or an awl in either hand. The dancer is judged on how well he can keep the beat with the drum while also ducking and diving at the exact moment when the honour beat is performed – he will lose points if he does not drop down at the exact point[153].

[150] Boyd, John 2014.
[151] Lonehill, Rey, 2013.
[152] Boyd, John 2014 and Harrington, Lonnie, 2013.
[153] Harrington, Lonnie 2013.

Figure 88: A series of movements of the 'Duck and Dive' dance with Keith Longhorn. Source: www.Youtube.com accessed on 20 March 2015.

The dancer accents each honour beat with a crouched down motion, often performing certain stances that indicate that he is in the middle of battle (**Video Clip 6: 00:14 – 00:19)**. For example on the screen grab (Figure 88) top left, he is crouched down, directing his pointed tomahawk to the floor, possibly injuring an enemy while he stares intently on the same space in front of him. On the top right, (Figure 88) he performs a similar scene but an angle showing that he has possibly approached another enemy in a different location.

Figure 89: Keith Longhorn performing the Duck and Dive dance in a crouched position when the honour beats are performed.

In the next series of movements, he holds his fist almost as to summon others; he repeats this movement several times (Figure 89) **(Video Clip 6: 00:31- 00:43)**. He raises his fist on the top left and then moves into an outstretched arm movement on the top right progressing into a crouched honour beat that again might symbolise that they were in danger of being caught or seen by the enemy[154].

Figure 90: Duck and Dive dancer performing a 'call to arms' to other members of his tribal group who are in battle with him.

For the rest of the performance he continues to attack the enemy with pointed movements accented with the hard drum beat, as seen in (Figure 90) **(Video Clip 6: 01:01, Video Clip 6: 01:03, Video Clip 6: 01:34, Video Clip 6: 01:36, Video Clip 6: 02:05 and Video Clip 6: 02:07).** He continues to look around rapidly looking for impending danger through the movements while covering large

[154] Harrington, Lonnie, 2013.

sections of ground. The song ends on a hard drumbeat where the dancers must also end in a crouching position[155].

4.4.2.2 SNEAK-UP DANCE

The Sneak up dance, tells "the story of warriors cautiously moving from rock to bush to retrieve the wounded and dead who have fallen in battle" (White 1996:58). John Boyd, Shinnecock, an Eastern War Dancer states that "the sneak up is a dance that allows the warrior to show how he sneaks up on his enemy - some pretend they are hunting and sneaking up on prey, some could be leading a war party sneaking up on the enemy[156]". The sneak-up dance features a rather fast cacophony of drum rolls in the first half of the song with a standard Omaha beat which follows the four stanza dictum – which sounds similar to a steady heartbeat.

When the rapid drumbeats begin, the dancers shake the accoutrements that they are holding, fans, tomahawks or bells while standing motionless – this gives honour to the drumbeat and to the performers[157]. When the song moves into the four stanza Omaha beat the dancers begin to move towards the centre of the arena and attempt a sneak-up movement, walking back and forth to the edge of the arena and then back to the arena. Harrington states that he learned that the song should always conclude with the word, *manipe* – which signifies the end of the 'drum-shake-sneak-up' rendition.[158]

Figure 91: Movement sequence of skulking or crouching of Eastern War Dancer, Annawon Weeden. Source: M. Sykes Shinnecock Powwow September 2012.

[155] Lonehill, Rey, 2013, Annawon Weedon, 2013 and John Boyd, 2014.
[156] Boyd, John 2014.
[157] Lonehill, Rey, 2012.
[158] Harrington, Lonnie 2012.

Some dancers also replicate the skulking movement in which the native warriors usually skulked or crouched behind large reeds of grass, trees and large boulders when fighting especially in the Woodlands areas of the Northeast as seen by dancer Annawon Weeden in (Figure 91). The dancers crouch down and look around rapidly, moving their heads back and forth, as if to spot an enemy or hunted animal in the tall grass stalks[159].

Figure 92: On the left, skulking warrior in the Costume of the dog by Karl Bodmer (1834), Painting and aquatint found in Marra 2000:29. On the right, skulking warrior in East War dance, John Boyd performing the skulking 'Sneak-up dance'. Source: M. Sykes, June 2011.

Some of the dancers' movements replicate the gestures that warriors would make when they captured a captive; they would taunt and make fun of the captive, while telling of their exploits and how they were captured, as seen in (Figure 92) with dancer John Boyd (Powers 1973). The dancer skips around the captive in a taunting fashion while skulking and crouching around the fire.

> Amid this circular dance arena stands a prisoner bound to a post, haggard with shame and sorrow. He hangs his dishevelled head. He stares with unseeing eyes upon the bare earth at his feet. With jeers and smirking faces the dancers mock the Dakota captive. Rowdy braves and small boys hoot and

[159] Weedon, Annawon, 2013.

> yell in derision. The silent young woman looks toward the bound captive. She sees a warrior, scarce older than the captive, flourishing a tomahawk in the Dakota's face. A burning rage darts forth from her eyes and brands him for a victim of revenge. Her heart mutters within her breast, "Come, I wish to meet you, vile foe, who captured my lover and tortures him now with a living death." Here the singers hush their voices, and the dancers scatter to their various resting-places along the willow ring. The victor gives a reluctant last twirl of his tomahawk, then, like the others, he leaves the centre ground. With head and shoulders swaying from side to side, he carries a high-pointing chin toward the willow railing. Sitting down upon the ground with crossed legs, he fans himself with an outspread turkey wing. The singers raise their voices in unison. The music is irresistible. Again lunges the victor into the open arena. Again he leers into the captive's face. At every interval between the songs he returns to his resting-place (Bonin 1921:147-150).

This captive dance performed by a group of warriors telling the story of their war exploits to their tribal members is similar to what occurs during the Sneak-up dance. as the captive is tied to a pole in the middle of the circle

4.4.2.3 COUNTING COUP

The last type of Eastern War Dance reflects Counting Coup in which a warrior would count how many times he could rush his enemies – the bravery factor increased as he accumulated more coups. For instance, in (Figure 90), James K. Phillips, Eastern War Dancer at the Shinnecock powwow counts coup by not necessarily touching the enemy but moving in a hopping fashion to show that he has hopped away[160].

[160] Phillips, James K. Personal correspondence by email on 14 October 2014.

Figure 93: James K. Phillips, Eastern War Dancer at the Shinnecock Powwow. Photo courtesy of Nicholas Chowske at the Hampton Jitney Paper: http://danspapers.com/gallery/67th-annual-shinnecock-powwow/ accessed on 20 March 2015.

> Each feather represents a coup you count and you have to be able to tell the story to the warriors' council so they can approve of your courageous deed. I like to do a combination of defeat for one dance or a victory. I feel with war even if you win you still have some lose because you had to kill. And in life you won't win every battle the way you want. Not each dance I do is similar. The only difference slightly is when I tell my hunting story where I stalk a deer or pheasant. I have pheasant pelts I show off throughout my dance that tell judges I am a brave and great hunter. [161]

For each coup that the warrior collected, he earned one eagle feather and he must retell his story for the war council and his fellow tribesmen to listen and watch[162]. If a man collected enough feathers after battle, he could make a war bonnet that would identify him as a proper warrior. As Boyd recalls, many men wear feathers that they have not earned but in today's day and age, displaying bravery and courage is something that can be done off the battlefield:

[161] Boyd, John 2014.
[162] Harrington, Lonnie, 2013.

> I dislike it when people where feathers they haven't earned but I do understand it's not like the old days where you'd be given chances to actually earn feathers. Things should change so we can earn them for doing things relevant to today's day and age. I was honoured several eagle feathers and it was a great moment. That told me I was displaying bravery, leadership, wisdom and courage. How you dance and what you wear is accurate and on point then judges will look at you more and possibly judge you higher than the rest.[163]

Creativity is important in the powwow competition events, Boyd notes that he "learned from many great men from the Shinnecock, Narragansett and Wampanoag tribes. What I learn I make my own and that shows respect to the men I learn from and my creativity. Our elders give me tips on what I can do to better myself in the dance arena or out of the arena."[164] It is noted that the Eastern War Dance is primarily seen in the Northeast region and as many dancers have fought to have this style performed in the main circulation of the powwow performance – Northeastern tribal dancers want to tell their story as much as tribal dancers in other regions. In powwow dance competitions, the drum would beat at key points at the end of his story as a form of applause (Powers 1973:103).

> Judging is based on how well you dance to the best, how well your outfit depicts the authentic look of your eastern tribe, strength and consistency in your movements. If you have those qualities, you are good.[165]

The Eastern War Dance is judged on grace and general style, step accuracy, preservation of regalia outfits, the response that the dancer received from the audience and the drum group, the ability to keep in pace with the music and the pace set by the drum group (John Boyd, personal correspondence, 2014). However, Loren Spears believes that the men are athletic and graceful in the execution of their movements but also competitive, possibly due to the surge of testosterone.

[163] Boyd, John 2014.
[164] Boyd, John 2014.
[165] Johnson, Jason, 2013.

> When I think of the men's dancers, the men have more tricks that are athletic. I've seen it where people have done cartwheels and they go down on their knees and do those moves to the beat of the drum, along with fancy steps and stuff. It's in a more masculine way. With the men, they have a flair of gracefulness, but you also see the competitiveness that they have within themselves, the testosterone, I guess, that happens. And then they're hitting those honour beats hard and some people are getting down on one knee and down on the other knee, jumping up, twisting, so that they're turning around in one fluid movement so that when they land again they are on the beat again; it's amazing to watch![166]

4.5 CHAPTER CONCLUSION

The Eastern Blanket Dance and the Eastern War Dance, originated in the Northeastern region of the United States, symbolises a Northeastern tribal identity in its material culture, regalia, movement, meaning and style. Both dances tell the story of men and women of the tribe, synonymous with an oral storytelling society – through movement and regalia design. The dances represent the cultural longevity of the Shinnecock tribe and other Northeastern tribes in the region, as in many cases, the dances have been performed for three generations and in some cases, almost four. The Federal Recognition Process insists that a longstanding cultural heritage is connected to the tribal space and this is seen within the performance of these two dances.

The continuance of this Northeastern identity, especially through visual expressions such as dance and regalia are forever associated with the tribe. In the book, *Sartor resartus: the life and opinions of Herr Teufelsdrochkh* (1869), Thomas Carlyle states that clothing and adornment are emblematic of the person wearing them from the King to the common person. Therefore, material culture is an important social function that helps one read or understand the language or design of the clothing; what it means and what it means to the person wearing it. As a form of human behaviour, clothing and adornment - like language, music and kinship – are part of the 'universal feature of human behaviour', it helps one to 'reveal' or 'conceal' aspects of their culture:

[166] Spears, Loren 2013.

> Clothing and adornment are universal features of human behaviour and an examination of what they reveal, and attempt to conceal, contributes to our knowledge about the fabric of cultures and to our understanding of the threads of human nature (Cordwell & Schwarz 1979:1).

Likewise, Roach and Eicher (1979:15-16) determine that adornment can show positions of power, "visible proof of affiliation" or dedication to a particular ideology in which individuals would "adopt the symbolic dress of their predecessors". This adoption of dress from their predecessors places one in a position of power, authority and authenticity. For instance, Napoleon restored the dress of the old French regime to support the legitimacy of his new empire and to connect the old regime to the new one therefore, attributing the power and prestige of the old regime to his own.

The visual image that one can produce from associating with an established power or authority helps one connect those same ideas to the new force. In regards to the Northeast region, the Shinnecock adopted seventeenth century clothing and adornment to connect to ancestors before they encountered colonists in 1649. This connection brings a sense of authenticity to the Shinnecock, as they are relating to their ancestors, through wearing similar clothes, performing similar rituals and living life as one would have lived in the 17th century. The longstanding connection to individuals who lived three centuries ago validates the authenticity and longevity of the Shinnecock tribe. In the past, the tribe often kept to themselves on their reservation amidst prejudice and discrimination from the local community but with the assertion of a Northeastern tribal identity, the Shinnecock are emphatically proclaiming their claim to the Shinnecock tribal existence, its land and its ancestral heritage.

CONCLUSION

Tribal Chairman Randy King asserts that many Shinnecock tribal members themselves as a tribe without the blessing of Federal Recognition by the U.S. government. By connecting to their ancestral past, the tribal ethnicity of the Shinnecock tribe was contested no longer, when the tribe received Federal Recognition in 2010. Connecting exclusively with their Northeastern roots has given native tribal members of this region a new determination and appreciation for their culture, separate from the 'Indian' stereotype declared through most pan-Indian powwows. Jason Johnson states how important it is to show the public that there are varied Native American tribal groups who do not live in tipis, there are many varieties of native people, just like any other ethnic group:

> You know I didn't grow up around longhouses and burnt out canoes. I was never talked about in school. When they talked about Indians in school, they only talked about Lakotas and those Indians that rode horses and fought in cavalries and lived in teepees, they never talked about the ones that lived in wikiups, and longhouses and spoke Algonquin, and smoke dances and rattle songs. You would tell people that you were Native American and they just kind of look at you, like, 'No, you're not', because you're not the typical Indian that walks around in breechcloths and hair all the way down to the floor and saying 'Ho!, white man!', or carrying a machete with your hands folded, you know you're not that stereotypical Woodlands Indian that you see in front of a smokeshop[167]

The connection to pre-colonial tribal ways is an important aspect of the Shinnecock powwow. Before the declaration of Federal Recognition, many tribal members believed that they were and always will be a tribe with or without Federal Recognition status[168]. As seen in Chapter 2, the Wikun Village for instance, helped Shinnecock members engage with their ancestral past by

[167] Johnson, Jason 2013.
[168] Godoy, Andrea 2012

making wickwams or living in a village setting similar to their ancestors; it connected them to tribal life in ways that everyday life, outside of the reservation could not. Similarly, the Shinnecock powwow connects the individual to the ancestral past through the regalia they wear, the songs that they sing and the movements that they execute which mimics their ancestors. Northeastern style performances particularly connect the individual to their ancestral past, as they focus on regalia and dance forms that are evidential of the region and not of a pan-Indian or global identity.

In Chapter two and three, we explored the first and second tenets of performance determined by Guss (2001:8-11) and Counsell (2009:1) in that the tribal space is seen as a site used for 'remembering and reinventing' cultural traditions affixed to their ancestors as well as being 'sites of social action or poiesis'. Living history sites, like the Shinnecock museum, the Wikun Village and the Shinnecock powwow serve as physical spaces where native people can connect to their tribal past wholeheartedly, without judgement, and with the assistance of tribal elders and informed researchers who are able to provide guidance towards a Northeastern identity. For instance, programmes and workshops in which Shinnecock members learn how to make buckskin dresses, procure clams and mussels and create canoes in a similar style to their ancestors connects them to their tribal past, regardless of their ethnic mixture.

In Chapter four, we explored how the third tenet, introduced by Turner (1967:20-45), notes that these symbols exhibits symbols, designs and material culture representative of the Northeastern region. These symbols, such as the Underwater Panther and the Thunderbird are wholly representative of the Algonquian, Northeastern Woodlands region. Symbols and designs like these are seen in Shinnecock powwow regalia and show a regional as well as a tribal connection to the Northeast region. Lastly, the fourth tenet of performance, introduced by Schechner (1993) determines that performances are 'inversions of social order' and are 'mirrors' to the society. Through this analysis, we have determined that the powwow has become a symbol of how the Shinnecock have chosen to present themselves as 'mirrors' of their tribal community. The Shinnecock tribe value tribal traditions such as naming ceremonies, spiritually-grounded dances

and the three sisters (beans, squash and corn). These traditional practices connect the Shinnecock to their longstanding native space and to the kinship relationship in Southampton. For instance, outside of the powwow, the Eastern Blanket Dance and the Eastern War Dance represent a Northeastern identity, be it through the wearing of buckskin regalia pieces, the playing of the water drum, the use of the blanket or the many forms of the War Dance.

Figure 94: On top, Edythe Collins and Autumn Rose Williams perform the Lord's Prayer and the Eastern Blanket Dance for business members at the LIMBA meeting on 2 December 2010. On the bottom, Tribal trustee, Lance Gumbs, second from left, is flanked by local businessman in Long Island. Source: Voice of the Nation, Shinnecock Newsletter, December 2010, pp. 15.

During a Long Island Metro Business Association luncheon, on 2 December 20120, a few months after granted Federal Recognition, the Shinnecock tribe performed the Northeastern dances "to educate attendees on the culture and economic development aspirations of the Shinnecock, Long Island's only and newest Federally Recognised tribe[169]". In (Figure 94, top), Edythe Collins performed the Lord's Prayer, similar to the performance made by Princess Chee Chee at the Shinnecock powwow in Chapter 2 while Autumn Rose Williams, Miss Shinnecock Teen 2009-10 performed the Eastern Blanket Dance.

The annual Fourth of July parade in Southampton is a huge event that includes large floats from various district councils, different ethnic groups as well as from firefighters and local police services in Southampton. The Shinnecock tribe has marched in this parade since its inception in the 1920s. In a photo from 1939 (Figure 95), the Shinnecock tribe stood in front of their float for the Southampton parade – participants were dressed in Northeastern garb, buckskin dresses, long braids with silver tails, feathered headdresses and in the centre of the photo a man is holding a water drum – all symbols of the Northeast.

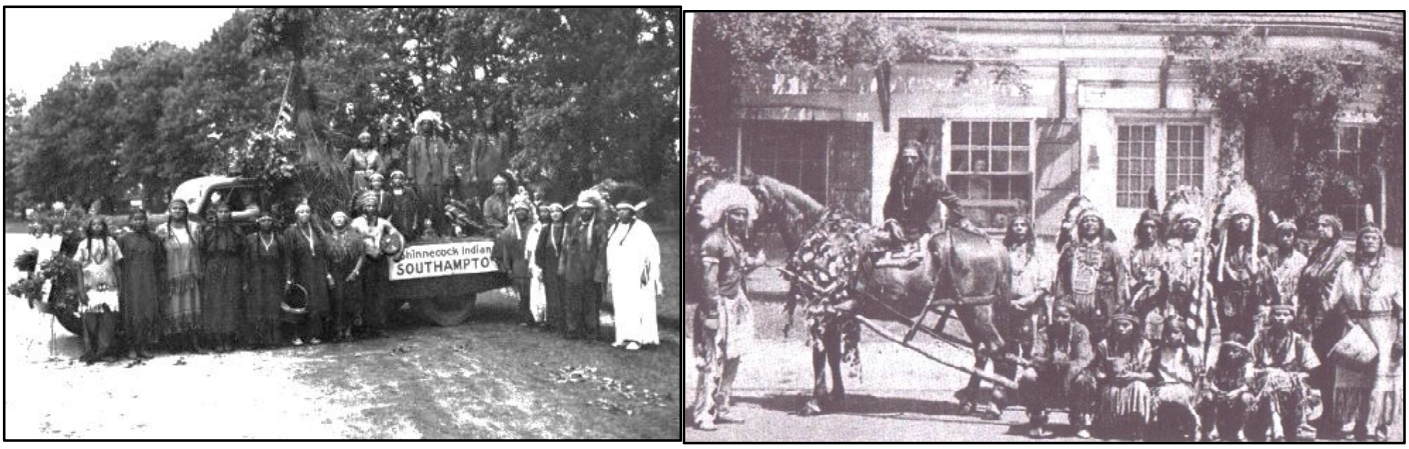


Figure 95: Shinnecock tribal members at the 4th of July parade in Southampton, on the left, circa 1939 and on the right, circa 1941. Source: Roger Memorial Library, Southampton, N.Y.

It was not until 2012, that the Shinnecock float placed second in the overall presentation category – some might wonder if Federal Recognition added to the belief, by the town of Southampton, that the

[169] Voice of the Nation, Shinnecock Newsletter, December 2010, pp. 15.

Shinnecock were indeed a tribe. As seen in the (Figure 96), the tribe is led by Tribal trustee Lance Gumbs (in the centre), while Shinnecock youth and older tribal members flank him all wearing tanned buckskin regalia, sashes and feathered awls.

Figure 96: Lance Gumbs, tribal trustee, with younger tribal members at the 4 July parade in Southampton, 2012. Source: James K. Phillips http://www.danspapers.com/2014/07/go-fourth-and-multiply-the-shinnecock-and-the-parade/ accessed on 16 February 2015.

The formation of a Northeastern identity, as well as the maintenance of this identity through public appearances at events in Southampton and Long Island, have increased the certainty of the tribes' existence, their tribal authority and gives clout to the notion of their cultural longevity.

This material will be of utmost importance in Native American studies. Many of my informants told me that it is rare that the Shinnecock, or for that matter, Northeastern tribal groups are singled out for research. As mentioned in Chapter one, tribes in this region are usually excluded from academic research because of their mixed ethnic ancestry, disputed land claims and lack of Federal Recognition. Native American tribal members, tribal museum librarians and curators, academics such as, Doug Harris, Narragansett tribal historian, Alice Campbell, library technician at the Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Phyllis Ladd, assistant archivist at the Mashantucket Pequot Museum reinforced how much this research will add to tribal research.

Roach and Eicher (1979:9) impart that one dresses to separate themselves from others “declaring uniqueness through dress”; this uniqueness is exemplified in powwow regalia in New England. By separating themselves from other Native American tribes, the Shinnecock stand out amongst other tribes as (1) unique and (2) a tribal unit that although is part of a Native American community, has a longstanding relationship with members of their tribe as well as those within their region. Focussing on a New England, or Northeastern, style of regalia and movement has encouraged the cultivation of a Northeastern tribal identity. Despite receiving Federal Recognition in 2010, the Shinnecock tribe has proven to themselves that they are an unyielding, enduring and resilient tribal unit.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

CFR 83, Title 25, Chapter 1, Subchapter F, Part 83, Section 83.7: Mandatory Criteria for Federal Recognition[170]

The mandatory criteria are:

(a) The petitioner has been identified as an American Indian entity on a substantially continuous basis since 1900. Evidence that the group's character as an Indian entity has from time to time been denied shall not be considered to be conclusive evidence that this criterion has not been met. Evidence to be relied upon in determining a group's Indian identity may include one or a combination of the following, as well as other evidence of identification by other than the petitioner itself or its members.

(1) Identification as an Indian entity by Federal authorities.

(2) Relationships with State governments based on identification of the group as Indian.

(3) Dealings with a county, parish, or other local government in a relationship based on the group's Indian identity.

(4) Identification as an Indian entity by anthropologists, historians, and/or other scholars.

[170] Cornell University Law School: https://www.law.cornell.edu/cfr/text/25/83.7, accessed on 1 May 2015.

(5) Identification as an Indian entity in newspapers and books.

(6) Identification as an Indian entity in relationships with Indian tribes or with national, regional, or state Indian organizations.

(b) A predominant portion of the petitioning group comprises a distinct community and has existed as a community from historical times until the present.

(1) This criterion may be demonstrated by some combination of the following evidence and/or other evidence that the petitioner meets the definition of community set forth in § 83.1:

(i) Significant rates of marriage within the group, and/or, as may be culturally required, patterned out-marriages with other Indian populations.

(ii) Significant social relationships connecting individual members.

(iii) Significant rates of informal social interaction which exist broadly among the members of a group.

(iv) A significant degree of shared or cooperative labor or other economic activity among the membership.

(v) Evidence of strong patterns of discrimination or other social distinctions by non-members.

(vi) Shared sacred or secular ritual activity encompassing most of the group.

(vii) Cultural patterns shared among a significant portion of the group that are different from those of the non-Indian populations with whom it interacts. These patterns must function as more than a symbolic identification of the group as Indian. They may include, but are not limited to, language, kinship organization, or religious beliefs and practices.

(viii) The persistence of a named, collective Indian identity continuously over a period of more than 50 years, notwithstanding changes in name.

(ix) A demonstration of historical political influence under the criterion in § 83.7(c) shall be evidence for demonstrating historical community.

(2) A petitioner shall be considered to have provided sufficient evidence of community at a given point in time if evidence is provided to demonstrate any one of the following:

(i) More than 50 percent of the members reside in a geographical area exclusively or almost exclusively composed of members of the group, and the balance of the group maintains consistent interaction with some members of the community;

(ii) At least 50 percent of the marriages in the group are between members of the group;

(iii) At least 50 percent of the group members maintain distinct cultural patterns such as, but not limited to, language, kinship organization, or religious beliefs and practices;

(iv) There are distinct community social institutions encompassing most of the members, such as kinship organizations, formal or informal economic cooperation, or religious organizations; or

(v) The group has met the criterion in § 83.7(c) using evidence described in § 83.7(c)(2).

(c) The petitioner has maintained political influence or authority over its members as an autonomous entity from historical times until the present.

(1) This criterion may be demonstrated by some combination of the evidence listed below and/or by other evidence that the petitioner meets the definition of political influence or authority in § 83.1.

(i) The group is able to mobilize significant numbers of members and significant resources from its members for group purposes.

(ii) Most of the membership considers issues acted upon or actions taken by group leaders or governing bodies to be of importance.

(iii) There is widespread knowledge, communication and involvement in political processes by most of the group's members.

(iv) The group meets the criterion in § 83.7(b) at more than a minimal level.

(v) There are internal conflicts which show controversy over valued group goals, properties, policies, processes and/or decisions.

(2) A petitioning group shall be considered to have provided sufficient evidence to demonstrate the exercise of political influence or authority at a given point in time by demonstrating that group leaders and/or other mechanisms exist or existed which:

(i) Allocate group resources such as land, residence rights and the like on a consistent basis.

(ii) Settle disputes between members or subgroups by mediation or other means on a regular basis;

(iii) Exert strong influence on the behavior of individual members, such as the establishment or maintenance of norms and the enforcement of sanctions to direct or control behavior;

(iv) Organize or influence economic subsistence activities among the members, including shared or cooperative labor.

(3) A group that has met the requirements in paragraph 83.7(b)(2) at a given point in time shall be considered to have provided sufficient evidence to meet this criterion at that point in time.

(d) A copy of the group's present governing document including its membership criteria. In the absence of a written document, the petitioner must provide a statement describing in full its membership criteria and current governing procedures.

(e) The petitioner's membership consists of individuals who descend from a historical Indian tribe or from historical Indian tribes which combined and functioned as a single autonomous political entity.

(1) Evidence acceptable to the Secretary which can be used for this purpose includes but is not limited to:

(i) Rolls prepared by the Secretary on a descendancy basis for purposes of distributing claims money, providing allotments, or other purposes;

(ii) State, Federal, or other official records or evidence identifying present members or ancestors of present members as being descendants of a historical tribe or tribes that combined and functioned as a single autonomous political entity.

(iii) Church, school, and other similar enrollment records identifying present members or ancestors of present members as being descendants of a historical tribe or tribes that combined and functioned as a single autonomous political entity.

(iv) Affidavits of Recognition by tribal elders, leaders, or the tribal governing body identifying present members or ancestors of present members as being descendants of a historical tribe or tribes that combined and functioned as a single autonomous political entity.

(v) Other records or evidence identifying present members or ancestors of present members as being descendants of a historical tribe or tribes that combined and functioned as a single autonomous political entity.

(2) The petitioner must provide an official membership list, separately certified by the group's governing body, of all known current members of the group. This list must include each member's full name (including maiden name), date of birth, and current residential address. The petitioner must also provide a copy of each available former list of members based on the group's own defined criteria, as well as a statement describing the circumstances surrounding the preparation of the current list and, insofar as possible, the circumstances surrounding the preparation of former lists.

(f) The membership of the petitioning group is composed principally of persons who are not members of any acknowledged North American Indian tribe. However, under certain conditions a petitioning group may be acknowledged even if its membership is composed principally of persons whose names have appeared on rolls of, or who have been otherwise associated with, an acknowledged Indian tribe. The conditions are that the group must establish that it has functioned throughout history until the present as a separate and autonomous Indian tribal entity, that its members do not maintain a bilateral political relationship with the acknowledged tribe, and that its members have provided written confirmation of their membership in the petitioning group.

(g) Neither the petitioner nor its members are the subject of congressional legislation that has expressly terminated or forbidden the Federal relationship.

APPENDIX 2

Powwow Schedule of the First Fieldwork Period: March-September 2011

[List of powwows attended during the first year of fieldwork, over 7 months]

Event	Location	Date	Tribal Affiliation / Organizers
NCAA Native American Cultural Awareness powwow	Dorchester, Massachusetts	21st-22nd May	Nipmuc
Powwow on the Hudson	Wappinger Falls, NY	29th- 31st May	Intertribal
Gateway to the Nations New York Native American Celebration	Brooklyn, New York	3rd-5th June	Redhawk Arts Council / Intertribal
First Annual Connecticut Native American Tribal Urban powwow	New Haven, Connecticut	11th June	Intertribal
Spirit of the Horse powwow	Middletown, Connecticut	11th- 12th June	Intertribal / Nighthawk (Montaukett)
Museum of Indian Culture – ARTIFEST	Allentown, Pennsylvania	11th-12th June	Museum of Indian Culture /Intertribal
Native American Awareness powwow	Ellington, Connecticut	24th-26th June	Bear and Marie Travers (Nipmuc/ Cherokee/ Mohegan) and the Muscular

			Dystrophy Association (M.D.A)
Shinnecock Strawberry Harvest Festival	Long Island, New York	18th- 19th June	Shinnecock / Unkechaug
Mashpee Wampanoag Tribal powwow	Mashpee, Massachusetts	2nd-4th July	Mashpee Wampanoag / Annawon Weeden
Calico Dancers 36th Annual Good Times powwow	South Glens Falls, New York	2nd-3rd July	Intertribal
Sussex County powwow	Augusta, New Jersey	9th-10th July	Redhawk Arts Council / Intertribal
45th annual Smithsonian Folklife Festival	Washington, D.C.	7th-11th July	Smithsonian Institution
Thunder in the Valley Intertribal powwow	Big Indian, New York	16th-17th July	Intertribal / Mohegan
Rhode Island Indian Council Annual powwow	Providence, Rhode Island	16th-17th July	Narragansett
33rd Annual Thunderbird American Mid-summer powwow	Queens, New York	29th-31st July	Louis Mofsie / Lonnie Harrington / Thunderbird American Indian Dancers
Nipmuc Nation 57th annual American Indian Fair	Grafton, Massachusetts	31st July	Nipmuc
Bear Mountain powwow	Harriman, New York	6th-7th August	Redhawk Arts Council / Intertribal
Gathering of the Spirits: 6th Annual Whitehall powwow	Whitehall, New York	6th-7th August	Intertribal
Babylon citizen's Council of the Arts: Paumanauke powwow	Long Island, New York	13th- 14th August	Paumanauke

Narragansett Nation Annual Meeting: Green Corn Thanksgiving	Charleston, Rhode Island	13th- 14th August	Narragansett
Mohegan Wigwam Festival	Uncasville, Connecticut	20th-21st August	Mohegan
31st Annual Roasting Ears of Corn Festival	Allentown, Pennsylvania	20th-21st August	Museum of Indian Culture /Intertribal
Native American Cultural Awareness: Gathering of Eastern Tribes	Boston, Massachusetts	28th August	Intertribal
Mashantucket Pequot Green Corn powwow	Connecticut	26th August – 28th	Intertribal / Mashantucket Pequot
Shinnecock Nation Labour Day powwow	Long Island, New York	2nd-5th September	Shinnecock / Unkechaug

APPENDIX 3

Powwow Schedule of the Second Fieldwork Period: May-September 2012

[List of powwows attended during the second year of fieldwork, over 4 months]

Event	Location	Date	Tribal Affiliation
Mt. Kearsage Indian Museum 13th Annual powwow	Mt. Kearsage Indian Museum, 18 Highlawn Road, Warner, NH 603-456-2600 info@indianmuseum.org	14 July – 15 July	Museum / Specialist
Thunder in the Valley Intertribal powwow	Big Indian Park, Route 28, Big Indian, NY 607-746-6833 Gibsond47@yahoo.com	21 July – 22 July	Hobbyist / Specialist
Hampton Phillips Intertribal powwow	155 Golf Course Road, Whitehall, NY 518-499-0786	21 July – 22 July	Intertribal
Rhode Island Indian Council powwow	Roger Williams Park, Providence, RI, Exit 306 401-781-1098	21 July – 22 July	Hobbyist / Specialist
Keep the Fires Burning powwow	Rotterdam Junction, 1180 Main Street, Rotterdam, NY 518-887-2590	21 July – 22 July	Intertribal

	Info@keepersofthecircle.org Jessie Lapan		
34th Annual Thunderbird Grand Mid-summer powwow	Queens County Museum, Floral Park, Queens, NY	27 July – 29 July	Specialist / Intertribal
Woburn WREN 10th Annual powwow	Altavista School, 990 Main Street, Route 38, No. Woburn, MA 781-933-4141	28 July – 29 July	Hobbyist / Specialist
Nipmuc Nation 58th Native American Fair	Hassanamesit Reservation, 80 Bringham Hill Road, Grafton, MA 508-393-8860	29 July	Nipmuc Tribe
77th Annual Powwow, Honouring the memory of Chief Big Horn	American Indian Federation Inc., One Indian Street, North Kingston, RI 02852 401-737-2279 Walkingturtle@hotmail.com	28 July – 29 July	Specialist
Gathering of Spirits 7th Annual Whitehall powwow	Whitehall Canal Side Park, Whitehall, NY 518-260-6059	4 August – 5 August	Specialist
Babylon Citizen's Council of the Arts BACCA – 30TH Annual Paumanuake powwow	Tanner Park Copiague, Long Island, NY 631-234-1119	11 August – 12 August	Specialist
Narragansett Indian Tribe - 337th Annual August Meeting powwow / Green Corn Thanksgiving	Narragansett Indian Church, Old Mill Road, Route 2, Charlestown, RI Exit 203	11 August – 12 August	Narragansett tribe

	401-364-1100		
The Mohegan Tribe Wigwam Festival	Tantaquidgeon Museum, 13 Crow Hill Road, Fort Shantok, Uncasville, CT, 06382 800-664-3426/ 860-848-0594 museum@moheganmail.com	18 August – 19 August	Mohegan Tribe
14th Annual Thunder Mountain Lenape Nation Native American Festival	236 Skyline Drive, Saltsburg, Pennsylvania, Pat Selinger 724-639-3488 pat@thundermtlenape.org Distance: 6hours one way	18 August – 19 August	Hobbyist/ Specialist
32nd Annual Roasting Ears of Corn Festival – Museum of Indian Culture	Museum of Indian Culture, 2825 Fish Hatchery Road, Allentown, PA, Pat Rivera, 610-797-2121 info@museumofindianculture.org Distance: 2h 30m one way – 5 h round trip	18 August – 19 August	Museum / Intertribal
Ninham Mountain Singers – 12th Annual Ninham Honouring our veterans powwow	Putnam County, Veterans Memorial Park, Kent, NY 845-225-8154	18 August – 19 August	Hobbyist / Specialist
First Light Drum and Singer and Vt., Turtle Clan: Intertribal Gathering	230 Blossom Road, Hebron, NY 802-465-8054	25 August – 26 August	Hobbyist / Specialist

Mashantucket Pequot Tribe – Schemitzun powwow	110 Pequot Trail Mashantucket, Connecticut Contact; Alice Campbell	25 August – 26 August	Tribal / Museum
Shinnecock powwow	Southampton, NY	3 September – 5 September	Shinnecock Tribe
Massachusetts Centre for Native American Awareness – 23rd Intertribal powwow	Plug Pond, Mill Street, Haverhill, MA, 617-642-1683	8 September – 9 September	Hobbyist/ Specialist
Bear Clan Gathering of the Tribes	Brown's farm, 890 Luther Road, East Greenbush, NY 518-477-4872	8 September – 9 September	Hobbyist / Specialist
Autumn Harvest powwow	27 Plum Road, Fort Edward, NY 518-747-3421 Littletheater27.com memesnackshack@peoplepc.com Janice Knolton	15 September – 16 September	Hobbyist / Specialist

APPENDIX 4

Archives, Museums and Libraries, 2011-2014

[Listing of historical archives, libraries and museums visited while on fieldwork from March to September 2011 and May to September 2014.]

Archive / Library / Museum	Address / Contact Information	Material obtained
Patchogue-Medford Library – Cecelia M. Hastings Local History Room	627 North Sunrise Blvd. P.O. Box 9000, Bellport, New York 11713 Mark Rothenberg, Senior Reference Specialist – mrothenberg@suffolk.lib.ny.us	• Gathered historical information on native tribes in the Northeast (Shinnecock, Montauk, Narragansett, Mohegan, Mashpee Wampanoag and Mashantucket Pequot). • Obtained contact information from senior researcher on nearby tribes

Suffolk County Archaeological Association, Nassau County Archaeological Committee	Suffolk County Archaeological Association P.O. Box 1542, Stony Brook, NY 11790 Telephone: 631-929-8725 Fax: 631-929-8725 Email: SCArchaeology@gmail.com Dr. Gaynell Stone, Museum Director	• Gathered historical information regarding northeastern tribes • Interviewed native and non-native employees • Attended 'Native and Colonial life program' in which children and adults learn about colonial life in the northeast; in which they learned about northeastern cooking styles, architecture, craft-making, blacksmithing, carpentry and archaeology.
Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian	Alexander Hamilton U.S. Custom House One Bowling Green New York, NY 10004 Phone: 212-514-3700	• Gathered historical information regarding nortehastern tribes • Interviewed native and non-native employees
Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Centre	110 Pequot Trail, P.O. Box 3180, Mashantucket, CT 06338 Alice Campbell, Reference and Technology Librarian	• Gathered historical information regarding northeastern tribes • Five or six meetings with curator, David Freeburg to look at the material culture in archives • Analysis of material culture archives of northeastern culture • Interviewed native and non-native employees

Melville Library (Stonybrook University Campus)	100 Nicolls Rd Stony Brook, NY 11794, United States +1 631-632-7100	• Gathered historical information regarding northeastern tribes • Archival work with the Librarian which required about 3 to 4 meetings
East Hampton Library	The East Hampton Library 159 Main Street East Hampton, NY 11937 631-324-0222 Fax 631-329-5947 email: info@easthamptonlibrary.org	• Gathered historical information regarding northeastern tribes
Hofstra University Long Island Studies Institute	HOFSTRA UNIVERSITY Joan & Donald E. Axinn Library Room 032 Hempstead, NY 11549-1000 (516) 463-6600 Professor Geri Solomon Assistant Dean of Special Collections	• Gathered historical information regarding northeastern tribes

New York University Performing Arts Library	The Elmer Holmes Bobst Library New York University 70 Washington Square South New York, NY 10012 (212) 998-2500	• Gathered performance studies information through books, articles, PhD theses and pamphlets
American Philosophical Society	105 South Fifth Street Philadelphia, PA 19106-3386 215-440-340	• Gathered historical information regarding northeastern tribes • Looked at missionary accounts in the northeast region
Rogers Memorial Library	Rogers Memorial Library 91 Coopers Farm Road Southampton, NY 11968 Beth Gates: Local History Historian	• Gathered historical information regarding northeastern tribes • Used photographs of Shinnecock powwows between 1920 and 1992
Mohegan Library and Archives	5 Crow Hill Road Uncasville, Connecticut 06382 Director: David Freeburg	• Gathered historical information regarding northeastern tribes • Used archives to research material on the northeastern tribes, laws and tribal lore

Shinnecock Nation Cultural Centre and Museum	100 Montauk Highway, Southampton, N.Y. 11968 (631) 287-4923 Info@shinnecockmuseum.com Contact: Andrea Godoy, Tohanash Tarrant and David Bunn Martine	• Gathered historical information regarding northeastern tribes • Interviewed tribal members and museum staff • Used archives on Shinnecock and Unkechaug tribes • Analysed material from the northeastern region, especially whale remains, materials used during hunting and cooking • Attended the Wikun Living History Village on the Shinnecock reservation in Southampton, N.Y.
Tomaquag Museum	390 Summit Rd, Exeter, RI 02822, United States +1 401-491-9063	• Gathered historical information regarding northeastern tribes, primarily the Shinnecock and the Narragansett. • Looked at missionary accounts in the northeast region • Conducted interviews in the main conference room

APPENDIX 5

Interviews and Correspondences: 2010-2014

[List of participants interviewed between 2010 and 2014]

- Abrams, Lindsay, Caucasian- American, journalism student at Long Island University
- American Indian Community House
- Bass, Frederick C. , Shinnecock Nation Board of Trustees Member
- Bear and Marie Travers, Native American inter-tribal powwow organizers of Native American Awareness powwow
- Bennett, Nicole, American Indian Cultural Centre
- Bess, Sabrina, Shinnecock, organizer of Shinnecock Annual powwow
- Blake Thunder wolf, Donald, Wampanoag Nation – Assonet Band, Powwow performer and attendee
- Bosley, Lucille, elder of the Shinnecock nation
- Boyd, John, Shinnecock, Eastern War Dancer
- Braithwaite-Hunt, Nicole, Lumbee/ Wampanoag artist, creator of *Night Song Creations*
- Brown, Kathleen A. - Perez, MBA, JD, Commonwealth Honors College, University of Massachusetts Amherst, lecturer in Native American legal studies, Mohegan
- Campbell, Alice, Reference and Information Technology Librarian at the Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Centre
- Campbell, Cindy, native performer, multicultural arts coordinator, 'Cinema Arts Centre'
- Chamorro, Maria, Unkechaug, powwow organizer
- Chavis, Steven, Lumbee, dancer and drummer of the Young Cloud Singers based on the Shinnecock reservation
- Chee Chee Thunderbird (also called Elizabeth Hail) Shinnecock tribal leader and powwow organizer
- Coffey, Wallace, Comanche, master ceremonialist, Mashantucket Pequot powwow
- Colombe, Ron, writer, powwow performer
- Corbin, Carina, African-American, spectator
- David, Dorothy, Stockbridge/Mohegan, writer
- David, Holly Haile (Reverend), Shinnecock/Hopi/Ho-Chunk, Eastern Blanket and Fancy Shawl Dancer

- Deo, Steven, Pueblo artist and painter
- Dodson, David, Cherokee/ African-American, Photographer and powwow attendee
- Doug Harris, Preservationist for Ceremonial Landscapes of the Narragansett Indian Tribal Historic Preservation Office
- Dove-Manning, Elizabeth, Narragansett, Assistant curator at Tomaquag Museum, Rhode Island
- Drayton, Fritz, Caucasian-American, Narragansett powwow attendee
- Dunham, Maurice, Shinnecock Nation tribal member
- Eleazer, John Running Dear, Shinnecock Nation elder, Reiki practitioner, lecturer, Parlin, NJ
- Fawcett, Melissa Jayne, writer, lecturer, Mohegan
- Fox Tree, Claudia, Interactive education coordinator, Massachusetts Centre for Native American Awareness
- Freeburg, David, Archivist and Librarian at the Mohegan Tribe Library and Archives, formerly asst. curator at the Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Cultural Centre
- Gates, Beth, Local History Librarian at the Rogers Memorial Library in Southampton, N.Y.
- Godoy, Andrea, Shinnecock Nation and Museum curator
- Gould, D. Rae, Nipmuc, writer
- Harrington, Lonnie, Seminole/ Cherokee, member of the Thunderbird American Indian Dancers, Eastern War and Southern Straight Dancer
- Harris, Doug, Narragansett, Preservationist for Ceremonial Landscapes at the Narragansett Indian Tribal Historic Preservation Office (NITHPO) in Rhode Island
- Hill, Rainbow, Shinnecock, Jingle Dress Dancer and lead Shinnecock powwow dancer
- Hunt, Nicole, Blackfoot/ Wampanoag/Shinnecock, Northern Traditional Dancer, artisan of buckskin and rawhide materials (this informant is a different person from Nicole Brathwaite-Hunt listed above)
- Hunt, Richard, Blackfoot/Wampanoag, Eastern War and Northern Traditional Dancer
- Janssen, Sue, Nipmuc/Irish, powwow dancer and member of femen's drum group, 'Turtle Spirit'
- Jensen, Beverly, Shinnecock Nation committee member
- Johnson, Jason, Shinnecock, Eastern War Dancer, curator at the Wikun Living History Village at the Shinnecock nation reservation
- King, Suzette, Shinnecock Nation tribal member
- Ladd, Phyllis, Assistant archivist of the archives and special collections of the Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Centre
- Lamb, Trudie, Mashantucket Pequot, resident tribal librarian
- Lonehill, Rey, Lakota Sioux, Veteran and powwow attendee

- Mancini, Jason Dr., Archivist and researcher at the Mashantucket Pequot Museum, creator of the Indian Mariner's Project in Connecticut
- Martine, David Bunn, Montauk/Shinnecock tribal member, painter, artist
- Mathe, Barbara, archivist at the American Museum of Natural History, New York
- Matias, Cliff, Wampanoag, Artist, photographer and Cultural Director at the Red Hawk Native American Arts Council
- Mauwee, Gideon, Poospatuck, writer
- Mofsie, Louis, Thunderbird American Indian Dancers
- Old Horn, Dale, Oklahoma/Cree, master ceremonialist, Mashantucket Pequot powwow
- Partridge, Richard, Wampanoag, Drum-maker
- Powder Face, Frank, Alberta/Cree, Mashantucket Pequot powwow
- Ramsey, Tim, SUNY Buffalo, powwow dancer and performer
- Reed, Will, Shinnecock, powwow attendee and performer, police officer
- Robinson, Paul, Rhode Island Historic Preservation Committee
- Salinas, Israel, Aztec Dancer 'Tloke Nahuake' (Traditional Aztec Fire Dancers), Iztacalco (Mexico City), Mexico
- Salinas, Joanna, Aztec Dancer 'Tloke Nahuake' (Traditional Aztec Fire Dancers), Iztacalco (Mexico City), Mexico
- Salinas, Juan, Aztec Dancers, Mexican
- Santiago, Christopher African-American, spectator
- Seubert, Millie, National Museum of the American Indian, New York
- Seronde, Tsinijinni Jean, owner and jewelry maker 'Native Arts Gallery: authentic Native American Jewelry and crafts'
- Silver Cloud Singers
- Skenandore, Dena and Wilamore, owners of 'Native and Natural: herbs and plant medicine products', DePere, WI.
- Smith, Jennifer, Shinnecock, Eastern Blanket Dancer
- Spears, Loren M. , Narragansett/Niantic, Curator at Tomaquag Museum, Rhode Island, Eastern Blanket, Fancy Shawl and Northern Traditional Dancer
- Spears, Sky, Narragansett/Niantic, Attendee of Narragansett powwow, tribal member
- Stedtler, Cheryl Watching Crow, Nipmuc, Director of Project Mishoon, powwow dancer and organiser of the Lake Siog powwow
- Stone, Gaynell, Suffolk County Archaeological Association
- Storey, Kassia, Australian, powwow attendee, Mashantucket Pequot powwow
- Strongbow, Jules, Oneida/ Mohegan, Mashantucket Pequot powwow

- Tarrant, Matauquas, Shinnecock/Hopi/Ho-Chunk, Eastern War Dancer, curator at the Wikun Living History Village at the Shinnecock nation tribal reservation
- Tarrant, Tohanash, Shinnecock/Hopi/Ho-Chunk, powwow dancer, beadwork and quillwork artisan, Manager at the Shinnecock Nation Cultural Centre and Museum
- Treadwell, Mary, Unkechaug powwow organizer
- Trotter, Lyle, Canada/ Cree, Mashantucket Pequot powwow
- Tsinhnahjinnie, Hulleah J. , Seminole/Muscogee/Dine, Associate professor and Director of C.N. Gorman Museum and U.C. Davis
- Turtle, Ray Little, Lumbee/Creek, powwow performer
- Vasta, Meredith, Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Cultural Centre
- Weeden, Annawon, Wampanoag, Eastern War dancer, actor, Cultural educator, owner of 'First Light Fun'
- Wellman, Robert, Nipmuc/Jewish, powwow dancer and member of the Intertribal Council of New England
- White, David Tall Oak, Nipmuc, powwow M.C., Eastern War Dancer and powwow organiser of the Lake Siog powwow associated with the Nipmuc tribal nation
- Yovani, Amerindian Flutes and Strings performer

APPENDIX 6

Appendix 6: Informed Consent form for General Interviews

Title of Project: Analysing the northeastern Algonquian powwows using men's and femen's dance as case studies

Convenor: Malorine Mathurin, M.A.

Graduate Research Student

University of East Anglia

Sainsbury Research Unit for the Arts of Africa, Oceania and the Americas

Norwich, NR4 7TJ, United Kingdom

M.Mathurin@uea.ac.uk / Phone: U.K. – 07771986331 /

U.S.A. – 718-673-0211

Purpose: I am a cultural anthropology graduate student studying SNEA Native American Powwows, performance, and material culture at the University of East Anglia, Sainsbury Research Unit. I will be using a combination of ethnohistorical archival material; performance and data notation as well as participant observation, i.e. interviews, to conduct this study.

During this study, you will be asked questions regarding your past and present experiences with Powwow events in the Northeast region. This interview is designed to be about 10-15 minutes in length, however, please feel free to expand on the topic or talk about related ideas. Also, if there are any questions you feel you cannot answer or that you do not feel comfortable answering, feel free to indicate this and we will move on to the next question.

All the information will be kept confidential. We will keep the data in a secure filing system on University grounds. Only the researchers and faculty supervisor mentioned above will have access to this information. This interview is designed to learn first-hand information about this topic. Upon completion of this project, all data will be destroyed, or stored in a secure location.

_____

_

Participant's Agreement:

I am aware that my participation in this interview is voluntary. If, for any reason, at any time, I wish to stop the interview, I may do so without having to give an explanation. I understand the intent and purpose of this research. The researcher has reviewed the individual and social benefits and risks of this project with me

I am aware the data will be used for a PhD thesis and seminar paper at the University of East Anglia. I have the right to review, comment on, and/or withdraw information prior to the thesis submission. The data gathered in this study are confidential and anonymous with respect to my personal identity unless I specify/indicate otherwise.

I grant permission to use one of the following *[Participant to initial permission]:*

____ Participants' first name only

____ Participants' full name

____ Use of a pseudonym (i.e., M.M.; Joe or Jane Doe; Billy or Sue)

I will be given a copy of the *[Participant to initial permission]:*

____ Transcribed interview,
____ Photograph(s)

Additional conditions for my participation in this research are noted here:

I have read the above form, and, with the understanding that I can withdraw at any time, and for whatever reason, I consent to participate in today's interview.

_____ _____

Participants signature Date

_____

Interviewers signature

Participants Name: _____

Tribal Affiliation, if any / Ethnic classification: _____

Age: _____ *Men's/ Femen's:* _____ *Place of Residence:*

_____

Contact Info: (email/phone) _____

1. How long have you been attending powwows? Is this your first one? If not, can you explain your past experiences with the powwow event? (Please be detailed)
2. What do you remember seeing at the powwows? What dances, vendors, or activities were taking place?
3. Do you think that powwows have ever stopped being performed? Do you feel that they have changed?
4. How do you feel about the powwow event? I.e. is it a spiritual experience, a community building experience, etc.
5. Was the powwow on reservation land or somewhere else?
6. Do you know any of the historical information about the powwow event?
7. Do you know the difference between an intertribal, tribal or hobbyist powwow? If so, do you have a preference?
8. Have you danced at any of the powwows? If so, which dances? Would you be able to elaborate on your dance experiences?
9. Would you consider the powwow to be a traditional event?
10. How do you feel about non-natives attending the powwow event? What about tourists?

APPENDIX 7

Appendix 7: Interview questions for Men's War Dancers

Participants Name: _____

Tribal Affiliation, if any / Ethnic classification: _____

Age: _____ *Men's/ Femen's:* _____ *Place of Residence:*

_____

Contact Info: (email/phone) _____

Questions for Eastern War dancers

1. What do you think are the most important components of the dance?
    a. Is there a sneak-up part to the dance?
    b. Is it similar to counting coup?
2. What story do you like to tell when you're dancing?
    a. Which is your favourite one, battle or defeat?
    b. How are the moves different from the stories, do you change the movements?
    c. Is the dancing only about the movements or do you have to show emotion on your face or in your body language?
3. Why is the Eastern War Dance not performed in other powwows?
    a. Is this mostly outside of the East Coast?
    b. How do you feel about that?
4. **Footwork**: Can you name a few of the dance movements, i.e., duck and dive, jump, bowing of the head, looking around, etc.?
    a. What are your favourite dance moves?
    b. Can you give a description of these moves?
    c. Do you make up your own moves or do they have to remain the same from when you learned them?
5. **Judging:** What makes a 'good' dancer compared to a 'bad' dancer?
    a. How do the judges in the northeast pick the winners in dance competitions? What do they look for?
    b. Is there a lot of competition between the dancers?
    c. Do you like the idea of competition dancing?
6. **Regalia:** Do you prefer to wear the eastern style of clothing, as it is more traditional?
    a. How do you feel about people wearing feathers that do not earn them?
    b. Are there any personal pieces that you particularly like that have been handed down to you from a family member, a friend or tribal member? What are they?

    c. Does the regalia make a difference in how the dancers are judged; do they get more attention, if they wear different clothes or if they wear more traditional clothes?
    d. How do you feel about women's regalia, like the colours and styles? Is it much different from the men's regalia?
7. **Gender:** Do you think that there are gender differences within the dance performances for men and women?
    a. How do you feel about the meaning of the dance, is it empowering for you?
    b. Do you think this dance is empowering for men and young boys?
    c. If so, in what ways?
    d. How do you feel when you perform this dance or when you see other people perform it?
8. How are the men that perform this dance received by their peers?
    a. Are they given more respect?
    b. Who are some of your favourite Eastern War Dancers?
    c. Do you copy some of their moves in your dancing?
    d. Does everyone share moves or are they all unique?
9. **Personal Experience:** Why did you start dancing the Eastern War Dance as opposed to other dance styles?
    e. What are your experiences with dancing at powwows, as a child, teenager or an adult?
    f. Do you have any good or bad experiences while dancing? Like for example, falling down, or winning or placing at a competition.
    g. How did you learn to dance, by watching or by having a mentor?
    h. Will you be able to provide any personal stories about dancing or even any photos with your regalia on?
    i. How long have you been dancing this style?
    j. When you dance, what does it feel like?
    k. What things have you learned while performing the Eastern War dance or attending powwows

Any additional information

APPENDIX 8

Appendix 8: Interview questions for Women's Eastern Blanket Dancers

Participants Name: _____

Tribal Affiliation, if any / Ethnic classification: _____

Age: _____ *Men's/ Femen's:* _____ *Place of Residence:*

_____

Contact Info: (email/phone) _____

Questions for Eastern Blanket dancers

1. What is the origin of the Eastern Blanket Dance?
    a. What is the meaning of the dance? I have heard that it can be ceremonial (a woman going through her life represented by the seasons) or a courtship dance (the woman drops her blanket at the feet of the man they're interested in), are there any other origin stories?
    b. Which story is the one that you grew up knowing, or is there another story?

    Please be detailed

2. What style of Eastern Blanket do you dance in? **Please be detailed**.
    a. Do you think that there is a difference in the styles from the previous styles to present day?
    b. Which style do you prefer?
    c. What emotions do you feel when you dance?
    d. Do you want to inspire other young girls and women to dance?
3. What do you think are the most important components of the dance? Why?
    How has it changed over the years?

4. **Footwork:** Can you name a few of the dance movements that are performed during the dance, i.e. twisting the blanket over the head, covering the head completely with the blanket, etc.? **Can you please give me more details.**
    a. What are your favourite dance moves?
    b. Can you give a description of these moves?
    c. Can you pretend that you are teaching me how to perform the dance, what terminology would you use?
    d. Do you make up your own moves?

e. Are you allowed to add new dance moves?

5. **Judging:** What makes a 'good' dancer compared to a 'bad' dancer? **Please be detailed**
    a. How do the judges in the northeast pick the winners in dance competitions? What do they look for?
    b. Is there a lot of competition between the dancers?
    c. Do you like the idea of competition dancing?
6. **Blanket:** What are the designs on your blanket?
    a. What does it mean to you, is it more personal or a tribal/regional design?
    b. Did you make the blanket yourself? Did someone close to you make your blanket?
    c. Does your blanket match your regalia, and if so, what does your regalia look like?
    d. Have you heard of Pendleton blankets, what do you think of them?

Will you mind sending in a photo of your regalia or shawl and explain what it means to you?

7. **Regalia**: Do you prefer cloth dresses/skirts, t-dresses or something else?
    a. Do you wear any other pieces on your regalia, i.e., hair ornaments, yokes, headbands, feathers, etc.?
    b. Are there any personal pieces that you particularly like that have been handed down to you from a family member, a friend or tribal member?
    c. Does it make a difference in how dancers are judged, do they get more attention?
    d. How does regalia style change?
8. **Gender:** Do you think that there are gender differences within the dance performances for men and women?
    a. Do dances like the Eastern Blanket quell notions of what a femen's dancer should look like or how a woman should perform while dancing?
    b. How do you feel about the meaning of the dance, is it empowering for you?
    c. Do you think this dance is empowering for women?
    d. If so, in what ways?
    e. How do you feel when you perform this dance or when you see other people perform it?
9. How are the women that perform this dance received by their peers?
    a. Are they given more respect?
    b. Who are some of your favourite Eastern Blanket Dancers?
    c. Do you copy some of their moves in your dancing?
    d. How old are the women that perform this dance, is there an age restriction?
10. **Personal Experience:** Why did you start dancing the Eastern Blanket dance as opposed to other dance styles? **Please be detailed**
    a. What are your experiences with dancing at powwows, as a child, teenager or an adult?
    b. Do you have any good or bad experiences while dancing? Like for example, falling down, or winning or placing at a competition.
    c. How did you learn to dance, by watching or by having a mentor?
    d. Will you be able to provide any personal stories about dancing or even any photos with your regalia on?

e. How long have you been dancing this style?
f. When you dance, what does it feel like?
g. What things have you learned while performing the Eastern Blanket or attending powwows?