UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

REMEMBRANCE AND PERSEVERANCE IN HISTORY OF THE NATIVE AMERICAN CHURCH IN OKLAHOMA

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

By

ALEKSANDR CHUDAK
Norman, Oklahoma
2019

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REMEMBRANCE AND PERSEVERANCE IN HISTORY OF THE NATIVE AMERICAN CHURCH IN OKLAHOMA

A THESIS APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

BY

Dr. Kimberly Marshall, Chair

Dr. Daniel Swan

Dr. Sean O'Neill

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Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my committee members, whose support made this thesis possible. Particularly, I want to thank my chair, Dr. Kimberly Marshall, for being a remarkable mentor, for her guidance, encouragement, constant support, and an always helpful feedback. I would also like to thank Dr. Daniel Swan for his insight and passion. He has become a role model for me as I mature as an anthropologist and museum scholar. I am infinitely grateful to Dr. Swan for suggesting me the idea of this research, taking me "to the field", and introducing to so many wonderful people. I would also like to thank Dr. Sean O'Neill for always productive conversations and valuable comments and suggestions.

I am grateful to Dr. Misha Klein, whose graduate seminar in ethnographic writing was very helpful. Her advice and feedback contributed to this thesis significantly. I would also like to thank Annette Arkeketa for her contribution to my research through interview.

I want to thank the Fulbright Program and the Institute of International Education for a wonderful opportunity to study in the United States and for support in this adventure. I would like to offer special thanks to Senator J. William Fulbright, who, although no longer with us, made an invaluable contribution to the improvement of international relations and promotion of global cultural and academic exchange, which continues to be an inspiration for me.

Finally, I would like to thank my family and especially my wife, Lera. Your support, encouragement, and motivation have been more helpful than you might think.

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Abstract

In this thesis, I examine the concepts of Native sovereignty, authenticity, (invented) tradition, indigeneity, and cultural heritage as these are applied to the context of the Native American Church (NAC, Peyotism, or the peyote religion) in Oklahoma, and in particular, to the context of the NAC centennial commemoration. These are the themes that have been devoted much attention in a variety of academic studies, including but not limited to anthropology, Native/indigenous/ethnic studies, folklore and performance studies, and law. Similarly, the studies of the peyote religion are abundant as well. There are always, however, some gaps. In particular, the studies of Native sovereignties, cultural heritage, and tradition tend to overlook Peyotism. The overwhelming majority of the existing studies of the peyote religion, in turn, unfortunately ignore these important discussions, instead focusing on the (ethno)history of Peyotism, its development and spread among different tribes, and description and comparative analysis of the variety of local forms of Peyotism. The main goal of this research is thus to connect the studies of Peyotism with the major discussions in the fields of anthropology and indigenous studies about sovereignty, indigeneity, tradition, and cultural heritage. Understanding the ways these phenomena are connected and, in particular, how the peyote religion, as a case study, fits in, will possibly contribute to the building of more integrated knowledge of social movements as such. Furthermore, it has a potential to supplement the aforementioned major discussions as well.

The main ideas of the present work are reassessment of the concept of history, spatiality (localisation and delocalisation) of indigenous sovereignties, and using indigenous perspectives on time to expand cultural heritage theory.

Chapter 1: Introduction and Some Notes on Methodology

It is October 9, 2018, around 9 o'clock in the morning, when Dr. Daniel Swan and I drive in to the Cheyenne-Arapaho tribal campus located in a tiny community of Concho, Oklahoma, near the city of El Reno and some fifty miles to the north-west of Norman. Dr. Swan parks his car and we enter a modest one-storey Concho Community Building. There are not a lot of people — it is too early. We are given a warm welcome and Dr. Swan greets people (he seems to know many of them) introducing me to some of his friends.

I feel strange, almost euphoric. It is about to begin. A truly historical event that I have been extremely fortunate to attend and witness, a centennial commemoration of incorporation of the Native American Church. Indeed, it was just happenstance that this event and another big event — although not so big in scope as the centennial, — the twentieth anniversary of Norman First American United Methodist Church in the Native American Church, which both will be the case studies for the present work, coincided with my research timeline. The Native American Church is an official institution of the peyote religion, a religious movement, and even more than that, a way of life that has been prosecuted for since its very formation[1] in the 1870s[2] (La Barre

[1] Or, rather, development from the variety of Mexican ritual practices to the forms that are known today in the United States and Canada as the former began spreading northward. More details can be found, e.g., in the works of La Barre (1989) and Stewart (1987).

[2] Although peyote cactus and its properties due to content of psychoactive alkaloids including mescaline have been known long before Peyotism in its contemporary form emerged in part of

1989, 7). Nevertheless, it managed to blossom and spread all across the Indian Country to be ultimately established as a legal institution on October 10, 1918 in the state of Oklahoma, when the articles of incorporation of the Native American Church were signed by representatives of six tribes (Stewart 1987, 224). We will return to this history later.

On the day I arrived in Concho, hundreds of people from all across the country, as well as from Canada and Mexico, were also arriving: to gather that day in this small rural community that most people would probably refer to as "in the middle of nowhere." They were going to celebrate one hundred years of survival, perseverance, and continuance of the church that their grandfathers and great-grandfathers created, carried on, prayed in and prayed for, preserved earnestly, and bequeathed to them. They were to gather together to remember what they had come through, then go to the tepees and pray throughout the night, and then have a meal together in the morning. But there was something more behind it, more than just preservation of the religion and even more than just celebration of endurance. Something that had been in the air throughout the whole event (and I am certain, even more so in the tepees that night) and that I was not able to articulate…

Inside the building, in a large hall occupying most of its space, simple plastic chairs and tables present a striking contrast with a huge hide hanging on the wall above the podium. Although it apparently has not been bought in an exotic interior design

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the "Indian Territory" that is now Oklahoma and began spreading across the Indian Country shortly afterwards. (See the section "Historic and Ethnographic Outline" below.)

boutique but has most likely been obtained in a much more direct way, nonetheless it makes an impression of luxury.

Niched in the wall across the hall from the stage and the podium, almost under the ceiling, there is a big professional videocamera covering most of the hall space. The whole event is to be video recorded and live broadcasted to those who can not come on the local Cheyenne & Arapaho Television, as well as on their Facebook page where these videos will be available for the public (Cheyenne & Arapaho Television 2018a; 2018b). These videos, along with my observations, served as a critical source for the present work.

Arrangements for the celebration are in full swing. Several rented moving trucks arrive loaded with stuff — groceries, disposable kitchen utensils, paper napkins, drinking water in large bottles, some furniture, and more. I help to bring all that to the building — most of it goes to the kitchen where the holiday meal will be cooked — meanwhile getting to know people and unintentionally attracting more and more attention (or, at least, it looks like that). No wonder though — you do not see too many Russian guys around at the events like this, do you?… (I am not sure, however, whether it was my Russianness, or my whiteness and blonde hair, or maybe my tattoos, or something else that attracted attention).

But I knew at that moment and realised more fully later on, at the height of the event, that I was just a momentary curiosity. People were wondering and asking what brought me there and I had nothing more to answer than, "Oh, I just want to learn more about the NAC 'cause it's so interesting!" And I was not cunning at that moment before these people, nor was I uncandid with myself — this was truly the reason I was there.

They looked at me with unconcealed pride, evidently satisfied with my answer. It was pride for their church — not the showing-off kind of pride, but the humble one, as many of these people are. And I also knew that I was just one of hundreds of people that had an honour to witness such an event. I was not one of those who were supposed to go into the tepee that night — and did not intend doing so whatsoever. Due to specificity of setting, I was not that normal ethnographer with a notebook that would attract attention, annoy people with questions, and probably even be made fun of. My positioning as an ethnographer almost dissolved in an event and people around me. It was relieving to feel that a burden of claiming ethnographic authority was a little bit lightened (yet still this claim to authority in the writing process is inevitable). I decided to be a non-interfering, respectful observer, just one of those in attendance. Yes, I did not have an "insider" access. Nor was I able to feel in its entirety what the participants felt (but, of course, all perspectives, even those of the "insiders", are inherently partial). But feeling it was not possible and not necessary for me after all.

…I am also helping Dr. Swan with bringing and setting up the tripods and the large placards that we put on them — a wonderful exhibit organised by him and the centennial committee to commemorate the members of the original chapters who signed the treaty back in 1918 and to honour the committee members and other people representing these original chapters at the celebration. In a couple of hours, I see a woman standing near this exhibit, looking at one of the placards, and crying. She quickly dries her eyes and looks around. Was she trying to be "strong"? Who knows… But this short moment, these couple of seconds, had such an overwhelming emotional

intensity. These restrained tears, indeed, could tell the whole story behind these photographs on the placard probably much better than words. At that moment, I think, I was able to catch, at least partly, this event's meaningfulness and the participants' strong sentimental attachment to their church and to what their forefathers did for them whole-heartedly one hundred years ago…

Relevance of the Work

This thesis examines the concepts of Native sovereignty, authenticity, (invented) tradition, indigeneity, and cultural heritage as these are applied to the particular contexts. These are the themes that have been devoted much attention in a variety of academic studies, including but not limited to anthropology, Native/indigenous/ethnic studies, folklore and performance studies, and law. Of the above-listed, indigenous sovereignty has been studied particularly extensively and has been a subject of the heated discussions over the last several decades with the development of indigenous scholarship and an overall "indigenisation" of the academy. Similarly, the studies of the peyote religion are abundant as well.

There are always, however, some gaps. As I had been familiarising myself with these bodies of literature, I found out that there is not so much about Peyotism in the studies of Native sovereignties, cultural heritage, and tradition (as a concept). The overwhelming majority of the existing studies of the peyote religion, in turn, unfortunately overlook these important discussions, instead focusing on the (ethno)history of Peyotism, its development and spread among different tribes, and

description and comparative analysis of the variety of local forms of Peyotism. Finally, having participated in the centennial commemoration of the Native American Church, I was convinced that these gaps should be filled. The main goal of this research is thus to connect the studies of Peyotism with the major discussions in the fields of anthropology and indigenous studies about sovereignty, indigeneity, tradition, and cultural heritage. Understanding the ways these phenomena are connected and, in particular, how the peyote religious movement fits in, will possibly contribute to the building of more integrated knowledge of social movements as such. Furthermore, it has a potential to supplement the aforementioned major discussions as well.

The main ideas of the present work are reassessment of the concept of history, spatiality (localisation and delocalisation) of indigenous sovereignties, and using indigenous perspectives on time to expand cultural heritage theory.

Historic and Ethnographic Outline

Peyotism is a widespread intertribal religion practiced by indigenous peoples of North America, particularly in the United States (excluding Native Hawaiians and Native peoples of Alaska) but also in Canada and Mexico, that, as mentioned above, originated in its contemporary form in the late nineteenth century in the part of the "Indian Territory" that is now the State of Oklahoma. Its roots can be traced back to the pre-Columbian ceremonial practices of Mexican cultures, particularly the Aztec, Huichol, and Tarahumara (La Barre 1989, 7, 33), but there is an archaeological

evidence that indigenous peoples of North America have been using peyote since as far back as 5,700 years ago (El-Seedi et al. 2005; Terry et al. 2006).

The existing ethnographic evidence indicates that North American Peyotism formed on the basis of the variety of ceremonial involving the usage of peyote in northern Mexico (Swan 1990, 138–139; see also La Barre 1989). Stewart, however, makes a somewhat bold assumption that inhabitants of the lower Rio Grande area and the adjacent parts of Mexico were familiar with Lophophora and its psychoactive properties for as many as ten thousand years prior to the discovery of the Americas (Stewart 1987, 17, 30). (It is unclear on what grounds Stewart makes this supposition because he does not cite any references whatsoever, so this is questionable.)

Peyotism, legally incorporated as the organisation of the Native American Church and its various chapters, is a syncretic faith with a Christian substratum[3], based on veneration and ceremonial consumption of peyote. Peyote is a small spineless cactus *Lophophora williamsii*, whose natural habitats are the central and northern regions of Mexico and southern parts of Texas, and which is known to contain several psychoactive alkaloids including mescaline. In the peyote religion, this plant is considered a sacrament. It is commonly referred to as a "Medicine", and sometimes even called "the body of Christ", akin to the ceremonial bread in other Christian

[3] This is, of course, an academic definition. Although in anthropological theory the peyote religion is conventionally considered a somewhat "mix" of Christianity and some of the earlier pre-contact practices, contemporary Peyotists themselves (at least, most of them) will hardly ever question their profound "Christianness". When referring to the Native American Church as syncretic entity, and generally in the discussions about Native Christianities, therefore, we ought to be careful in defining what constitutes Christianity, always allowing for indigenous perspectives and particular contexts.

traditions including Protestantism, Catholicism, and Eastern Orthodoxy. A typical peyote service, or meeting, is an overnight ceremony conducted in the tepee[4], and it includes prayer, singing to the accompaniment of water drum and rattle, consumption of peyote (as a specially prepared powder, dried buttons, or tea), "and the completion of a series of ritual gestures under the direction of an experienced ritual leader often referred to as a 'roadman'" (Jackson 2004, 187). Other ceremonial officials and a roadman's assistants typically include a fireman (or two) who is responsible for maintaining the ritual fire overnight, a drummer or a Drum Chief accompanying the songs with water drum, a cedarman or a Cedar Chief (this official, however, is absent in some variations, perhaps because a Cedar Chief is more recent addition to the ceremonial structure) responsible for cedar incense (Swan 1999, 24–25)[5].

The highest level of organisation, the Native American Church, encompasses under its banner a variety of local "chapters", or the "localized groups of peyotists who actively support one another by providing assistance in the organization of services" and usually, but not necessarily, "correspond with tribal groups" (Jackson 2004, 187).

[4] As Swan remarks, nowadays, especially in the Native communities outside the Plains region, the tepee is mostly coupled with the Native American Church, and in many cases, there are no other contexts of use of the tepee. Interestingly, some tribal groups use more locally characteristic structures (such as the hogan among the Navajo) alongside with the tepee (Swan 1999, 25–26). An overwhelming use of the tepee is but one illustration of the inherently intertribal and pan-Indian character of Peyotism, which will be discussed further.

[5] These are the officials in the so-called Half Moon, or Little Moon ceremony, one of two major types of the Native American Church ceremonies, that is more widespread and is commonly referred to as "the standard form" (1999, 23). The second major type, the Big Moon ceremony, has some differences in ceremonial structure as well as the officials and their functions. For more detailed account consult Swan (1999, 23–48).

Since its formation in the 1870s, the North American peyote religion had been facing challenges, particularly regarding the legal issues due to the usage of peyote and, in general, as a part of the colonial zeitgeist of that time. These difficulties, however, did not hinder Peyotism from spreading from the reservations of the present Oklahoma to other tribes within Indian Country.

In 1918, the Native American Church was established as a legal institution. As Omer Stewart writes, "[t]he group that met in El Reno in August, 1918 to establish the Native American Church were representative of most Oklahoma peyotists and were ambitious to include all Oklahoma peyotists in their church. They did not equivocate about the use of the word peyote, realizing that this was the issue and that it must be openly acknowledged" (Stewart 1987, 224). Finally, on October 10, 1918, the representatives from six tribal nations of Oklahoma signed the articles of incorporation of the Native American Church (1987, 224), preceded by an overnight meeting. These signatories included "Mack Haag, and Sidney White Crane of the Cheyenne Tribe of Indians, Charles W. Daily, George Pipestem and Charles E. Moore, members of the Otoe Tribe of Indians, Frank Eagle of the Ponca Tribe of Indians, Wilbur Peawa and Mam Sookwat, members of the Comanche Tribe of Indians, Kiowa Charley of the Kiowa Tribe of Indians, and Apache Ben of the [Kiowa-] Apache Tribe of Indians" [from articles of incorporation, cited in Stewart 1987, 224]).

Incorporation of the Native American Church in 1918, however, did not mark the end of Peyotists' legal struggles. In fact, occasional prosecutions of the Native American Church members for practicing their faith can be observed up until the 1990s. Although the American Indian Religious Freedom Act, passed in 1978, was a guarantee

of preservation and protection of Native Americans' right of religious freedom, such cases as the notorious 1990 *Employment Division of Oregon v. Smith* revealed equivocalities in laws, particularly in relation to the usage of peyote. Only after October 6, 1994, when then-President William J. Clinton signed the American Indian Religious Freedom Act Amendments (largely due to an active lobbying of Native American activists and pro-peyote lawyers and academics), could the Native American Church members no longer be afraid of practicing their religion (Swan 1999, 22).

Overall, Peyotism has proved to be a tenacious and enduring Native American religious tradition, having survived hostility of colonialism and having achieved its acknowledgement under the First Amendment of Constitution. As Jason Jackson points out, "[a]lthough never universally embraced by the members of any particular American Indian community, the religion has continue[d] to spread and flourish throughout the 20th century and into the 21st" (Jackson 2004, 186). This endurance is perhaps one of the reasons why the peyote religion has been lavished so much attention on from anthropologists since the late nineteenth century. Although, of course, this is not the only Native religion that endured and survived.

The Studies of Peyotism

The studies of the peyote religion and the institution of the Native American Church associated with it have had a long-standing tradition in American academia. The phenomenon of Peyotism has been of interest not only to anthropologists but also to scholars of religion, jurists, and historians. The most prominent works on the peyote

religion include those by Weston La Barre (1989), Omer Stewart (1987), James Slotkin (1956), and David Aberle (1966).

Weston La Barre's *The Peyote Cult* (1989) is an acknowledged ethnographic classic and a canon of literature on Peyotism which is proved by the fact that it has run through several editions, being always expanded and supplemented with relevant information, since its first publication in 1938 as a monograph based on La Barre's doctoral dissertation at Yale and up until the latest, fifth edition appeared in print in 1989, as well as by its exhaustive bibliography. This study, conducted by La Barre while he was travelling, mostly throughout Oklahoma, with his colleague Richard Evans Schultes, a prominent ethnobotanist and a scholar of entheogen usage among the indigenous peoples of the Americas, is an extensive ethnographic and ethnohistorical account of the nature, development, and diffusion of "the peyote cult[6]", tracing its origins back to the Huichol, Aztecs, and Tarahumari in Mexico from where it began spreading into the Plains region in the late nineteenth century, changing and developing into something different from what had been observed in Mexico.

One of La Barre's great contributions in his study is his methodology, largely influenced by one of his teachers, Edward Sapir, incorporating psychology and psychoanalysis into anthropological enquiry. The scope of this book is truly impressive, going well beyond ethnography, ethnohistory, and comparative analysis and covering

[6] "Cult", however, is not a proper word to describe these practices, and La Barre himself acknowledged later on, given the lack of characteristic elements of cult in Peyotism, such as secret societies and rite de passage, as well as a somewhat derogatory shade of this word.

such topics as chemistry, botany, and physiology of peyote, as well as the peyote art, psychiatric account, and legal status.

La Barre's discussion of the advocates of non-religious use of hallucinogenic substances, including peyote, such as Carlos Castaneda and Timothy Leary, could have grown and might have been organically incorporated into a broader discussion of authenticity, cultural appropriation, and (mis)representation.

Omer Stewart's *Peyote Religion: A History* (1987) is another pillar of the studies of Peyotism. It is, however, much closer to a reference book than a habitual ethnographic account. In a rather dry manner and preferring historical description to anthropological explanation, in accordance with what Stewart perhaps saw as the purpose of his book, this study explores emergence, development, and spread of peyote practices starting from the earliest known forms of Peyotism in pre-Columbian Mexico and proceeding with a rather detailed account of spread of peyote among North American tribes in post-contact times. This work is particularly valuable for its attention to how introduction of peyote was perceived in each particular case, acknowledgement of the important role of individual agency in spread and local transformations of Peyotism, and richness of source material that includes both literature and Stewart's own ethnographic observations.

The Peyote Religion: A Study in Indian-White Relations by James Slotkin (1956) is an ethnohistorical account of Peyotism in the broader context of colonialism and relationships between American Indians and Euro-Americans since the contact period up until the early twentieth century. Having discussed the various methods utilised by colonialists in order to uproot Native American cultures, including the reservation

policy, the attempts to undermine indigenous institutions of power and authority, and extermination of the buffalo (bison) that was one of the core aspects of the Plains Indians' cultures, Slotkin frames the peyote religion as a reactionist movement whose main purpose was an accommodation and "an Indian defense against consequences of White domination" (1956, 7).

The author compares, then, in the framework of pan-Indian nationalism, Peyotism with other American Indian reactionist nativistic movements such as the Ghost Dance, the Grass Dance, and the Hand Game that were supposed to become a means of coping "with the radically new conditions of intersocialization and acculturation arising in the post-frontier period" (1956, 20) but ultimately became obsolete, having only survived perhaps "among the most isolated and conservative reservation Indians — a segment of the population which is constantly dwindling in number" (1956, 20), and gave way to the peyote religion. Slotkin tries to explain why of these four movements only Peyotism was able to persist and grow in number of its adherents until nowadays. His central hypothesis here is that the peyote religion turned out more successful as opposed to the Ghost Dance due to the explicitly militant and overly oppositionist nature of the latter.

The historic part of this book, essentially, is not a substantial contribution to the field since 1938, when La Barre finished his dissertation, because these two studies coincide in many ways, nor is the chapter where Slotkin considers Peyotism among the Kiowa, quoting rather extensively from earlier studies by James Mooney. His discussion of accommodation and acculturation processes in the context of Peyotism, however, although has been aroused prior to Slotkin's work, is valuable for its

contribution to the broader theorisations of cultural revitalisation. Particularly interesting is his exploration of the incorporation of the Native American Church.

David Aberle in his work *The Peyote Religion among the Navaho* (1966) explores Peyotism using the Navajo Peyotism as the case study. A colleague of Omer Stewart's, Aberle addresses broad theoretical problems of redemptive and acculturative models as applied to the study of Peyotism. Similarly to the works outlined above, the author navigates the readers through the historical development of Peyotism, its emergence, spread, and development, describes its ceremonial practice and compares it with more "traditional" Navajo beliefs and rituals. This study's greatest contributions are its response to and reassessment of the earlier ideas of acculturative processes (which, in turn, can contribute to the cultural revitalisation theory), and the hypothesis of the spread of Peyotism among the Navajo as a consequence of the economic deprivation experienced by them at that time.

As Daniel Swan (1990) has pointed out, the authors of this core anthropological literature on Peyotism, in general, demonstrate some commonalities in their methodology and approach, including a great emphasis placed on participant observation, use of government documents, and their strong position of advocacy with regard to legality of peyote usage in bona fide ceremonies (1990, 11).

A long-standing tradition of Peyotism scholarship in American anthropology, traced back to James Mooney's studies in the 1890s, has eventually developed what Swan calls "a standard format in which 'peyote studies' are conducted and reported" with typically a rather superficial account mostly consisting of the ethnographic description of the ceremony attended by a researcher (1990, 11). Alongside with these

abundant ethnographic reports, a body of ethnological and ethnohistorical literature, including the aforementioned prominent works by La Barre, Stewart, Slotkin, and Aberle, has developed. This literature mostly gravitated towards elaboration on theoretical problems of "the diffusion and development of Peyotism in particular cultural-historical contexts and comparative analysis among different communities of Peyotists" as well as "the differential diffusion and development of Peyotism, the analysis of the various forms of conflict which arise in connection with Peyotism, and the concepts of leadership and authority as they are associated with Peyotism" (1990, 12). To sum up, most "classic" studies of the peyote religion tended to be heavily (ethno)historical and descriptive rather than interpretive. These studies were mostly focused on the emergence, development, and spread of Peyotism among the tribes, as well as on the description and comparison of the various local forms. These themes, although important, provide only a partial and very limited perspective of the phenomenon. One of the goals of the present work is to enrich the Peyotism studies making them more attentive to the major important discussions that have not been paid due attention thus far, such as sovereignty, indigeneity, and heritage theories.

The majority of the subsequent studies build upon these authors aiming to refresh the data and sometimes explore the legal challenges faced by the peyote religion and the Native American Church (e.g., Maroukis 2010). These works, however, although written mostly by anthropologists, following the tendency of the aforementioned early works, and tend to be more focused on the historical account of emergence and spread of the movement, as well as the descriptions and comparisons of various local ceremonial practices. In other words, again, the majority of the existing

studies of Peyotism are descriptive rather than interpretive. Despite the overall abundance of literature on Peyotism, most of it has a lot of repetitive aspects, especially in regard to historical development of the movement, while some of more recent studies are frankly secondary and relatively poor in analysis and processing of the contemporary ethnographic and ethnohistorical data (e.g., Kracht 2018).

Åke Hultkrantz's (1997) work is not an exception in this marked trend towards focusing on history, but one of its important contributions is critical reevaluation of some of the central works in the field of Peyotism studies, namely La Barre's (1989) and Slotkin's (1956). The peyote religious doctrine, as Hultkrantz asserts, has been either dismissed or misinterpreted and overall "deserves more analysis than what has hitherto been achieved" (1997, 43). Differences between La Barre's and Slotkin's discussions of the peyote pantheon Hultkrantz explains as probably resulting from their different tendencies: while La Barre, despite his general disinterest with theology of Peyotism, focuses on the Native heritage and inventions, Slotkin, himself a Peyotist, emphasises a Christian substratum in peyote theology. These views, although justified, are only part of the truth because, as Hultkrantz suggests, "[t]he Peyote doctrine must be seen in a dynamic and pluralistic perspective. Dynamic, because it changes with time. Pluralistic, because it varies from place to place. Any effort to cover it in descriptive terms will therefore fail" (1997, 43). This work, however, as mentioned above, is mostly focused on condensing the literature on formation and spread of Peyotism and different influences of tribal beliefs and Christianity on it.

As Jason Jackson aptly remarks, "[d]espite the extensive (some native people would say excessive) attention that anthropologists have devoted to the peyote religion,

some important questions of a more general sort have gone unexamined" (Jackson 2004, 187). In particular, what is lacking in most, if not all, of the existing literature on the peyote religion is elaboration of the theme of Peyotism in the context of heritage (re)production and exploration of Peyotism from the broad perspective of the discourses around Native sovereignty. In one of his works on Peyotism among the Osage people, Daniel Swan briefly touches upon issues of sovereignty and self-determination that had a significant influence on the development of Peyotism in the Osage Nation (Swan 1998, 65–66). But this has to do with more "classic", Western (as opposed to indigenised) concepts of sovereignty related to economics and political autonomy, while lacking for the discussion of other concepts such as cultural sovereignty. Furthermore, a variety of acculturation theories proposed and discussed in the studies of Native Christianity, including but not limited to the Native American Church, generally fails to recognise a real agency that people have and exercise in creation of their own social and cultural environment. Indeed, as Michael McNally (2000) observes, the previous scholarship of the Native Christianity (or, rather, Christianities) tended to focus on the colonisers rather than the colonised. In other words, missionaries' activities and purposes were studied, whereas "what native peoples *made* of the Christian tradition" as well as "the complexity and variety of ways of being both native and Christian" (McNally 2000, 835, author's emphasis) have been largely overlooked. The active and crucial role of Native people's agency in what can be called "reformulation" and "indigenisation" of Christianity cannot be overestimated. With respect to Peyotism, Daniel Swan points out that "[t]he Native American Church has survived one hundred years of criticism, persecution, and legal attack, largely due to the *deep religious*

conviction and tenacity of its members" (Swan 1999, 22, emphasis added). Overall, acculturation theories have a tendency towards disregarding such notions.

In this work, I will try to fill this niche by making a connection between the existing studies of the Native American Church / the peyote religion (and including my own observations), theorisations of heritage as a sociocultural construct, and contemporary discourses on indigenous sovereignty, contextualising this discussion particularly in the Native American Church centennial commemoration setting, and utilising it as a core case study. I supplement my analysis with secondary field observations in Norman First American United Methodist Church (NFAUMC) and at the 20th Anniversary of NFAUMC in the Native American Church.

Ethical Challenges

Anthropology, as Ruth Behar notes, "is [a] form of witnessing" (1996, 5), and even more than that, a form of "snapshotting" of and reflecting on what is going on[7]. There are different opinions on whether an anthropologist should just be a witness or be more engaged in what happens, especially when something bad is going on. Behar asks if there are "limits — of respect, piety, pathos — that should not be crossed, even to have a record" (1996, 2). In the work of Nancy Scheper-Hughes, one of the champions of the so-called "activist anthropology", we can see a response. Particularly as

[7] To the extent of one's ability of understanding or misunderstanding, capabilities of (mis)interpretation or (mis)translation, themselves inherently problematic and always dependent on the particularities of setting, the observer's background, and numerous other factors.

developed in her 1995 article, “The Primacy of the Ethical: Propositions for a Militant Anthropology” and although published a year prior to Behar’s work, Scheper-Hughes advocates “a politically committed and morally engaged anthropology” (1995, 409; see also Scheper-Hughes 1992) rather than merely observe. It is important for an anthropologist, however, to draw in their mind those borders that they should try not to cross while in the field, both out of respect for their “subjects” and because the “data” may be distorted, for example, due to the “distraction [created by the researcher’s presence] that dedicated participant observers try to avoid” (Wolcott 2005, 82). Data-wise, the ethnographer’s very presence, nonetheless, in most cases puts certain limitations on objectivity of the end product, the aforementioned “distraction” being only one of them. This is why Behar suggests to “write subjectivity into ethnography” (1996, 6), merely because it cannot achieve scientific objectivity per se. Sometimes the ethnographer’s actions can be offensive, and some of their questions and behaviour may just be inappropriate in a particular context, especially in such a sensitive context as religion where “[i]t is essential that anthropologists respect the boundaries people set, and also realise that those boundaries may be redefined” (Bucko 2004, 175). That is why field observation requires, among other things, common sense and careful (self-)examination of the ethnographer’s positioning and accessibility of what they hope to explore (Wolcott 2005, 80–81). And that is why I did not go into the tepee while doing my fieldwork in Concho — it just would have been inappropriate, and overall it was not that important for this discussion. It could have caused, after all, an unnecessary tension, one of the aforementioned limitations put by the ethnographer’s very presence.

When one does ethnography, the ethical issues are inevitable and important to struggle with. The issues of entering and leaving the field, positioning oneself as a researcher, revelation of a researcher's identity, the principles of reciprocity and rapport, and many, many more — it is only fairly recently, in the 1980–90s, that critical anthropology has placed these questions under close scrutiny. Ethnography, however, is not just about being in the field. It is also about writing.

The ethical principles of actual writing up ethnography, as H.L. Goodall points out, have been devoted much less attention to than they deserve (Goodall 2000, 154). One of them concerns uneven power relations that may be involved in the writing and editing process. As James Clifford remarks, the process of transferring the fieldwork into a corpus of text, or textualisation of the ethnographic research experience, with the end product separate from the sociocultural contexts where the textualised events have been observed and written down, from its "discursive occasions" (Clifford 1988, 39), is important in understanding ethnographic authority. Reformulation and translation of "data", part and parcel of this process, detach it from the realm of the actual people's communication. As James Clifford points out, "[a]n informant's explanation or description of custom need not be cast in a form that includes the message 'so and so said this'" (Clifford 1988, 39). An event or ritual, in the process of their textualization, cease to be immediately connected to the cultural context, i.e. "to the production of that event by specific actors" (1988, 39). Instead, text becomes a substitute for a context, thus attempting to construct a "'cultural' reality" (1988, 39). This means, in its essence, that ethnographic writers should be cautious of both the mechanism of assertion of authority of the ethnographer as the best and the most competent in "describing

cultures" and what can be called "objectification of a subject" through an emotionally detached treatment of subjects as a data, perhaps a residue of times when anthropology and ethnography pretended to be objective and "sciency". Furthermore, this discussion of the ethnographer's authority has much to do with the ethical principles of the "writing" part of doing ethnography, i.e. the morally appropriate techniques of transference of what happened in the field to a printed ethnographic narrative, a text. Reification of ethnographic authority through both the process of textualisation and its end product has resulted partly from an aforementioned "legitimate license" that the ethnographer supposedly holds, "given" to them by their university training and social status (Goodall 2000, 154) and further corroborated by the notion of the ethnographer's "immaculate perception" (see Van Maanen 2011).

This issue of ethnographic authority has been one of the main ethical challenges in the present study, particularly in the discussion of such problematic and tricky concepts as "tradition", "authenticity", and "indigeneity". As anthropologists (importantly — the *non*-Native anthropologists), we ought to be careful with such vague conceptions as well as with the concomitant rhetoric. As James Clifford remarks, there is unlikely a basic list of essential "indigenous" characteristics (Clifford 2013, 54); similarly, we can hardly make up such a list of "authentic" and "traditional" features. (I will return to this discussion in Chapter 3). Questions of who is and who is not authentically Native American, for instance, are certainly discussed in Indian Country. But as I understand it, it is my friend from the First American Methodist Church who has the right, given not by me or other academics, but by the very fact that he is Native, to criticise and judge, in the course of casual and relaxed conversation the next morning

after the peyote meeting[8], those "wannabe-traditionals", Indians that (of course, from his perspective) fake their "Indianness" without actually knowing and respecting their heritage and traditions (Chudak 2018b). What non-Native academics may (and should) do is to keep the respectful distance and to conceptualise and contextualise "authenticity", "tradition", "Nativeness", and other similar rather obscure and inherently problematic terms in a way that would prevent us and those who will step into the field after us from falling into this judgemental trap of ethnographic authority. That is what I try to do in the present work.

I am aware that "the person who stands to gain the most from any research is the researcher" (Wolcott 2005, 129). In my work, it will most likely be the same way. But I hope that my research will be of interest to the NAC members I got to know, and may shed light upon some of the aspects of the Native American Church and, broader, of contemporary indigenous communities' lives and sociocultural phenomena that have not yet been covered sufficiently within the academic literature. To whatever extent I succeed in that, however, it is just a small step toward more in-depth studies that will be potentially beneficial and helpful to Native people in their ongoing struggle, not through my efforts to help directly, for I cannot, but at least through my attempt to help others to understand more about the important themes that this work will discuss.

There is another important question, "What can you learn from studying only one of something?" (Wolcott 2005, 125). The ethical part of this question is rational

[8] Which I was kindly invited by this person to attend as a part of celebration of the 20th Anniversary of NFAUMC in the Native American Church, and so, I overheard some of the morning chats.

expenditure of resources including time and (I hope) talent. In my research, I study a rather extensive, diverse, and particular religious movement encompassing a community of more than 250,000 members (Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia 2019) all across the United States as well as in Canada and Mexico. To address the issue of choosing a worthy problem to dwell upon and the worthy questions to ask, I needed (and everyone needs, obviously) to have some solid background of what had already been written on this phenomenon (and there is a lot!). Having summarised this literature, I was able to reveal some topics that have not been covered enough by my predecessors and that at the same time would fit well in the context of vital contemporary concerns in Native communities. Trying (perhaps too ambitiously, yet still) to kill two birds with one stone, in my study I will address those issues that have the potential to be beneficial for people that I write about and to become a valuable contribution to understanding, "thickening" (à la Geertz [1973]) of the topics of indigenous sovereignty, indigeneity, identity, and heritage construction.

Raymond Bucko points out an ambivalent attitude that still exists among some Native people toward "being studied", particularly when it is related to religion, co-existing with "the need to be understood and appreciated, especially in regard to religious practice that has been either demeaned or romanticized" (Bucko 2004, 175). For some Native people, it was the literature on Native religion that initially stimulated their reclamation of their religious heritage, urging them to move from texts to interactions with those who are involved in religious practices in their tribes. An existing ambivalence toward the study of indigenous religions on the part of Native peoples (that can be easily extrapolated to the anthropological enquiry in whole without

significant loss of meaning) can be explained by the discipline's handling of important information. This information that might potentially benefit Native people is often being filtered through the scholarly translational techniques and deliberate and conscious decisions that the ethnographers make in the process of writing ethnography, both style-wise and argumentation-wise. As a result, it comes out encrypted, saturated with specific terminology and jargon, and often finds its place in costly books or repositories where a lay reader is just not supposed to be, which alienates this information from those who own it and whom it might benefit (2004, 175). This alienation is essentially a form of implicit structural power, or a reification of Cliffordian "ethnographic authority" (see Clifford 1988, 21–54), an epistemological instrument that has been utilised to create and maintain an uneven redistribution of knowledge, a disbalance in "privilege" to produce and consume it – an issue that has been covered rather extensively in postmodern and indigenous scholarship. Therefore, one of the important ethical challenges that one should address when doing ethnography (and I will try to do so as well) is breaking up "monophonic authority" (1988, 50) and making the process of production of ethnographic knowledge more polyphonic, or "heteroglossic".

I have come across this issue of inaccessibility of the discussions going on in academic circles to Native people who are the "subjects" of these discussions and who often face the problems that are being discussed. When I asked my interviewee, one of the members of the centennial commemoration organising committee, what she thought about the Native American Church as a cultural revitalisation movement, a habitual discussion in academia, her answer was,

> I'm not sure what you [are] talk[ing] about. […] I'm not part of that discussion. I don't have a broad sense of what you're talking about (Arkeketa 2019).

I think this is indicative of the existing problem and that it is important that those who, essentially, own information and cultural knowledge could have access both to the ways of how this information and knowledge are being translated, textualised, and embedded in anthropological theorisation, and to the eventual result — ethnographic text. To address these issues in my work, for it to be reciprocal and accessible when it "goes public", as it should be, I try to make my study more polyphonic by quoting regularly from my "informants"[9]. (I have quoted this word because the bulk of my information comes from public video recording where informants were not speaking to me directly, as I have discussed earlier in this chapter.)

Bucko emphasises the anthropologists' obligation to do their studies in a reciprocal manner for they are dependent "upon the hospitality, expertise, and teaching of Indian people" (Bucko 2004, 175) and the information obtained may be of potential use and value to some Native people who want to learn and understand more about their cultural heritage. There has been, however, some criticism of the anthropological study of religion as being per se a distraction from more vital needs of indigenous people such as those related to politics and economics (2004, 175). Nonetheless, the discourses of

[9] While acknowledging that eventually it is me, the ethnographer, who handles and manipulates these voices, in one way or another, to fit them into theory and text (see Clifford 1988, 50; Stack 1996, 105–106). Can we completely avoid it though? Or is an absolute heteroglossia just an ethnographic utopia?

Native religions, as I will argue here, should not be depreciated and considered as a mere casuistry as opposed to the undoubtedly important economical, political, and social issues, for it is capable of unravelling some of the "webs of significance" (Geertz 1973, 5) that may be overlooked if religious aspect of life is ignored. And such an ethnography, I am certain, "matters", as Fassin (2013) puts it, because "social actions are comments on more than themselves… Small facts speak to large issues, winks to epistemology, or sheep raids to revolution, because they are made to" (Geertz 1973, 23). In a similar way, what was happening at the Native American Church commemorative event that I observed, however small thread it might seem in a patchwork of culture, also speaks to and has the capacity to enhance public awareness of the larger issues such as contemporary indigenous sovereignty, cultural revitalisation, and heritage production and reproduction, which in turn bring us to even larger issues such as the place of Native people in the settler-state colonial system. These are issues whose great magnitude for Native people cannot be overestimated and which, being a part of a larger body of knowledge, might have some important implications for the practice of anthropology, policy towards indigenous peoples, and social theory.

On Vulnerability

Several years ago, in Russia, when I was writing a diploma project about the usage of hallucinogens in different (mostly religious) indigenous American contexts, on a way towards my first master's degree, it was solely based on the published literature. I just did not have any time, nor did I have funding and other resources to undertake a trip

to America from my home country and produce a solid fieldwork-based thesis. And while I was writing, I had this strange feeling of distance, almost an abyss between myself and what and who I was writing about. Of course, there was a distance — a literal one, since I was writing about people and phenomena across half of the globe from me and even — some of them — distant in time. But I am talking about another kind of distance. I did not feel connection with my subjects, did not feel the "vibes" of life. I could not see them or talk to them.

But when I was in the field, it was something different. At Norman First American United Methodist Church, at the Native American Church meeting, and especially at the centennial commemoration in Concho, I felt what I think is a true value of ethnography — people that were here and now, people that I could learn from. This is the fundamental difference between reading ethnography and doing ethnography. When you read, you absorb someone's visions, thoughts, and interpretations; when you are in the field, you are able to produce your own, to see (or at least, try to see) those "webs of significance" that human is suspended in, as Clifford Geertz (1973, 5) wrote. Furthermore, the field experience is unique in a sense that it is irreproducible in its minute details. Ruth Behar puts it neatly: "An anthropologist's conversations and interactions in the field can never again be exactly reproduced. They are unique, irrecoverable, gone before they happen, always in the past, even when written up in the present tense" (Behar 1996, 7). And that is true.

It is because of impossibility (and, essentially, insignificance) of writing an objective ethnography as well as because of my prior experience of writing (or, rather, recycling) emotionally detached "ethnography" that I decided to "write vulnerably" (see

Behar 1996). The moment I entered the field and the time I spent there witnessing something so important and emotionally saturated had such an impact on me professionally and personally, that I just could not take this traditional scholarly position and try to be distanced, objective, and abstracted. To do so would mean to betray myself and to miss an important part of narrative that would make it look like something that had been produced by humans, about humans, and for humans. Ruth Behar asks, "Does an emotional response [of the readers] lessen or enhance intellectual understanding?" (1996, 16). I think that it has the potential to enhance overall understanding, and more than that, when anthropology "goes public", the author's vulnerability and the readers' emotional response might enhance public awareness and catalyse public debate when the problem deserves it (Fassin 2013, 622–623).

Another kind of vulnerability in writing ethnography, particularly in such intimate and emotionally loaded contexts as religion, is derivative of the dialogic nature of indigenous anthropology. Ideally, in order to eschew the "old-school" approach of assuming the ethnographer's "immaculate perception", resulting from proper university training, letters after name, and expertise, and thus falling into the aforementioned trap of ethnographic authority, it is important to keep in mind one simple and objective truth: *we do not always get it right*. In other words, the researcher's interpretation, which they put on paper while digesting their field observations and notes and producing ethnographic text, does not necessarily "hit the mark". It depends on numerous factors, including the researcher's background, inherent biases, (in)accessibility of certain settings or practices for observation in the field, attitude of the studied toward being studied, filters of translation and textualization, to name but a

few. After all, all truth is inherently partial (see Clifford 1986), and ethnographic "truth" is by no means an exclusion.

Ethnographic writing is thus always a risk — a risk of "getting it wrong". We write about real people with their own views about their own contexts, and those views do not always coincide with what is being written by the ethnographer. But the flip side of this risk, which we always have to run, is that it is actually beneficial. When writing about people, one should expect that probably some day one of these people will say, "You have no idea what you're writing about". That is why it is our moral and ethical obligation to be careful in our writing. And that is why a good ethnography is a back-and-forth dialogic process — after all, in fact, we just learn from people who we study. And this kind of risk actually facilitates a dialogue, making for better ethnography inclusive of multiple voices, thus turning vulnerability into advantage.

A Note On "History"

The last, yet very important thing I wanted to touch upon before I proceed to the main part of discussion, is history. One might think, looking at this work's title, that I will focus attention on how the Native American Church emerged, spread, and developed in the course of time for this is the kind of "history" we are used to. But, again, why would one need (in the field of anthropology, at least) to try to reproduce anew the work that has been done before multiple times? Furthermore, there is a tendency that we can see in the "classic" studies of Native communities and religions, particularly of Peyotism, or in those more recent works that utilise similar

methodologies. It consists in ethnohistorical analysis of emergence and diffusion of the peyote religion, descriptive account and comparative analysis of ceremonial forms in the context of different communities, forms of conflict, and the concepts of authority connected in one way or another with Peyotism (see, e.g., discussion of these "old-school" methods in Swan 1990). And this approach generally fails to recognise Native people's agency and their present-day affairs and concerns. Moreover, although anthropological theory, re-articulated in the context of indigenous studies, moves toward being more reciprocal and collaborative, it is only relatively recently that anthropological practice has begun trying to keep up and be more reflexive. Over the last several decades, anthropologists who are involved in studying indigenous communities and religions have come to realise that they ought to acknowledge these communities' continuance into the present rather than considering them vestiges of the past. We should be aware "that those communities do indeed have rights over cultural knowledge and representation; and that anthropology as a discipline must be responsive to and prepared to collaborate with native communities" (Bucko 2004, 175).

The definition of history that I will utilise in the present work is not a habitual one. Rather than talking about history as people and events in the past and the related historical memory solely, I expand this notion and conceptualise history as also simultaneously created through the ongoing construction of historical narratives and production, reproduction, and performance heritage in the present. This will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

Chapter 2: Contemporary Native Sovereignties and the Peyote Religion

> They were speechless. They told him, […] "We're really happy you're here […] You don't know it yet but you have a place in here, you have a seat, it's yours already, but it's up to you to take that seat […] Some day down the road we're gonna want you to take that seat that's yours and take care of us".
>
> President of the NAC of Oklahoma, member of the NAC Cheyenne Chapter 1
> (Cheyenne & Arapaho Television 2018b)

What's in a Place?

> [M]y thinking and my interpretation of what we talked about [with the centennial committee] was what this first hundred years meant to us, this first one hundred years… So, with my tribe, Poncas, this Medicine [peyote] came to us at a very critical time in our history. As you know the story of all of our Oklahoma Indians — we were moved from our original homelands, you know, when we lived up north, we were moved down here. And doing that movement, we left a lot of our ceremonies, a lot of the things that we left we didn't bring with us. The things that we did bring with us, our ceremonies, we had to perform them, hide them, we had to go underground with some of our ceremonies. But on top of all that, as we all know, the policy of the Government was to stamp out the Indian, take away his identity, destroy his culture. And they did a pretty good job with it, they did a good job doing that (Cheyenne & Arapaho Television 2018b).

This speech, given at the centennial by one of the representatives of the Ponca chapter of the Native American Church, tells us about history of the infamous enforced displacement of Native American tribes. The reason why I begin this chapter on sovereignty with this excerpt is not the (undoubtedly critically important) role of Peyotism as a means for many American Indians to cope with historical trauma of colonialism. The reason here is displacement and the importance of concept of place in sovereignty. The settler-colonial politics of rooting out "Indianness" from Indians, as the speaker mentions, had much to do with the destruction of certain social and cultural institutions, perceived by the colonisers as harmful and hindering them from achieving their objectives. This was being attained, in particular, through persecution of traditional ceremonies, but also through displacement. As a result, not only Native identities were taken away from American Indians, but also political sovereignty.

In this chapter, I will discuss Native sovereignties as they are articulated in the Native American Church context, and particularly, at the centennial commemoration. I pluralise the word "sovereignty" intentionally, because, as it has been demonstrated by scholars in Native studies (e.g., Cobb 2005) and by indigenous activists over the last several decades, too long have the discussions of political sovereignty overshadowed the equally important concepts of cultural and intellectual sovereignties. Proceeding with his speech, a Ponca representative said:

> A lot of the young men at that time were destroying their lives because they couldn't live the way they used to. And it got so bad [when] the Government introduced alcohol to Indians that expedited the destruction

> of our way of life. Our old people said that God pitied us, brought something to us, cause we always have to have something, our Indian people, we have to have something culturally, ceremonially, to hang on to, to help us, give us our guidance in our life. So, that's what it'd done, this Medicine c[a]me to us (Cheyenne & Arapaho Television 2018b).

Saying "we always have to have something, our Indian people, we have to have something culturally, ceremonially" the speaker apparently implicitly refers to the Native tribes' cultural sovereignties and identities they were deprived of by the colonial politics, which articulated their "Indianness" for themselves, above all.

What, then, does it have to do with place? In this chapter, I will argue that place and space, both physical and symbolically constructed, be it an actual geographic area on the map or a temporary location, constitute an important spatial aspect of indigenous sovereignties, political, which is obvious, as well as cultural, which is less obvious. In most of the discussions of sovereignty, before indigenous scholars and activists began to take them over relatively recently, sovereignty as such generally tended to be looked at from the political angle solely (see, e.g., discussion in Biolsi 2005). Furthermore, it also tended to be a priori equated to a nation-state or smaller political subjects within it, and thus circumscribed by political borders. On the one hand, such an approach neatly spatialises sovereignties. But on the other hand, this approach is problematic due to several reasons. First, as I have mentioned, it overlooks other kinds of sovereignties. Second, being a product of Western thought and colonial politics, it does not allow for Native geographies and spatial knowledge. Third, and this is related to the previous notion, it does not conceptualise and contextualise place as such, instead taking it as a given.

Theorising a concept of localisation of sovereignty, I attempt to put more emphasis on the importance of place — at both phenomenological and conceptual levels — in the discussions of indigenous sovereignties. Most sovereignties, I argue, are localised due to their inherent spatial character, i.e. their attachment to a particular place or places. However, to focus on the localised national levels of sovereignty solely and to overlook the *delocalised* transnational level is to miss the important part of the complex picture of contemporary Native identities and sovereignties. In some contexts, including the Native American contexts, borders of political entities such as tribal lands and reservations and some of the associated sovereignties and identities become blurred in the light of large-scale processes of transnationalisation and pan-indigenisation. As Pauline Strong remarks in this respect, "Native Americans [today] represent… the complex form of identity that has come to be known as postmodern. Indeed, the tribal and national identities… are, in some cases, now being supplemented with transnational identities, either pan-Indian or pan-indigenous" (Strong 2012, 32). Delocalisation (or despatialisation) of sovereignties and identities is thus a natural process concomitant with the processes of active intercultural communication and inherent in international contexts.

In my thesis, I use the Native American Church and its centennial commemoration as case studies for elaboration of the concept of (de)localisation of sovereignties, which will be discussed in detail further. But first, let me outline briefly what the main ideas of the contemporary anthropological literature on sovereignty are.

Literature Review

The crucial importance of sovereignty and nationalism for people who have undergone the horrors of colonisation in the course of their history is obvious (Biolsi 2005). The ethno-nationalist struggles for autonomy and sovereignty that were at their zenith at the turn of the twenty-first century, including two Chechen Wars and the Second Intifada of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as some of the most dramatic examples, made us revise the notion of national sovereignty and now "we can hardly help but see national independence as almost synonymous with dignity, freedom, and empowerment" (Ferguson 1997, 123). In the contemporary political discourse, categories of "nation" and "nationality" appear "to be obligatory categories of modern space and modern political subjectivity, respectively" (Biolsi 2005, 239). Furthermore, as Benedict Anderson points out, all successful revolutions that occurred during the second half of the 20th century utilised an explicitly nationalist rhetoric even in defining themselves (e.g., the People's Republic of China, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam), thus grounding themselves "in a territorial and social space inherited from the prerevolutionary past" (Anderson 1991, 2).

In the context of Native North America, the importance and value of sovereignty studies in academia and the challenges faced by the scholars in Native American studies are outlined by Michelle Raheja. Sovereignty and its multiple embodiments, as she points out, is a characteristic focus of indigenous studies in Native North America with particular emphasis placed on it that, because of the unique positionality of Indigenous people, is greater than in other critical ethnic discourses. "Sovereignty is an ontological

and philosophical concept with very real practical, political, and cultural ramifications that unites the experiences of Native Americans, but it is a difficult idea to define because it is always in motion and is inherently contradictory" (Raheja 2007, 1163). Indeed, the contemporary Native sovereignties are in a perpetual state of flux, yet real-life value of this concept cannot be overestimated. That is why the concept of sovereignty has been placed under particular scrutiny in the contemporary indigenous studies.

The "classic" discourse around sovereignty, as it is outlined by Thomas Biolsi and James Ferguson (cited above), frames the categories of nation and nationality as necessarily and deeply embedded in the contemporary political discourses of space and political subjectivity, with the idea of national (political) sovereignty equated to that of power and liberty. However, this framing overlooks other important facets of sovereignty such as cultural sovereignty and intellectual sovereignty, which often exist at different level than political sovereignty rhetoric implies. They also tend to be facets of sovereignty that are transnational (delocalised) rather than national (localised), and thus are operationalised in distinctive ways (see the discussion of localised and delocalised sovereignties further in this chapter). Sovereignty, as Kimberly Marshall has pointed out, is a rather broad notion, and its implications extend far beyond the political aspect of life (Marshall 2016, 189). Furthermore, the classic definitions and conceptualisations of sovereignty based upon political autonomy show inherent Western-centric bias (see, e.g., Dennison 2017). Some alternative "indigenised" conceptions that have been proposed by scholars in indigenous studies "value

interdependence and responsibility to a collective whole" instead of emphasising political autonomy solely (Alfred 2002, 460; Marshall 2016, 189).

Glen Coulthard (2014) briefly summarises a rather extensive body of literature that has come out over the last decade where scholars demonstrate how settler-states' presumed authority over Native people and lands is continuously informed by the conceptualisation of Native communities as inferior in the imagined hierarchy of political and cultural development. Historically, as Coulthard observes, sovereignty over a particular territory was established "by the mere act of settlement itself" (2014, 100). This concept rose out of the colonial period, from the sixteenth century onwards, and was justified by concurrent racist views of Native peoples' sociocultural development as very low on the evolutionary scale, which "allowed" settler authorities to consider indigenous lands "legally vacant" (2014, 100). Furthermore, such an imbalanced distribution of sovereignty is still present and is at the core of the relationships between indigenous peoples and settler-states' governments (2014, 100). As Jean Dennison points out, the idea and the very phenomenon of sovereignty, when considered in historical perspective as peculiar to the Western societies solely, work to further strengthen colonial ideologies and policies through placing Native peoples as "part of the wilderness and thus not sovereigns of the territory" (Dennison 2017, 685). Historical narratives of the origins of sovereignty as a phenomenon, of course, generally claim Europe as a cradle of sovereignty (2017, 685). Furthermore, and as a consequence, the subsequent early theorisations of sovereignty as a concept implied the legitimacy of European nation-states' territorial authority while disregarding indigenous governance. All that brings us to the problematique of indigenous sovereignty and

"indigenisation" of the concept of sovereignty as such, important issues that gained scholarly attention during the last four or five decades.

Discussions of tribal sovereignty, both in and outside academia, usually go hand in hand with decolonisation theories. In their work on decolonisation, Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang (2012) contrast "settler nativism" with tribal sovereignty, maintaining that the former "is about imagining an Indian past and a settler future", whereas the latter "has provided for an Indigenous present and various Indigenous intellectuals theorize decolonization as Native futures without a settler state" (2012, 13). Nonetheless, when framed this way, decolonisation as such at once sounds as something akin to utopia and echoes millenarianist ideologies of such ultimately unsuccessful nativistic movements as the Ghost Dance. It is important to understand that despite its indubitable significance as a project that can help to deconstruct and critically reevaluate the settler-colonial logics and structures, decolonisation is sometimes construed as a necessity for indigenous peoples to refuse everything that is not related to "Nativeness" so as to be "properly authentic" (Smith 2014, 224). (See also discussion of authenticity in Chapter 3.)

Question of whether or not decolonisation is possible at all could spark a heated and interesting discussion (which, however, would distract our attention from the present work's issues) but the recent elaboration on the concept of sovereignty has shown that a subject is more complex than it appears in many decolonisation reasonings.

Jean Dennison, an enrolled citizen of the Osage Nation and a scholar who knows about current debates around indigenous sovereignty not by hearsay and observes it

from perspectives of an anthropologist as well as of a tribal member, has made a considerable contribution to theorisation and problematisation of tribal sovereignty and sovereignty as such. According to Dennison, rather than interpreting sovereignty as an exclusive authority, we should understand it as a continuous "process of engagement with other authorities" inevitably resulting in "further entanglements" (Dennison 2017, 685; also in 2012). Dennison clearly demarcates sovereignty from autonomy. As opposed to autonomy, which means full control without external influence, sovereignty is a pretension to one's authority not cherishing the illusion of full control but rather implying upholding authority by means of increased interplay. Indeed, as Amanda Cobb points out, there is no modern nation that is isolated and exists on its own, not experiencing any "external control": "No modern sovereign — no matter how large or how powerful — exercises absolute sovereignty; all nations are limited by other nations, either through military force, economic sanctions, or simple market dynamics, reputation and public opinion, or some combination thereof" (Cobb 2005, 118). Dennison neatly justifies her usage of the term "entanglement" by its usefulness for depicting ongoing colonial processes because it allows to trace "the shifts created through unequal power dynamics without erasing the agency possible within them" (Dennison 2012; 2017, 685). The aforementioned idea of peculiarisation of sovereignty as something immanently Western and thus incommensurate with indigeneity[10] that

[10] In a similar way, in time shortly after contact between Europe and the Americas, "[t]hemes of humanism, relativism, and even primitivism notwithstanding, the dominant idea in colonial and national images of Indians, and thus in Indian policy, was the irreducible, totalizing, and allegorical opposition of white to Indian custom and 'race' as triumphant civility to vanquished

served as justification of colonisation and is still persistent, is demolished by Dennison as well as other scholars in American Indian and indigenous studies. The discourse of sovereignty is applicable to the discussion of indigenous realities; moreover, indigenous experiences allow to see "the dynamic nature of sovereignty" (Dennison 2017, 686).

Not only political sovereignties, including, first of all, those related to territory and resources, are entangled. Other sovereignties (cultural, intellectual, etc.) and authorities also become entangled as a part of the ongoing process of negotiating and "making" sovereignty in light of the always uneven power dynamics between the colonisers and the colonised. And while Dennison's works on indigenous sovereignty have been more focused on its political side, other scholars contributed to the development of some other aspects as well (although it is perhaps impossible to eschew the political part of discourse completely since that is where the whole discussion comes from; every sovereignty discourse is immanently politicised after all). For example, in her article on tribal sovereignty, Amanda Cobb (2005) explores how "the landscape of Indian country has changed dramatically" (2005, 115) over the last several decades, particularly with cultural revival, economic development, and increase in political and legal power of indigenous people in the United States. Tribal sovereignty has been one of the key parts of this change, and that is why Cobb accentuates the importance of this term. The word "sovereignty" itself, however, has acquired so many definitions and meanings and has been often used so negligently that it risks losing its meaning and with that it also risks losing its importance, power, and practical value for

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savagery", which implied inviability, if not absurdity, of the notions of social propinquity and cultural plurality (Brightman 2006, 368).

Native people. Cobb's reasoning, elaborating on Vine Deloria, Jr.'s critique, has much in common with Mark Rifkin's (2009) discussion of sovereignty, because in Rifkin's work we find an explanation of how the concept of sovereignty was reinterpreted by the United States policy makers and used for their advantage and for disadvantage of indigenous peoples respectively. (I am certain that similar intellectual projects of "indigenisation" of sovereignty discourse have also been undertaken in other (post)colonial contexts such as in Africa and Oceania.)

Amanda Cobb's contribution to the discussion of sovereignty in the context of Native people in the settler-state cannot be overestimated. She argues that "a nation's sense of its sovereignty and its ability to exercise those powers is deeply intertwined with its sense of self" (2005, 118), which makes reconceptualisation of sovereignty and understanding of its nature critical for Native people and peoples. Cobb stresses and explains the importance of the cultural component in tribal sovereignty and identifies cultural continuity as one of the functions of sovereignty[11]. Cultural continuity is a particularly interesting aspect of sovereignty to consider in the context of the Native American Church, because this movement combines sovereignty, both national and international, clearly articulating cultural continuance as one of the main goals, with certain adaptive strategies (e.g., the Christian substratum). At first glance, this stance of accommodation and incorporation might appear to conflict with the notions of

[11] Different conceptualisations of sovereignty, such as cultural and intellectual, add even more value to Cobb's reasoning.
The importance of intellectual sovereignty is also discussed by Native scholar Robert Warrior (1994), who argues that Native American intellectual tradition should be taken seriously and that it is capable of supporting tribal sovereignty in general.

sovereignty and cultural continuity (and might be considered as an instance of what Kimberly Marshall (2015; 2016) defines as a "resonant rupture" [see Chapter 3 of the present work]). But when considered more thoroughly, in particular in the context of the Native American Church centennial commemoration, it turns out that cultural and intergenerational continuity through cultivating and passing on cultural, moral, and spiritual values, and through building healthy community is, in fact, one of the central objectives of the peyote religion. The following words of a representative of the Ponca Native American Church illustrate this well:

> And it got so bad [when] the Government introduced alcohol to Indians that expedited the destruction of our way of life. Our old people said that God pitied us, brought something to us, cause we always have to have something […] culturally, ceremonially, to hang on to, to help us, give us our guidance in our life. So, that's what it'd done, this Medicine c[a]me to us […] So, when we got it, our old people settled this down. All those young men at that time started coming in into that tepee, slowly, little by little, till at one point, at our highlight, probably, back at the twenties and thirties, that we had so many members that we had four-five tepees at the same time during the weekend, just all Poncas. Of course, as we know too, elders started passing away, but they left a good legacy for us, left these songs, left these prayers, left these instructions on how to carry on and to continue. So, what it'd done for us, this Medicine, what it'd done for the Ponca people, it settled us down, helped us, [got] us back in order, [got] our spirit back in line to continue moving. So, this first hundred years has been good for us, this Medicine has been good for our people. And we're still here, we're going, we're going strong. So, now it's our duty, that's what I tell my sons and nephews and all of the people that belong to our chapter, now

> it's our turn to carry it far as we can. That's the command that our elders left us, that's the responsibility they put on us. "Now, we've brought it this far, you take it far as you can to keep it going". And our prayer that I heard our old people said that they want this Medicine to go way, way, way down many, many generations till the time when this world comes to an end and last person standing is gonna be Indian, Native American, and in his hands [there's] gonna be this Peyote, that's the prayer of our old people. So, it's our duty to keep it going, to keep this Medicine holy, that's one of the things they said, "Keep it sacred, keep it holy, be careful around it". And so, that's what we've strived to do (Cheyenne & Arapaho Television 2018b).

Importantly, this speech also implies, in fact, the articulation of cultural sovereignty manifested in the peyote religion and exercised through the highlighted cultural meanings of Peyotism for the church members, defined by themselves, and through cultural continuity[12], of which Peyotism is one of the means. In general, the importance of consideration of cultural sovereignties, alongside with political, and framing of the Native American Church as an instrument of articulation of the multiple localised (at the level of local chapters) and delocalised (pan-Indian) sovereignties, are the core ideas of this chapter.

Another contribution to the reassessment of sovereignty is Mark Rifkin's (2009) work, which purports to answer the question that the author asks at the very beginning, namely, what the specific meaning of sovereignty is in the context of the United States policy towards indigenous peoples. By "indigenizing Agamben" Rifkin means

[12] Temporality of the Native American Church, including the discourse of cultural continuity, is discussed in Chapter 3.

reconsideration of Giorgio Agamben's *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* (1998) and inclusion of indigenous peoples' position in the discussion of settler-state exceptionalist rhetoric of sovereignty, which has been for the most part left aside in Agamben's work. He makes an important contribution reassessing some of the notions expressed by Agamben in the light of the U.S. Indian policy and supplementing his discussion of the construction of sovereignty and the related biopolitics with a discussion of geopolitical problematic and territoriality, the "analysis of the ways settler-states regulate not only proper kinds of embodiment ("bare life") but also legitimate modes of collectivity and occupancy – what [he calls] *bare habitance*" (Rifkin 2009, 90), which is particularly relevant in the United States context. The U.S. policy makers, he argues, exercise the "overriding sovereignty" by creating a state of exception ("inclusive exclusion"), which peculiarises indigenous peoples thus justifying the specific territorial policy towards them reified in the form of reservations. Of particular relevance is the concept of distinction in the context of sovereignty that Rifkin elaborates on. Here he distinguishes between the People ("those who fit the ideal 'body' and who consequently will be recognized as 'citizens'" [2009, 93]), the people (the rest of the population, those who are still under control of the state but "are excluded from meaningful participation" [2009, 93]), and the peoples (a nation conceptualised as a political subject but, in case of indigenous peoples, given a specific "peculiar" status located somewhere between "domestic" and "foreign" which results in that they "have only a 'possessory right' or 'quasi-sovereign' claims, but the 'ultimate title', the decisions reassuringly indicate, lies with the United States" [2009, 93–94]).

The notions of "domestic dependent nation" and "cultural aggregation" invented in the process of postulating of the settler-state "overriding sovereignty" are relevant for the present study of the Native American Church. The invention of these statuses, going hand in hand with the forced transformation of indigenous territoriality, was the powerful catalyst for spread of the religious reactionist movements, including the Native American Church. Moreover, the reservation policy towards Native people played one of the key roles in the formation of the inter-tribal character of the peyote religion. Peyotism emphasises, above all, the unity of indigenous peoples in the face of settler-colonialism, thereby creating new kind of *sovereignty and identity above the tribal level*, which I define as delocalised sovereignty (see section "Spatiality and (De)Localisation of Sovereignties" in this chapter). Furthermore, the problem of recognition, closely tied to peculiarisation and rendering "otherness" of Native people, including cultural difference, provides another way to discuss the issues of resistance, historical trauma, and remembrance.

Consideration of the politics of recognition is just one side of the discussion of sovereignty. In fact, sovereignty proves to be very nuanced and contextual. For example (and this example is directly related to the discussion of spatiality and (de)localisation in the next section), an alternative view of indigenous sovereignty — the politics of refusal, as opposed (or as a supplement?) to the politics of recognition outlined by Rifkin and Cobb, — is discussed by Audra Simpson (2014). Simpson's case study of the Kahnawà:ke Mohawk reserve in Quebec, close to the Canadian—U.S. border, demonstrates what tensions exist between "being citizen" and "being Mohawk", i.e. between the political and national aspects of identity. The politics of recognition,

essentially a settler-state's possession of the right to define the extent to which tribal sovereignty will be recognised, the power to "allot" sovereignty, is questioned by the Mohawk from Kahnawà:ke as they move across the state border.

One of the important questions Simpson asks is what it means to be unrecognised (2014, 23). To answer this, as she remarks, we must also ask what it means to be recognised. Here, different levels of recognition come into play — not only a political recognition whose importance we can see in the cases of the Mohawk in this book and, for example, the Yuchi tribe of Oklahoma, still unrecognised by the United States, but also cultural recognition and legal recognition, both of which are also critical in these contexts as well as in the context of the peyote religion. Although Simpson's work is mainly focused on the political aspect, it supplements the broader discussions of sovereignty and identity providing an important alternative viewpoint from the position of refusal, at the same time acknowledging recognition as a "vital human need" (2014, 21). This theoretical framework of refusal and recognition and their coexistence in the complex system of multilayered sovereignties and identities allow us to elaborate on the theme of sovereignty/-ies and identity/-ies as these are defined and asserted by the members of the Native American Church today and have been asserted throughout history of the movement.

Spatiality and (De)Localisation of Sovereignties

In the present work, I attempt to theorise a concept of "localisation of sovereignty" and determine its potential to be applied in discussions within indigenous

scholarship on both sovereignty issues and other problems. Most sovereignties (not only political, but cultural, intellectual and others as well), I argue, are localised due to their inherent spatial character, i.e. attachment to a particular place or places. Such places and spaces include the space within nation-state's or other political unit's borders, which is inherent, as I have mentioned earlier, in more classic, politically-oriented discussions of sovereignty. Other, less obvious "mediums" for spatialisation and contextualisation of sovereignties include territory of a reservation or ghetto, heritage places or places carrying certain historic memories, and spaces of diasporic and relocated cultures (including actual habitation as well as the spaces both physical and symbolic, or imaginary, regarded as a "homeland").

Gathering places or "hubs" of those people whose connection to places associated with their identities is weak due to various reasons, yet they try to maintain their identities through creation of such "hubs" (see Ramirez 2007; Carpio 2011) constitute another important means of localisation of sovereignties and identities. Space and the processes of spatialisation (localisation, delocalisation, or relocalisation), in fact, conceptually connect sovereignties and identities.

The theme of place is not new in the studies of sovereignty. The very conception of place as such, however, is not often vocalised explicitly and generally tends to be either implied or downplayed. Before proceeding with the discussion of spatialisation of Native sovereignties in the Native American Church context, let me outline, in brief, some of the relevant literature on Native sovereignties that might help me to ground my argumentation, and reveal what it has to do with space and localisation.

The examples of localised sovereignties are abundant in indigenous studies. Jean Dennison's studies (2012; 2017) of the Osage Nation's sovereignties (mostly political) depict those sovereignties as clearly localised at the "basic" level with the attachment to the Osage lands and the discussion going on around assertion of sovereign control over these territories and importance of organisation of self-determined governments by Indian nations.

Audra Simpson's work (2014; see also 2017) on assertions of political sovereignty by means of refusal among the Mohawk people from reserve near the border between the United States and Canada is another illustration. We see here that sovereignties and identities do not necessarily concur with such powerful political instruments as the nation-state borders, but at the same time the whole problematique of this particular situation and the very notion and discourse of political sovereignty become concentrated precisely around the border.

Jessica Cattelino's study (2008) of the Seminole gambling in Florida is particularly interesting because it demonstrates how tribal sovereignties, although still localised in the tribal lands, become also partly localised in the casinos. Interestingly, acquisition in 2007 of the Hard Rock Cafe chain by the Seminole Tribe of Florida has, essentially, brought out their sovereignty discourse, researched by Cattelino in the local context of gambling, to a transnational level.

Amanda Cobb (2008) dwells upon the National Museum of the American Indian as an exercise of indigenous cultural sovereignty. By the example of the NMAI, Cobb demonstrates how "Native Americans have *again* turned [a museum,] an instrument of colonization and dispossession into something else — in this case, into an instrument of

self-definition and cultural continuance" (2008, 333). The word "again" is highlighted by Cobb not without reason. This museum is but one instance of such a redefinition of the inherently colonial instrument to become a means of preservation of cultural continuity and exercise of indigenous sovereignty, cultural, intellectual, and spiritual (see also Atalay 2008, 277). Cobb writes that "warfare, churches, and government", along with a museum the major forces of colonialism, "through the display of literally hundreds of guns, Bibles, and treaties" are explicitly demonstrated on the exhibit as tools of dispossession. At the same time, the same objects are shown as having been used by Native people "also as instruments of resistance, resilience, and survival" (Cobb 2008, 332–333)[13]. The peyote religion of the Native American Church is a striking example of this kind of process when a colonial tool (Christianity) has been transmuted into a powerful instrument of preservation of indigenous cultural continuity, manifestation of sovereignty, maintenance of local communal identities (see McNally 2000) as well as translocal identities through the creation of a shared (meta)cultural heritage (see Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995; 1998; 2004).

Cobb's discussion of the NMAI provides, in fact, a rather unique case when sovereignty becomes simultaneously *delocalised* (through what can be called an aggregation of multiple local sovereignties and creation of more or less generic image — a process somewhat akin to the formation of pan-Indian or pan-indigenous identities and sovereignties, themselves also inherently delocalised, but fundamentally different due to its artificiality as opposed to the "naturally occurring" cultural processes of the

[13] Not all scholars, however, are as optimistic about the NMAI coping with its task sufficiently as Amanda Cobb (e.g. see Lonetree 2008; DeLugan 2008 in the same volume).

formation of pan-Indianism or pan-indigenism) and *relocalised* (through attachment of the created generic image and the associated implied sovereignties to the particular physical space of the Museum). Mark Rifkin (2009; 2014) discusses how the categories "tribal" or "Indian" populations are, essentially, produced in the context of geopolitical discourse of the United States government, constructing certain kinds of political structure and social organisation that attach particular "populations" to the nation-state borders and define them as subjects within the nation-state's jurisdiction, thereby asserting political sovereignty not necessarily correlating with already existing Native governance, sociopolitical institutions, and sovereignties. It is, in fact, another example of artificial relocalisation of sovereignty and discourse around it, recontextualised and considered in the realm of nation-state geopolitics. In the light of the discussion of localised sovereignties, I think, such geopolitical discourse could be one of the main obstacles for incorporation of the Native American Church as a legal entity within juridical space of the United States due to a delocalised nature of the Native American Church not fitting quite well into settler state's sovereignty projects (indeed, even an internal division of the Church into tribal chapters is, by and large, nominal).

The ethnographic studies of storytelling conducted by Sean O'Neill (2012) among the indigenous communities in northwestern California provide a linguistic anthropological perspective on different levels of identity and linguistic and cultural sovereignty. Through differential practices of storytelling and language, as well as through distinguishing features of woldview and culture, the Native communities of northwestern California create and maintain tenuous local distinctions while continuing "to practice a shared way of life" (2012, 84). Particularly interesting in our discussion of

spatiality of indigenous sovereignties are the strong "localist ideologies" (2012, 73–77), which, as O'Neill concludes, "continue to provide a powerful motivation for accentuating differences between the neighboring groups" (2012, 84). These ideologies of localism are in many ways similar to distinct local tribal identities and sovereignties within the broader delocalised or translocal pan-Indian cultural environment. They are also similar to identities and sovereignties associated with the multiple local chapters of the Native American Church, exercised, in particular, through differences in language and ceremonial structure. At the same time, with both pan-Indianism and Peyotism being inherently intertribal, communities within these contexts share many aspects in their ways of life, akin to the communities discussed by O'Neill. In a sense, pan-Indianism and Peyotism are large-scale illustrations of the multiple localisms coexisting with (or embedded in?) the broader contemporary processes of transnationalisation and cultural convergence.

A discussion of localisation of sovereignties acquires particular importance in the contexts where the struggle for political sovereignty is still ongoing, such as the Yuchi people in Oklahoma that are not recognised as a distinct tribe at the federal level to the present day yet assert their cultural sovereignty, in particular, localising it in the ceremonial stomp dance grounds (see Jackson 2003), and also through practicing Peyotism (Jackson 2004), although its localisation as sovereignty, as I will further discuss, is not that clear-cut. There are of course multiple examples of localisation of sovereignties outside the Native North American cultural context, such as Kurdistan (see Entessar 1989), Chechnya, Palestine, to name but a few most dramatic cases.

Discussing an inherently multifaceted nature of indigenous sovereignty in Native North America, Michelle Raheja asserts that "Native Americans have no single shared culture, event, or series of events, no Middle Passage, necessary to imagine a collective group experience" (Raheja 2007, 1163). In general, this is true. One should not, however, focus on the localised national (tribal) level of sovereignty solely overlooking the delocalised transnational level manifested through the generic pan-Indian culture (of which the Native American Church is an important aspect), which provides the examples of "collective group experience" such as powwow. The discussion of pan-Indianism (or pan-indigenism) and of variety of its manifestations in the context of sovereignty assertion is beyond the scope of the present work, so the emphasis will be put just on the peyote religion.

In the introductory section of this chapter, I mentioned the importance of consideration of indigenous geographies and unique spatial knowledge in the broader discussions of sovereignties and their spatiality, and I want to underline this notion. For example, Keith Basso's ethnographic investigation (1996) on the spatial knowledge and related language among the Western Apache is an excellent illustration of the significance of space in the cultures, worldviews, and identities in Native North America. In the case study of the Western Apache, Basso demonstrates how places and landscapes are seen as the connection to ancestors and the means of speaking with them (1996, 83) and how Native wisdom, which is believed to be contained in the sacred places (what Castaneda would probably have called the "places of power"), is time and again appealed to. For example, Dudley, an Apache horseman, says "Wisdom sits in places. It's like water that never dries up. You need to drink water to stay alive, don't

you? Well, you also need to drink from places" (1996, 127). Basso also explores how the mythological ancestral "trails of wisdom" are ceremonially passed by the descendants and how the sense of place is connected with the individual and group identities. This latter notion I see as particularly important and fitting well into the discussion of spatiality and (de)localisation of sovereignties, because space and spatiality conceptually connect identities and sovereignties.

One more illustration of the importance of place is Patricia Erikson's study (2002) of the Makah Cultural and Research Center in Washington State, where she explains with her Makah contributors how the Makah people's sense of place, reified in their tribal museum and research centre, is woven into their worldview and serves as a tool "for addressing… perception of Native peoples as at the periphery"; by founding this museum, the Makah people challenged and tried to subvert this perception, for the museum's "curatorial voices" arise in their own land rather than in what is commonly accepted as centres of the nation (2002, 7) thus localising their cultural and intellectual sovereignties and asserting them through the space of the tribal museum, similarly to the assertion of Native cultural and intellectual sovereignties (of course of a much wider scope) through the Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian as discussed by Amanda Cobb (2008).

In our discussion of spatiality in the context of sovereignty, Peyotism is somewhat unique. On the one hand, it is clearly the example of what I call delocalised sovereignty due to the overall specificity of the Native American Church not having an actual real-estate church. On the other hand, however, it has in its core the cherished connectedness to place and is thus simultaneously localised. It was best illustrated at the

centennial commemoration in Concho and Calumet both by the implied symbolic and historical significance of the chosen locales as places where the Church was incorporated one hundred years ago and where the bicentennial commemoration is supposed to happen, and by the discourse of place (the spot) inside the tepee, also symbolic, that we can observe in some of the speeches. For example, one of the speakers says:

> As we come to pass these hundred years, I'm reminded of a meeting that my father attended in the sixties. Before he came back into the tepee door to pray in the sixties, he went out to Calumet, north of Calumet, there's a place called Babcock's Place […] and when he stopped by there he didn't realise that the Native American Church was still going on. He'd been gone for 25 years from his home place and he thought [the Native American Church] went away with his dad and with different elders. And so, when he stopped by there, people that were in there […] representatives from the [inaudible] family, and there was representatives from [inaudible] family, and different ones that were still around [in the] […] late 1960s. And the fireman went [to] the roadman and said, "Roland Haag Jr. is outside, he wants to come in". And he said, "Bring him in here". So, they brought my father in. And what my dad told me about this story […], they brought him in, and they talked to him, and they were overwhelmed and overjoyed, they were elated that Mac Haag's son came back to the tepee. They were speechless. They told him, […] "We're really happy you're here […] *You don't know it yet but you have a place in here, you have a seat, it's yours already, but it's up to you to take that seat* […] Some day down the road we're gonna want you *to take that seat that's yours* and take care of us". What they were referring to was that his father was Mack Haag [one of the signees of 1918 articles of incorporation of the Native American Church], and

> the legacy of that name was amongst these forefathers [points to the exhibit]. "The legacy of that name", they were telling him, "It follows you, try your best to carry it, try your best to continue and move forward carrying the legacy of that name". They told him, "*You have a place but you just don't know it yet*". Before I joined the service in 1985 […], my father had the same conversation with me. I didn't understand then, in 1985. He said, "Be careful out there […] because *you have a place in here, in this tepee* […]. One of these days (?) *come back, maybe you can take that seat*". He said, "*You don't know it yet* […] *but you have a seat, you have a place*". And what he was alluding to, again, these names that are on these placards over here [points to the exhibit] […] that continue to carry on, that continue to try their best to carry this way as far as we can take it (Cheyenne & Arapaho Television 2018b, emphases added).

In this excerpt, I italicised the words related to the significance of place. We can see that the theme of place and space is recurring in this speech, and it is both physical and symbolic space. When he talks about the place, the spot in the tepee, he does not refer to the actual tepee but rather to the abstract one; moreover, the word "place" here also has another meaning — an important role of his ancestor in the Native American Church and its incorporation, as well as the legacy, a small but weighty part of cultural heritage that this name carries. Talking about names, the speaker says,

> these names that are on these placards over here […] that continue to carry on, that continue to try their best to carry this way as far as we can take it (Cheyenne & Arapaho Television 2018b),

apparently referring not to the actual people in the past but to the names and their legacy in their continuity between the past, the present, and the future, because their descendants that were present that day at the centennial commemoration still have these names and with this legacy and the "places" that these names bring, they will try to "continue to carry on, […] continue to try their best to carry this way as far as we can take it". According to a representative of the Ponca Native American Church,

> It's good to be here, this is a historic event, and we're glad to be a part of it. Our Ponca people was one of the six signees. My grandpa Louis McDonald and my grandpa Frank Eagle were the signers. And so, when this came about we were anxious to be a part of it and wanted to do our part. So, we have our tepee set up here (Cheyenne & Arapaho Television 2018b).

We can see in this particular excerpt how the idea of an abstract, symbolic place becomes reified as an actual physical place, a tepee which is "saturated" in the process of reification with all the symbolic significance that is present in the historical narrative and in the legacy of names.

It is interesting how the idea of "predetermination" of "place", recurrent in many people's speeches, essentially that of inheritance and reiteration of historical memory, co-exists with the notion of an active creation of historical memory for the future generations by themselves. The overlap between historical memory and heritage from the past and their continuation to the future is thus located precisely in the moment of present when historical narrative is being both perceived (or inherited) and

constructed[14] (see Appendix 1). And that is how the discussions of spatiality in the context of sovereignty and temporality in the context of heritage- and history-making (Chapter 3) become connected.

Another illustration of spatiality of the Native American Church is the centennial committee meeting at Sam Noble Museum in Norman, held several weeks after the event, which I was fortunate to attend. One of the conversations during this meeting that is of particular interest was that between a President of the Native American Church of Oklahoma and a committee member who was responsible for keeping a diary of the commemoration, to document it for future generations. It is interesting for our discussion of spatiality of Native sovereignties, because the President was concerned with the accuracy of mapping of tepees' location during the peyote meeting the night of the commemoration. His concern was, again, due to the symbolic and historical importance of the location for both *past history* and *history that is being actively created here and now*, with the commemoration being a space that connects these two histories.

Finally, one more instrument of localisation and spatialisation of indigenous sovereignties in the context of the peyote religion is the formation in 2017 of the Indigenous Peyote Conservation Initiative, an *indigenous-based* and *indigenous-managed* non-governmental organisation created in order to make and keep peyote more accessible to the members of the Native American Church in the United States,

[14] See an important remark on a concept of time in the discussion of creation of historical narratives in Chapter 3.

Canada, and Mexico. Following is the speech of IPCI Executive Director at the centennial commemoration:

> Indigenous Peyote Conservation Initiative… only just formed in November [2017 and the] bylaws were just approved in June [2018]. […] The land [the "605" Acre Spiritual Homesite] was purchased the end of October [2017] in… south Texas in the peyote gardens. […] [IPCI was created with the goal] to keep the Medicine accessible to indigenous people of the United States, Canada, and Mexico for the next hundred of hundred years, and that's really the core mission and the land itself is the Spiritual Homesite. […] The mission of the Indigenous Peyote Conservation Initiative is empowering indigenous communities to conserve, regenerate, and reconnect to their sacred Peyote Medicine for spiritual use for all the generations to come. And the vision is that IPCI promotes the health, wellbeing, and cultural revitalisation of indigenous communities through reconnection to, sovereign use of, and sustainability of the sacred Peyote and the land on which it grows. IPCI is an indigenous-led, land-based initiative that directly supports the spiritual, ecological, cultural, economic, and sustainability issues related to the sacred plant Medicine, Peyote, and its ceremonial uses. […] The long-term vision, as I understood it from the Board, was really a lot about the youth and reconnection to the land and the life cycle of the plant itself. So, the 605 acres that we purchased, it's really just a hub and it will be held by the organisation for the use and access of all of the Native American Church members of the United States, Canada, and Mexico. And so far, last year we had two open pilgrimage visits, [several meetings, and first steps were made toward forming rancher coop which means that the IPCI tries to establish] relationships with local landowners, with the ranchers to where we can actually do harvesting [of peyote] that's spiritually and ecologically sound, to give direct access to

> Native American Church members from those ranchers, we're working with ranchers that don't want to purchase a peyote at some of the existing peyotero[15] system, they want to have an alternative way. And so, a lot of work that we're doing now is to design that, and also to make access for people to do family pilgrimages and their own harvesting. […] I wanted to share a little bit more about some of the things that we're planning on the land. We're working on our communication and access for how we can share what's happening with all of the Native American Church members. […] (Cheyenne & Arapaho Television 2018b).

Here we can see how cultural sovereignty is being negotiated through its localisation at the "Spiritual Homesite" which serves as kind of a "Native hub" as it was conceptualised by Renya Ramirez (2007) as well as through the developing network facilitated by IPCI's activities.

In her discussion of the community building among indigenous people and its role in identity and indigeneity, Ramirez (2007) uses a concept of "hubs" which are not necessarily "based in space, but include virtual activities such as reading tribal newspapers on the Internet and emailing" (2007, 3). The hub is a sociocultural and political concept with "the potential to strengthen Native identity and provide a sense of belonging, as well as to increase the political power of Native peoples" (2007, 3). It is quite common that the communities are built on the basis of relationships with other indigenous people who share not only appearance and language but also worldviews and "experiences of surviving a colonizing environment" (Carpio 2011, 76). The Native American Church is an example of such a community. Through participation in the

[15] Licenced peyote dealers.

Peyote meeting, Native Americans create a "portable hub" which implies temporariness of gathering sites and conceptualises "hub" as both geographical and virtual concept (Ramirez 2007, 3, 96–97). At the centennial commemoration and at the subsequent centennial committee meeting, however, symbolism and historical importance of place, virtual as well as physical, as one of the central themes, have underlined geographical aspect of this "hub" unequivocally. Localisation of the peyote religion's sovereignty through the creation of "spiritual homesite" as a part of the IPCI's agenda, is another illustration of hub-making and one more way of reimagining Native geographies, physical as well as symbolic spaces, in the broader context of decolonising project.

All that allows us to talk about particular significance of spatiotemporal aspect of the seemingly delocalised sovereignties and identities manifested in the peyote religious movement.

Going back to our discussion of political sovereignty and of an inevitable politicisation of the discourse on sovereignty as such, one can notice that throughout the history of the Native American Church legal organisational structure since 1918, a greater emphasis has been placed on political sovereignty along with cultural sovereignty than it used to be before, although, importantly, spatiality of these sovereignties tended to be generally overlooked due to an inherently intertribal (i.e. delocalised) nature of the Native American Church. As one of the speakers at the commemoration in Concho said,

> if you listen between all of these speakers here, there's a lot of history about this church and what it meant for our tribal *governments* as well (Cheyenne & Arapaho Television 2018b, speaker's emphasis).

Moreover, heritage conceptualised by James Clifford as "self-conscious tradition… performed in old and new public contexts and asserted against historical experiences of loss" responding "to demands that originate both inside and outside indigenous communities, mediating new powers and attachments: relations with the land, among local groups, with the state, and with transnational forces" (Clifford 2013, 215) is connected with indigenous sovereignty that is asserted, among other things, through creation, recreation, and performance of heritage. And heritage, thus entangled in the discourses of land (i.e. spatialised) in a similar way also becomes politicised and entangled within variety of the settler-colonial contexts with different authorities in process of assertion of Native identity politics and gaining the voice on the political scene. Following is an excerpt from a speech of attorney from New Mexico who has been a strong advocate of the Native American Church throughout her career that she delivered at the centennial commemoration:

> On April 18, 1949, the original 1918 charter was amended one final time [after the series of amendments] to reclaim the charter to serve the tribes and the State of Oklahoma [instead of focusing on broader national issues as previous amendments implied]. […] It also affirmatively stated that there would be no other charter that would come under this original 1918 charter. The leadership did not oppose a national body; however, they wanted a state organisation to maintain and protect their autonomy. […] They reclaimed the former name Native American Church [and eventually became known as the Native American Church State of Oklahoma]. However, [in] the original [and current] charter they are named Native American Church. Since 1949, the NAC chapters have run

> their own affairs but have coordinated their broader concerns such as legal protections with the state and national organisation [after the Native American Church as a legal entity split into the Native American Church of Oklahoma and the Native American Church of the United States]. [Let me] give you two examples. In 2001, at the state annual convention, the state membership voted to support a letter by Rollin Haag, Sr. to the United States Drug Enforcement Agency urging them to keep the name Native American Church in their regulations. Another example is the work by Archie Hoffman, position paper that he crafted that's called "Peyote and the NAC" where he outlined recommendations on how to make the language of the [federal] exemptions consistent yet maintain a historic tie to the Native American Church name. In all of these discussions, although they were occurring at a national level dealing with issues that were affecting the Native American community generally, Oklahoma Peyotists made it clear that no other group speaks for them. They are affiliated in spirit and share concerns with other groups but they want their own voice (Cheyenne & Arapaho Television 2018b).

According to a representative of the Navajo (Diné) Native American Church from Utah:

> There's a person in Oregon trying to use the name "Native American Church" using cannabis, marijuana. We're trying to protect the name "Native American Church", so we [the National Council of Native American Churches] come with the resolution to protect the "Native American Church" name (Cheyenne & Arapaho Television 2018b).

This history of the legal issues, confusions, and appropriations, which the Native American Church as an already legal organisation has faced in past and still faces today,

is an illustration of how sovereignty (asserted through the incorporation of the Native American Church at a legislative level by a charter, and through a series of subsequent amendments adopted for the purpose of shifting focus from national-level issues to more local affairs yet coordinating broader concerns with higher-level authorities) and heritage (performed through the name "Native American Church", its zealous protection, and all historic and symbolic meaning that it carries) become politicised and entangled in "process of engagement with other authorities" (Dennison 2017, 685). This entanglement, then, inevitably results in "further entanglements" (Dennison 2017, 685) as a part of ongoing process of negotiating and "making" sovereignty (whether political or cultural), heritage production, and formation of the contemporary politics of Native identity. The ongoing processes of politicisation through spatialisation make this whole discussion of spatiality particularly relevant in the context of entanglement of sovereignties, identities, and heritage.

The cultural sovereignty that can be observed in the Native American Church context is somewhat similar to those more localised sovereignties that we find in particular communities involved in cultural revitalisation and decolonisation practices in the service of community "healing" such as the Yakama (Jacob 2013). But the fundamental difference here is that localised sovereignties such as those of the Yakama are also closely tied to ethnocultural identities that are spatialised as well, whereas the type of sovereignty manifested through the Native American Church, being inherently delocalised, is not associated immediately with identity in its common sense since "Native Americans [today] represent… the complex form of identity that has come to be known as postmodern. Indeed, the tribal and national identities… are, in some cases,

now being supplemented with transnational identities, either pan-Indian or pan-indigenous" (Strong 2012, 32). In other words, multiple localised ethnocultural identities coexist with delocalised transnational or metatribal identities in the diverse sociocultural environment of the peyote religion. Indeed, regardless of the process of transnationalisation, an undoubtedly powerful transforming factor, the "pervasive insistence on local differences" that "is deeply rooted in the human condition" (O'Neill 2012, 84) is still there. This coexistence of localised and delocalised identities creates the complex and multilayered picture of contemporary Native identity politics, which is articulated through manifold entangled sovereignties[16] as well as through the ongoing production, preservation, and performance of heritage (see Chapter 3). Spatialisation, as well as the fact that sovereignties, identities, and the processes of heritage production are inherently politicised, make for conceptual connection between these three important discourses.

The coexistence and interplay of the discourses on spatiality and temporality (particularly in heritage (re)production and history-making, as will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3) in Peyotism, and particularly in the context of the NAC centennial commemoration, are, in fact, the examples of the construction of chronotope in the social imagination (see Bakhtin 1981, 84–258). That also allows us to neatly connect the discussion in this chapter with the next one.

In a sense, the Native American Church can be seen as an imagined community within an imagined community (see Anderson 1991). Although Benedict Anderson's concept of imagined community mostly refers to the nation as a political community

[16] Themselves also localised, delocalised, or sometimes even relocalised.

(1991, 5–6), the phenomenon of transnational or metanational communities, including pan-Indian community with its particular ("postmodern", as Pauline Strong frames them [2012, 32]) transformed identities and sovereignties, fits quite well in this definition. And so does the peyote religion, as a part of pan-Indian movement, too. They are both imagined in that, although the members of both communities "will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them" (Anderson 1991, 6), there is always "the image of… communion" (1991, 6) living in the minds of each community member, be it the community of American Indians or the community of Peyotists — both immanently international. The aspect of the imagined community's limitedness (1991, 7) can also be observed in both cases. Importantly, both communities are constructed as sovereign in a variety of ways, with the inherent complexities of spatiality (localisation, delocalisation, and relocalisation), which I have discussed in this chapter and which also corresponds with Anderson's conception (1991, 7). And this construction of sovereignty, as demonstrated in this chapter, extends beyond the political realm solely, encompassing other forms of indigenous sovereignties in the light of their recent postcolonial reassessments.

Overall, somewhat paradoxically, the peyote religion appears to be the most localised part of the generally delocalised transnational pan-Indian cultural environment and sovereignties. The manifestations of the localised nature of sovereignties exercised by the Native American Church include its emotional attachment to the place of "origin", which was demonstrated at the commemoration[17], as well as the importance attached by members of the church to space, both physical and symbolic, created in the

[17] And even by the very choice of locale by the organisers.

tepee. At the same time, the peyote religion is delocalised as well, because of its intertribal (transnational) identity politics and because even the Native American Church's internal division into local "chapters" is, in practice, nominal. Interestingly, also, there is a clear-cut demarcation in the meanings of particular spaces at the centennial. The commemoration itself is a secular event, whereas during the overnight service, space inside the tepees is constructed as profoundly sacred. Indeed, over the two days of speeches in the public face of the commemoration, not much was said about God whatsoever. I assume, God was more present at the tepees that night. For participants at the centennial commemoration of the Native American Church, I think, it was not about God as much as it was about the power of forefathers' prayers, as well as the power of their own prayers for the generations to come[18]. Indeed, as I will discuss in the next chapter, it was celebration of the future just as much — if not more — as it was celebration of the past.

[18] The dichotomy between sacred and secular spaces created in the context of Peyotism, as well as the processes of transition from one to another, are interesting to elaborate on and to further explore in the future studies.

Chapter 3: Tradition, Heritage, Authenticity

> [In] 2118, you know, they'll have a celebration at that time. They're gonna say, "In 2018, there was a group of people that celebrated one hundred years", and it's gonna be you. How wonderful! So, some of our future generations, they're gonna celebrate and they're gonna say, "Two hundred years now! How wonderful!
>
> Member of the Kiowa NAC
> (Cheyenne & Arapaho Television 2018b)

Introduction to the Heritage Discourse

Particularly interesting in the context of our discussion will be trying to find the ways to build the bridge between the studies of Peyotism and theorisations of heritage because, as I argue here, the Native American Church is an entity designated as a space for manifestation of heritage, and its centennial commemoration is, as such, a heritage project. The works of Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1995; 1998; 2004) are a good starting point here. She writes that heritage is a cultural production in the present that has recourse to the past (1995, 369–370). In this chapter I will try to elaborate on this notion and to expand it in the context of the centennial commemoration as a heritage project.

First of all, it is important to discuss the idea of tangibility in heritage theory. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004) distinguishes between tangible and intangible heritage. Tangible heritage includes monuments, buildings, or sites of historical, archaeological,

ethnological, anthropological, scientific, or aesthetic value (2004, 52). Intangible heritage, which is more of interest for us in the present work, has had, as Kirshenblatt-Gimblett points out, quite a long history of conceptualisation (2004, 53), but overall, intangible heritage as such and its preservation in particular have received little attention in academia in the United States and Canada (Bonn et al. 2016). As defined by the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, intangible cultural heritage is "the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills — as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith — that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage" (UNESCO 2003). Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, however, remarks that more recent concepts of intangible heritage have undergone an important shift (perhaps keeping up with the development of indigenous scholarship and the valorised discussions of Native agency and sovereignty) and now include not only the "objects", but also those who create them (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004, 53). The UNESCO's definition is unfortunately lacking this important notion for it includes the aspect of Native people's agency (at both individual and communal levels) in the context of recognition of particular entities as belonging to their cultural heritage while disregarding their active role in its production, reproduction, and performance. In this sense, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's contribution to the heritage theory cannot be overestimated[19].

[19] Interestingly, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett goes further and includes those who are involved in studying culture and cultural heritage, particularly anthropologists and scholars of folklore, in the process of production of heritage, for they "do not discover, they constitute; and the relation

The division of cultural heritage into tangible and intangible within the federal and international heritage policies such as the UNESCO Convention, however, is somewhat tricky. This division, based upon the distinction between "nature" and "culture", maintained in the juridical language, may come into conflict with communities' lives and actualities in that culture, community values and life styles are often inseparable from natural environments (Hufford 1994, 2). Indeed, as Mary Hufford aptly remarks, "[d]istinguishing between tangible and intangible resources obscure[s] the complex interdependencies of culture and environment, made manifest in toponymy, narrative, ritual, and other stylized behaviors" (1994, 2). The etic approach to the division of cultural heritage and thus to the determination of significance of the elements of culture that are seen as needing to be preserved, as opposed to the emic approach responsive and open to the actual communities' concerns, resulted in subjectiveness of the early heritage preservation projects back in the 1960s and 1970s, distortion of meanings, aesthetisation of certain traditions, and authentication of the past, thus hindering present-day communities from effective partaking in preservation of their own heritage rather than supporting and stimulating it (1994, 1–3). Furthermore, "decolonizing struggles pitting anthropological against native authority have… tended to obscure substantive historical issues" (Clifford 2013, 62). This illustrates the

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of what they constitute to the 'real' is not one of verification. In this sense, folklorists, and anthropologists, may be said to 'invent' culture" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1988, 143, cited in Hufford 1994, 5). This act of invention, implicated in the act of description, is a creative, culturally generative act, and paradoxically it renders the ethnographer a collaborator in the making of heritage (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1988, 143, cited in Hufford 1994, 5), which has some important implications in terms of the "ethnographic authority", an unavoidable concomitant of the process of ethnographic research.

necessity for us, as cultural anthropologists, to problematise the concept of authenticity within heritage and tradition discourse for it to allow for the real human agency of the communities and to find out who is "in charge of" determining what is "authentic" and what even means "to be authentic". These questions, in essence, are a part of a broader discussion of who creates knowledge and meanings. But we should also keep in mind that these "decolonizing struggles" for authority should by no means distract us from important issues of past and present.

Ethnography is capable of being an important part of cultural heritage discourse and of the efforts toward heritage preservation. "[A] disciplined attempt to discover and describe the symbolic resources with which members of a society conceptualize and interpret their experience" (Basso and Selby 1976, 3), ethnography proves to be an effective tool in the culture and heritage conservation practice. In the context of heritage protection, ethnography encompasses an enquiry of how communities construct and reconstruct their heritage, "map it onto their surroundings, and make use of it in their daily lives" (Hufford 1994, 4) — an ultimate goal of the present research, — which "can lead to the discovery of how the federal government might support such efforts, often through creative combinations of cultural theory, legislative tools, and institutional resources" (1994, 4). The ethnographic perspective is also helpful in reconceptualisation of interdependencies and interrelations of environment and culture (1994, 4).

The arenas of action in heritage preservation efforts designated by the legislative measures of the 1960s and 1970s include nature, the built environment ("historic and prehistoric artifacts, buildings, sites, and districts"), and culture/folklife ("living artistic

expressions and traditional communities and processes") (1994, 2). The focus of the present work will be on the latter two aspects, environment and culture/folklife, particularly the historic and contemporary performative practices in the Native American Church (with the centennial commemoration as a core case study) and the special significant meanings certain places have become imbued with throughout the history of the Native American Church as an important part of heritage.

The commemoration event, as I argue in this work, is, in fact, a heritage project. Cultural heritage, which is produced and reproduced in the context of the commemoration and, broader, in the Native American Church context, has an undoubted "recourse to the past", as Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett puts it. But the recurring theme of continuity at the centennial commemoration, explicit in the participants' speeches, allows to look at Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's theory from a different angle — from that of the future. This chapter is thus meant to be, in a manner, a dialogue with Kirshenblatt-Gimblett in an attempt to supplement and broaden her theory of heritage. This is achieved by virtue of expansion of its time scale through inclusion of the future as it is addressed in the process of heritage production and performance in the present with recourse to the past, in a continuum. Interestingly, in the process of heritage (re)production, history also finds itself reassessed, ceasing to be related to the past solely and turning out to be constructed for the future as well, as a historical narrative, again, connecting the past and the future through the present moment, when the narrative is produced. But first of all, it is important to discuss the problematic concepts of "authenticity", "indigeneity", and "(invented) tradition".

On "Authenticity", "Indigeneity", and Their Validity

As we can observe in some of Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's works on the concept of heritage, there has been a strong connection, if not an overlap, between heritage and folklore studies, especially since "re-invention" of folkloristics and of the term "folklore" itself occurred. In particular, the problematisation of tradition is one of the crucial points here because tradition is understood as both folklore studies subject and manifestation of heritage (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995, 369) also closely related to the notions of authenticity, themselves problematic as well (see Bendix 1997).

Dell Hymes' studies of folklore, verbal art, and performance, tracing their pedigree back to the Boasian tradition of American anthropology with its cultural relativism and salvage ethnography, focus on restoration and recapturing "of the original cultural heritage" (Hymes 1975, 357), a supposedly "authentic" aspect of Native people's ethnocultural identities — an overall characteristic feature of the twentieth-century Americanist anthropology that "has always been aware of its latent role in securing a place for those cultural Others who were threatened with the loss of their culture, religion, identity, and even their lives as Western economic and cultural expansion proceeded" (Bendix 1997, 200). Hymes saw the folklore studies, or "applied folklore", as an instrument in an effort "to keep [Native people's] accomplishments alive as part of our country's wealth" (1974, 54; 1975, 355) which in fact means preservation of "tradition" (I have put the quotation marks deliberately, because the very concept of tradition, as I discuss below, is problematic) in the context of knowledge and performance, although not merely antiquarian but rather allowing for

adaptability, continuity, and processual approach[20]. Nevertheless, as anthropologists (especially *non*-Native anthropologists), we ought to be careful with such vague concepts as "tradition" and especially "authenticity" and "indigeneity" as well as with the concomitant rhetoric. As James Clifford remarks, there is unlikely a basic list of essential "indigenous" characteristics (Clifford 2013, 54); similarly, we can hardly make up such a list of "authentic" and "traditional" features.

In more classic sense of word, the concept of "tradition" itself aroused justified suspicion in contemporary critical anthropology. When life styles and values observed in contemporary indigenous communities are compared and — of course — contrasted with the supposed sociocultural models that are believed to have existed before contact with outside influences (typically — the colonisers), the latter idealised "pristine" Native cultures tend to be regarded as authentic as opposed to modern cultures that are considered distorted and spoilt and "are sometimes represented as having lost their heritage, or as trying to hold onto a heritage and a past that is threatened by involvements with non-Native society" (Nevins and Nevins 2009, 14–15). It is, at least in part, a result of the Euro-American culture's influence both on Native cultures and on indigenous anthropologies, including "definitions of 'Indian culture' as what is 'traditional' or differential, doctrines of incompatibility between white and Indian forms, ideas of the 'death' and 'revival' of Indian cultures, ideologies of Indians as bicultural, and, most recently, theories of cultural purity and contamination" (Brightman

[20] See also Bendix's (1997, 68–94) discussion of the quest for authenticity at the dawn of American folkloristics.

2006, 367–368). Most of these ideologies have only relatively recently started to be reassessed by both Euro-American and Native scholars.

Such a treatment of "authentic", unfortunately abundant within the discourses of tradition and heritage, grounding authenticity of Native cultures in the seeming continuity with a hypothesised "undisturbed" and "pure" past and interpreting their involvement with the colonisers' society as the loss of authenticity and heritage, disempowers indigenous communities (Nevins and Nevins 2009, 15). This perspective also lacks for acknowledgement of human agency that undoubtedly existed in these communities and was exercised not only as a reaction to the exogenous stimuli of contact and colonisation but also throughout their history long before any contacts with non-Native societies took place[21]. This rhetoric of authenticity also implies the idea of "cultural death", one of the central discussions in cultural assimilation theories (see Brightman 2006, 376–380).

As I have mentioned, this approach is rather common in literature, particularly in the variety of post-colonial studies, tracing their roots back to Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978), which invited much criticism in academia[22], up until more modern

[21] See also Clifford (2013, 54) for the discussion of how understanding of contemporary Native identity politics and articulation of indigeneity is obscured and distorted by both overly historical and overly modernist assumptions about authenticity and the mechanisms of articulation of "Nativeness".

[22] Although it was nonetheless a positive turn from older practices of ethnographic cross-cultural representation towards an acknowledgement of necessity of developing new methodologies and addressing the problematic nature of ethnographic authority in the context of portraying "others" while realising that "ethnographic writing cannot entirely escape the reductionist use of dichotomies and essences" (Clifford 1988, 23).

(or I should say post-modern) discussions such as the studies of revitalisation movements (Harkin 2004a) taking past mistakes into account yet still not allotting enough space for Native agency. In this work I will try to eschew such an approach. I will problematise the concepts of tradition, heritage, and authenticity in the light of contemporary Native realities. My discussion attempts to allow for continuity with past, the changes that took place as a result of exogenous colonial influence, and those changes that indigenous people themselves stimulated as either resistance or adaptation (or sometimes both). To do so, I will utilise a more complex picture of history, avoiding the simple division of historical continuum into pre-contact past and post-contact "present", giving more consideration to complexity and processuality of time period from contact to present-day situation.

Understanding of contemporary Native identity politics and articulation of indigeneity is blurred by the overly historical and primordialist assumptions that "Nativeness" is only "authentic" when it is explicitly rooted in "traditional" spirituality, ancestral ways, and similar attachments (Clifford 2013, 54). What is more, these notions of authenticity often result in misinterpretation of the kernel of the whole project of decolonisation, implying that decolonisation means a necessity for Native peoples to refuse everything that does not pertain to the assumptions of "Nativeness" so as to be "properly authentic" (Smith 2014, 224). As Shaylih Muehlmann remarks, "[a] set of authenticating measures determining who is and is not indigenous endures, despite indigenous groups' constant resignifying of indigenousness" (Muehlmann 2008, 40). Equally confusing are the notions of invention of tradition, heritage, and ethnicity as a part of postmodern indigenous cultural politics implemented in the environment of

"late-capitalist, commodified multiculturalism". Both explanations, although partially true, are simplistic, the former missing modern forms of Native cultural politics whereas the latter disregarding important histories of Native opposition "and transformative links with roots prior to and outside the world system" (Clifford 2013, 54). And that raises some questions. At what point in time (and, probably, space) do the "authentic" and "canon" cease to be perceived as such? Is the transformation of the cultural phenomena from the so-called authenticity to the so-called inauthenticity abrupt, occurring at the moment of cross-cultural contact and acquisition of exogenous "cultural traits", or is it a gradual process with "authentic" and "inauthentic" being two extremes of a continuum? Is it even legitimate, after all, to pose a question of authenticity and inauthenticity in the indigenous contexts without having taken indigenous perceptions, interpretations, and acknowledgement of validity of authenticity discourses with regard to their cultures into account?

On "(Invented) Tradition" and "Traditionalism"

One of the concepts I want to dwell upon here is the one introduced by Kimberly Marshall (2015; 2016) in her study of Navajo neo-Pentecostal (*Oodlání*) movement — "resonant rupture", which she defines as "[t]he tension between continuity and rupture, inherent in globalizing religions" (2016, 3). Navajo neo-Pentecostals, as Marshall demonstrates, decided to turn away from traditional Navajo beliefs but in a very interesting way. Rather than discarding traditional cosmology, Oodlání believe in its power. It is clearly illustrated in the analysis of skinwalker story

(2016, 1–6). Skinwalkers, frightening impious apparitions, are a part of Navajo traditional cosmology and, like witches and the power of medicine bundles, they are still believed in. Marshall's informant says that she was attacked by a skinwalker, and "[g]iven the rupture that… ha[s been] established [by neo-Pentecostals] with Navajo traditionalism, …skinwalker tale may seem like a paradox" (2016, 2). Indeed, the persistence of such beliefs could be regarded as an evidence of continuity with traditional Navajo culture underlying the essentially syncretic and "soft" conversions. At the same time, however, neo-Pentecostal Navajos also believe skinwalkers and witches get their power from Devil, which is an alien entity, foreign to a traditional cosmology. And overall, despite some strategically deployed and affectively familiar elements of traditional Navajo culture, constituting a kind of cultural continuity, Oodlání religion is based primarily on rupture rather than continuity (2016, 3). This tension is what Marshall conceptualises as a resonant rupture.

The kind of Native Christianity practiced in the Native American Church can also be considered in the context of resonant echoes. In Peyotism, there is no rupture as clearly articulated as in Oodlání neo-Pentecostalism, where there is an overt "opposition to traditional spirituality" (2016, 5). For Oodlání, traditional ways are regarded "as flirtation with dangerous and inherently negative powers" and thus "Oodlání refuse to participate in the healing ceremonials of their relatives" (2016, 2). But Native Christianity as such, in retrospective, can be considered a cultural rupture to a certain extent, given the historical status of Christianity as closely connected with the outsiders' efforts to undermine indigenous sovereignty and to induce assimilation (2016, 42). At the same time, however, it is important to keep in mind the "all roads are good"

ideology (in the next paragraph), widespread in Indian Country, and the "reframing" of Christianity by Native people themselves, who wove it readily and in different ways into their lifestyles and worldviews and even made of it "a resource in the effort of communal survival, linguistic preservation, and cultural continuity" (McNally 2000, 835). Peyotism is a complex matter in this discussion, as is, essentially, any other form of Native American Christianity. While seemingly illustrating a "rupture", simply because of the Christian part, the peyote religion, in practice, is an illustration of those efforts of continuity and building a healthy community, that McNally mentions, by virtue of "remaking" Christianity. This was demonstrated explicitly at the centennial commemoration in the participants' speeches such as that in an epigraph at the beginning of this chapter.

As opposed to Oodlání neo-Pentecostalism, the peyote religion is not monoethnic; furthermore, some Peyotists are also involved in practicing other faiths such as Methodism, which I have observed during my fieldwork in Norman First American United Methodist Church. In general, this reflects quite a common practice, an aforementioned ecumenical "all roads are good" approach that historically has been observed in many Native American communities, where "[i]n [some] instances… Indians actively and simultaneously practiced two cross-cultural religions" (Rollings 2002, 130). This view has in its core the idea of shared epistemological basis of all beliefs and religious philosophies, all "rooted in the experiences of worthy elders and ancestors" and deriving "ultimately from the power of the Creator" (Jackson 2004, 192). I was able to observe it, in particular, during my year-and-a-half fieldwork in Norman First American Methodist Church, where some of the members are also active

Peyotists, and in my conversation with Annette Arkeketa, one of the organisers of the centennial commemoration in Concho, who also practices the peyote religion while also attending a Methodist Church (Arkeketa 2019).

Alongside with Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's theory of produced heritage, in this work I want to elaborate on the concept of "invented tradition", or the invention of culture, first introduced and formulated by Eric Hobsbawm in the volume co-edited with Terence Ranger (Hobsbawm 1983), acknowledging, of course, its inherently problematic character, which will be discussed thoroughly below. According to Hobsbawm, "'[t]raditions' which appear or claim to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented" (1983, 1). In case of the peyote religion of the Native American Church, it is regarded by many people (including Native Americans themselves) as a traditional Indian faith. However, in its contemporary form it is a relatively recent movement that only emerged in North America and first developed into a separate religion in the mid-19th century[23], and the official institution of the Native American Church encompassing Peyotists is even younger — just one hundred years old. Here a parallel can be drawn between Peyotism and the Longhouse religion, which was introduced by a Seneca warrior and chief Handsome Lake in the early 1800s, had undergone a rather quick — no more than two centuries — metamorphosis from

[23] Although, of course, as mentioned above, its roots can be traced back to pre-Columbian times when peyote was used in Mexico and Central America, probably ten thousand years ago (Stewart 1987, 17, 30). A history of precursors of North American Peyotism, however, as discussed in Chapter 1, has been widely covered in the literature — one will hardly find a book or an article on peyote religion that would not touch upon its early history — and, generally speaking, is irrelevant to this work and beyond its scope.

"new religion" to the "Old Way" (Wallace 1970), and overall has many similarities to the peyote religion in terms of sociocultural circumstances and mechanisms of formation.

So, in the framework of Hobsbawn's "invention of tradition", it was within a short time period of the lifespans of just several generations that the peyote religion, a then-new phenomenon, had been "invented" and ingrained as a tradition and formed a substratum for "production" of new kind of metacultural or metatribal heritage, at the same time preserving local tribal (communal) identities. Indeed, as Robert Brightman points out in the broader context of Native American culture theory, "[c]ommonly, if not invariably, customs that figured as identity signs were locally conceived as traditions" (Brightman 2006, 358). One reason for that, as is for invented traditions as such, is that there is always an "attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past" (Hobsbawm 1983, 1) which "need not be lengthy, stretching back into the assumed mists of time" (1983, 2) because the very idea of "tradition" in works of earlier anthropologists refers to cultural forms based on "real or *imputed* antiquity, on continuity with what one's ancestors are supposed to have been continuously doing for a long time, if not from mythological time immemorial" (Brightman 2006, 358, emphasis added), which asserts the value of tradition thus defining culture as a "valorized tradition" (2006, 358–359).

The theory of invented tradition or invented culture is, however, problematic in many ways, particularly because of its direct relation to the concept of authenticity, and thus has to be examined critically. One of the central concerns here, as Jocelyn Linnekin points out, "is that writing about the contemporary construction or 'invention' of culture

undercuts the cultural authority of indigenous peoples by calling into question their authenticity" (Linnekin 1991, 446). Authenticity here is regarded as an inherited (transmitted through time) "tradition" with the latter fallaciously defined as a given, bounded set of beliefs and practices (see Handler and Linnekin's [1984] discussion of inadequacy of this notion). Regardless of the scholarly attempts of reassessment of "authenticity", perception and interpretation of "cultural invention" by the public beyond the reach of anthropological discussions, is ethically and politically problematic. The cultural invention thesis, as it is represented in media, is generally "anti-Native" and runs counter to the indigenous understandings of "tradition" and "authenticity", shaping the public interpretations of "invention" as equal to "making up" and therefore spurious (Linnekin 1991, 447). It becomes a serious sentimental and political problem for indigenous peoples, especially for those who are involved in fights for sovereignty (1991, 446). Indeed, the concept of authenticity (and the related idea of cultural invention) is complicated and needs to be analysed and tested against particular indigenous cultural interpretations and representations.

The root cause of a problem, again, is, at least partly, Westernness of the idea of "authentic tradition," which, having been constructed based on the modern realities of the Western world (see Handler 1986), cannot and should not be extrapolated immediately and carelessly to the indigenous contexts. Instead, as Linnekin suggests, one should, at the least, consider the political implications of their discussion when it touches upon the discourse of invention of culture or tradition (1991, 448), which I try to do in the present work.

Questioning "authenticity" or "validity" of contemporary cultures is, thus, politically and ethically charged. On the one hand, the easiest way is to assume that all (or an overwhelming majority) today's indigenous cultures and traditions are "invented" in that they all, to a greater or lesser extent, underwent changes as a result of cultural contact with colonialists. Peyotism fits into this model quite well for it is a relatively recent phenomenon with clearly determinable "authentic" (based upon the earlier pre-Columbian practices) and "inauthentic" (Christian) substrata. But on the other hand, Peyotists themselves (as well as the members of any other community) will hardly cast doubt upon their "authenticity" because "tradition" and "culture" are processual and ever-changing entities. Consequently, tradition (as well as heritage, as I will discuss further in this chapter) is not a matter of the past solely, but it is also in the present, connected indissolubly with the praxis of translation and performance. (Re)production and symbolic constitution of tradition, after all, are the processes inherent in all social life, no matter in "Western" or "indigenous" contexts. So, on the other hand, it is equally easy to assume that there are *no* inauthentic indigenous traditions, because *all* tradition is symbolically constructed and reconstructed.

It is important to understand that tradition is actively constructed and reconstructed in the present, but always refers to the past, and so interpretation of the past becomes one of the important processes in (re)construction of tradition. As Handler and Linnekin point out, as "a model of the past", tradition is "inseparable from [its] interpretation… in the present" (Handler and Linnekin 1984, 276). Rather than being passively inherited, tradition, in the process of its construction, is always responsive to contemporary concerns, problems, and objectives (Linnekin 1991, 447). In the context

of the Native American Church and its centennial commemoration, and in the light of critique of the invented tradition thesis, I argue here that "tradition" of Peyotism is not invented. Rather, it is re-articulated, and it is a continuous process. This discussion shares much common ground with that of heritage, its (re)production, and the construction of historical narrative in this context, which will be discussed in detail further in this chapter.

What I find particularly appealing in Hobsbawm's conception of "invented tradition" is "suitable historic past", which provides a basis for "invention" — or rather, as we concluded earlier, re-articulation — of tradition[24]. The notion of "suitable historic past" can be applied, to a certain extent, to the historical circumstances that led to the formation and spread of Peyotism, i.e. the earlier religions preceding Peyotism such as the mescal bean cult and Mexican peyote religions as well as the shared histories of colonial oppression resulting in the realised necessity of unity in the face of dramatic changes[25], thus being a catalyst for emergence of the pan-Indian movement with the peyote religion as one of its key aspects (yet not overwhelming and determining). But I will argue that in case of the peyote religion, one of the most interesting (and problematic) parts of a "suitable historic past" is Christianity peculiarly rendered and sometimes embedded in indigenous worldviews as something that *has always been*

[24] And somewhat parallels, after having been reassessed, both Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's idea of heritage as a (meta)cultural production in the present with recourse to the past (1995, 369–370) and the concept of tradition as "something that lends meaning to the present by identifying aspects of it with its past", as it was defined by Nevins and Nevins (2009, 14).

[25] See Myla Carpio's work (2011) on how the shared experiences of surviving colonial oppression serve as one of the ways of community formation, particularly among urban Native Americans.

there (see Nevins and Nevins 2009), with Jesus Christ having visited Native Americans just as he visited the white people except that the former do not have his blood on their hands[26]. This may be a result of the process when tradition in the process of its re-articulation becomes inserted into *re-articulated history*[27].

Let us proceed now to the discussion of Christianity as something that "has always been around" in Native North America and thus served as a substratum for production of such kinds of indigenous heritage as the peyote religion and other Native Christian movements as well as the various traditionalist discourses. For example, Thomas Nevins and M. Eleanor Nevins (2009) in their discussion of contemporary Western Apache discourses around religious traditionalism in the context of heritage theory try to reveal how these discourses make the ideas of heritage more complicated. Competing religious affiliations and identities that can be observed on the reservation beget "conflicting claims about the past" (2009, 12), i.e. conflicting articulations of heritage. As I have discussed earlier in the present essay, heritage is politicised by its embeddedness in broader sociopolitical milieu. In the Apache case "members of the Apache community pose the relationship of the past and present of their society in different ways, articulated in the service of competing political and social identities" (2009, 13). In this thesis, I frame this complex relationship between the past and the present as the overlap between historical memory and heritage from the past and their

[26] This hermeneutics, however, is not widespread and generally accepted in Indian Country. But this discussion is a good exercise in contextualization of "invented tradition" argument.

[27] To an extent that we may talk about historicity of Christianity given that the historical existence of Christ, although is now agreed upon almost unanimously, is still vague in terms of reliability of the four New Testament Gospels as historic documents (see Powell 1998).

continuation to the future that is found in the moment of present when historical narrative is being both perceived (or inherited) and constructed, and when heritage is being contextualised, performed, and reproduced[28].

Indeed, heritage is what Ann Fienup-Riordan calls "conscious culture" (2000, 167), or "self-conscious tradition… performed in old and new public contexts and asserted against historical experiences of loss. It responds to demands that originate both inside and outside indigenous communities, mediating new powers and attachments: relations with the land, among local groups, with the state, and with transnational forces" (Clifford 2013, 215). Clifford's conceptualisation of heritage, as I have discussed in Chapter 2, implicitly connects it with the notions of indigenous sovereignty that, essentially, is asserted, among other things, through creation, recreation, and performance of heritage. And as sovereignty, in the variety of the settler-colonial contexts (not only in America) heritage is also inevitably politicised and entangled with different authorities (particularly, through the processes of spatialisation) as a part of the process of assertion of Native identity politics and gaining the voice on the political scene.

On Production of Heritage and Construction of Historical Narratives

Conceptualisation of history as an active construction of historical narratives for the future co-existing with historic memories and the related narratives of the past is

[28] See section "Spatiality and (De)Localisation of Sovereignties" in Chapter 2 and "On Production of Heritage and Construction of Historical Narratives" further in this chapter.

particularly important for the present work because of the strong connection, on conceptual and semantic levels, between history and heritage.

As Jason Jackson writes, "workers in historical and archaeological research must not forsake the possibility that the cultural knowledge of contemporary peoples might inform inquiries into the past, particularly when some cultural-historical continuity between modern and historic peoples can be demonstrated" (Jackson 2014, 125). This is true, because, as pointed out by Michel-Rolph Trouillot, "the past does not exist independently from the present. Indeed, the past is only past because there is a present" (Trouillot 1995, 15) and as we know — particularly from archaeology and history, — historical narratives and construction of historical memory can be shaped not only by events in the past but also by understandings and perceptions of the world that exist in the present (De Lucia 2018, 754). Ethnographers and ethnographic narratives created by them also fit well in this notion.

But in this work, I argue that the schemes of heritage and history where present informs the past, although undoubtedly important, prove to be insufficient when contextualised. In certain contexts, for the sake of completeness of theory, it also has to be considered how the *future* is informed by both the past and the present. This is the core idea of this section.

Through the events such as the Native American Church centennial commemoration and the discourses, both explicit and implicit, at these events, a cultural-historical continuity can be traced between contemporary people and people and events in the past, and more than that, with future generations as well. Most regular peyote meetings conducted every weekend all across the country most probably do not

touch upon such themes as future in the context of heritage production and active creation of historical narrative for future generations. The commemoration in Concho, however, allows to unravel an implicit discourse on temporality in the whole movement (Chudak 2018a). With the conceptualisation of history used in the present work, the line of cultural-historical continuity can be expanded and seen in both directions on the imagined time arrow from the point of "now" to realise that history and memory making create and shape understandings of the past that "ultimately serve to meet the needs of the present" (De Lucia 2018, 761; Trouillot 1995), but they also produce the historical narratives of the present moment that will be past for the future generations. The same transformation can be applied to the notion of heritage as a cultural production (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995, 369–370) because production, reproduction, and performance of heritage, as I argue in this work, are essentially part and parcel of the concept of history when we add construction of historic narratives in the present to the knowledge and narratives of the past. We will return to this discussion later.

An active construction of history and historical narrative in the context of the centennial commemoration is illustrated by the belief articulated by many speakers in that the Church will endure and survive for another hundred years and even more. As we can see from the speech of the Comanche Native American Church President at the commemoration in Concho, a wonderful and touching illustration of the "peyote people's" firm belief in their faith's endurance and in power of prayers that had been said by their ancestors and that they themselves were going to say that night, the Church will live for another thousand (!) years, and furthermore, in a thousand years their descendants will remember that day of the centennial commemoration:

> And so, hopefully, in 3018, something like this will happen again, and they'll be able to look back at this day and see what was said and see what was done. And they'll be able to say, "That's my family, that's my folks" (Cheyenne & Arapaho Television 2018b).

Another speaker, a representative of the Kiowa Native American Church, also talked about future and about power of prayers:

> [W]e pray that the generation to come, just like I've got a little grandson here, [name in Kiowa], White Buffalo, he's gonna carry on for us in two… two… we don't know how far down the road. But I know we have to give our young ones, teach 'em, tell 'em about it, pray for them that this church will go on further. [In] 2118, you know, they'll have a celebration at that time. They're gonna say, "In 2018, there was a group of people that celebrated one hundred years", and it's gonna be you. How wonderful! So, some of our future generations, they're gonna celebrate and they're gonna say, "Two hundred years now! How wonderful! (Cheyenne & Arapaho Television 2018b).

A President of the Native American Church of Oklahoma also believes in that. He is certain that the Native American Church will still be alive in one hundred years, that the future generations will pick up and carry on this tradition and way of worship and will remember that day and people that were present there:

> I will continue my best to try to give this to my children as they come up behind me, I too am gonna try my best to pray for the grandkids that aren't here yet that maybe they come up behind us and maybe they'll

> carry it, and then at the 200 year celebration, the bicentennial that's gonna come up, maybe they'll mention us that we talked about them, maybe they'll mention us (Cheyenne & Arapaho Television 2018b).

A representative of the Apache Native American Church said:

> It's good to see a lot of elders here, from different tribes… [and young people that will carry on], that's what we try to do, to carry this on the best way we can, [pass it on] to our younger ones. I like to see these young ones here too (Cheyenne & Arapaho Television 2018b).

According to a representative of the Cheyenne Chapter #1,

> For the next hundred years, we need to follow what our ancestors set down here [in the charter], we need to put all our differences to one side and we need to get along for the next hundred years (Cheyenne & Arapaho Television 2018b).

Similarly, my interviewee, Annette Arkeketa from the Otoe-Missouria Native American Church, when I asked her whether there would be a bicentennial in 2118, answered:

> I'm pretty sure that there will be [laughs]. It's our responsibility to make sure our kids, you know, like I said, you have to continue taking your children to Church, you're supposed to bring them up that way, worship God, no matter what denomination, for everybody. But for this particular

church, I see it still continuing cause I see our younger people getting involved (Arkeketa 2019).

Earlier, when I asked Annette about the future of the church as she envisions it today, she said,

> As long as we're still… making sure that we have our ceremonies… Like, for instance, a lot of Church chapters sponsor the meeting during the holidays, the Christian religious holidays, like Christmas, Easter, and also for New Years… I know that traditionally the Church chapters would do that. And what I see, as long as they carry on, consistently having at least that many, and of course there's a lot of families that'll have meetings for different situations… I see it continuing. I also attend another church, the United Methodist Church of Apache, and… what I see, as long as families stay consistent with continuing our religious practices, no matter what denomination, we're gonna continue. And our love for our Lord, that's the main thing, making sure that we're bringing our children up with the teachings of what God wants us to know. And those teachings were before us, then we were introduced to Jesus Christ, which we embraced wholeheartedly because we understand that he is the son of God. And I see it continuing. I did read one time… in that Omer Stewart['s] book[29], he recognised that we don't go out and try to recruit people. And you've probably seen that because… the main membership is still those families that started out one hundred years ago. So, that is something that I continue to see, and I can see it going on because I can see that families still carrying on with the Church ceremonies (Arkeketa 2019).

[29] (Stewart 1987)

Alongside with Annette's optimistic words and firm belief in continuance of the church, we can also see the "all roads are good" approach (see Jackson 2004, 191–192), implying that it does not matter what denomination one associates oneself with in addition to practicing the peyote religion (which is quite common among the active Peyotists), for as long as the tradition is carried on and passed on to the younger generations, it will continue. Here, the importance of family and community ties in the process of reproduction of tradition and heritage is self-evident.

Overall, as demonstrated in the present work, the theme of time, both past and future, is a recurring one. Similarly, the idea of "moving forward" and carrying on the tradition is also recurring. Following are the excerpts from one of the speaker's oration:

> The committee first met in 2016, but before that, there were a couple of people talking by smoke signals, modern day telephones, pow-wow times, face-to-face… some time in mid-summer of 2015. And so, with the general opinion going forward, 2016 the committee organised as separate, separate from the Oklahoma Native American Church. They gave blessings and "go do it, if that's how you're going to do it". So, our committee moved forward, and with that we say thank you from behalf of the about 12 to 15 members [of the committee]. […] There was a need to have somebody pick up the [inaudible] and move forward with it. […] We want to move forward with this little meeting here […] (Cheyenne & Arapaho Television 2018a).

As we can see, the idea of moving forward is recurrent in this speech. Although it had been said in different contexts, it might be a signifier of one of the central discourses of the whole event — moving forward for the church and its members,

passing the traditions on to the next generations so that they can celebrate the bicentennial and beyond. Here is the enthusiastic comment on a video recording of the centennial commemoration:

> That was an outstanding way to move forward with our church. I save this for the next generation to come. Ahoo!! (October 9, 2018, comment on Cheyenne & Arapaho Television 2018b).

Another example is a combination of verbal and nonverbal: a gesture of pointing up and forward that one of the speakers used expressively and repeatedly while also talking about the future of the church:

> All these rains that we had the last week… I was telling my daughter and my son that in my mind, I was thinking of it, that with our anniversary coming up tomorrow, it just looks on the outside to me that our gracious God is cleaning everything up for us. Everything that's been going on these last one hundred years, he's making it all clean, so tomorrow when [we have] our one hundred anniversary, we're gonna have a fresh start. It's gonna be sunny, it's gonna be beautiful. And He's gonna make it good for us to begin our next one hundred years (Cheyenne & Arapaho Television 2018b).

Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett writes that heritage is a "cultural production in the present that has recourse to the past" (1995, 369–370). Mary Hufford shares this idea, pointing out that "heritage is not a given in the world; rather, we, together with our "constituents", share in the act of *making* it" (Hufford 1994, 5, emphasis added).

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's definition, however, as mentioned above, can be expanded in its temporal aspect to the future as well when we conceptualise heritage in the context of the Native American Church and similar movements with strong emphasis on continuity. I underscore this last notion of continuity for it is particularly important because if we look at such heritage projects as Colonial Williamsburg (see Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, 173, 177) and Plimoth Plantation (1998, 189–200), we see an explicit representation and reiteration of historical narrative of the past through these projects *without* implication of creation of historical memories in anticipation of and with reference to the future but merely with the idea of saving a "frozen" perpetual moment. Similarly, discourse around heritage in archaeological heritage management is (by definition) focused on preservation of heritage and historic memory rather than their (re)production (see Chilton 2018)[30]. In contrast to these projects, the Native American Church centennial commemoration, being itself a heritage project as well, with its focus on cultural and generational continuity[31], as illustrated by the speeches cited above, makes it possible for us to extend the very idea of heritage and its (re)production beyond the present and the past to also include the future. Undoubtedly, this case study allows us to contextualise remembrance and heritage as creative processes in the present with recourse to the past, which corresponds with Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's theorisation

[30] There is a trend, however, towards exploration of the future in the context of how perceptions of the future can inform heritage management practices in the present and the role of heritage professionals in "creating the future" (Högberg et al. 2017; Chilton 2018).

[31] In a similar way, for example, The Black Leggings Battle Tipi (Jordan and Swan 2011) is in fact a heritage project based on the ideas of remembrance and moving forward (i.e., to the future) through passing the knowledge and memory on to the younger generations.

of heritage[32]. But at the same time, as I add to her definition, heritage is created with eyes fastened on the future. Furthermore, the nature of this process is cyclical because it is not improbable (and sometimes very likely) that the moment in the past, to which cultural production of heritage in the present has recourse, did carry the same anticipation of the future and the idea of continuance[33] (see Appendix 2). According to the speakers at the centennial commemoration,

> In a short time the Native American Church has existed, this way of life that our fathers and grandfathers and great-grandfathers picked up. And they had the kind-heartedness and awareness to know that this way of worship was going to benefit not themselves but all the ones that were

[32] Also, as we may conclude from the discussion of spatiality in the context of the centennial commemoration in Chapter 2 of the present work, the very place where commemoration took place was in a manner "created" as a symbolic space, thus becoming part and parcel of a big heritage project and corresponding with UNESCO's (2003) definition of intangible heritage while also allowing for Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's important remark about creators of heritage as its integral part (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004, 53).

[33] It is also important to keep in mind, with regard to cyclicity of the processes described here and depicted in both schemes in Appendix, that my representation of these processes as linear (concentrated around the single *t* axis) is constrained and has certain stipulations when the model is applied in the Native North American context. The concern here is that Native American time consciousness is being reified (and thus misused) utilising an oversimplified Western conception of linear time. Instead, the more recent re-evaluations of the ideas (themselves partial and simplistic as well) of time articulated by some of the Native American intellectuals (see, e.g., Deloria 1973; Fixico 2003) should be considered in application (and visualisation, if it is at all possible) of models that I propose. I could not, unfortunately, visualise my ideas allowing for more sophisticated indigenous understandings of time. But these models are by no means final and exhaustive, and I will appreciate any possible contributions and improvements.

> going to come behind them. *This moment here today, this one hundred years was already talked about hundred years ago* (Cheyenne & Arapaho Television 2018b, emphasis added).
>
> I was asked a question a little earlier, "How do you think that this way has came this far?" My only response is that those prayers that our ancestors, our forefathers laid down for us in that tepee, that's what brought us this far. It's not up to us to stop something or make it go. That decision has already been made for us as a Native American Church members (Cheyenne & Arapaho Television 2018b).
>
> Your forefathers, they already laid that road for you. […] Those forefathers, they talked about those ones way over there, that they're not even gonna see, but they know they're coming. So, when we go in to that tepee, we try to emulate that same prayer, we want it for our children, our future (Cheyenne & Arapaho Television 2018b).

Those who are involved in the reproduction and reiteration of heritage and historical narratives in the present, however, although hope that people in the future will remember and share their sentiments, cannot be sure, nor can they be certain that those people in the future will decide to do the same.

An aspect of the future in its connection to the past and the present (or, rather, a connection of the past with the future *through* the moment of active reproduction, performance, and even re-articulation of heritage in the present) thus becomes a desideratum of the cultural heritage theory when it is being applied in the particular contexts (see Appendix 2). This conclusion, in essence, somewhat echoes that of Richard Handler and Jocelyn Linnekin (1984) in their discussion of the concept of

tradition, where they assert that "tradition refers to an interpretive process that embodies both continuity and discontinuity" (1984, 273). Furthermore, heritage (and history, to a certain extent) when understood as the process of cultural production in the present, partly in the context of and as a response to contemporary issues, with recourse to the past while aimed at the future, subverts the classic dichotomy between the static "modern" and "traditional", as well as that between "authentic" and "inauthentic" for it unravels the time and again pointed out necessity to critically reevaluate and processualise these concepts and to utilise them with a healthy scepticism.

I see this process of construction of historical narrative as a part of the broader process that David Delgado Shorter frames as development of historical consciousness. I concur here with Shorter in that this kind of historicism has a potential "to expand Western notions of writing and the contours of historical discourse itself" (Shorter 2009, 13).

Interestingly, in another Native Christian community where I have been conducting fieldwork for a year and a half, a Native Methodist community in Norman First American United Methodist Church, I was not able to notice such a strong emphasis on continuity. One of the reasons is most probably a differential historical development of Peyotism when compared with other forms of Native Christianity with significantly less drawing upon traditional ceremonial and theologies. With its direction of an "indirect resistance" through syncretism, Peyotism in general has undergone more pressure from colonial forces, both military and missionary, throughout its history. According to a representative of the Navajo (Diné) chapter at the centennial commemoration:

> Everywhere this Medicine [peyote] went, it was hidden, it was concealed. And that was a form of protection, that was the first form of preservation of this Medicine and this ceremony. That's what our old folks did, that's what my old folks did, they hid this Medicine, they had these ceremonies back out in the hills. […] That's how they kept it sacred, […] that was their best form of preservation and protection at that time from Government. They didn't want this Government to infringe upon what they were doing, to interfere with what they were doing. At that time, Government officials thought they knew what was best for us, Indian people. So, they told us that this isn't good, […] you shouldn't have this. But we knew better, we know better to this day (Cheyenne & Arapaho Television 2018b).

The great social stresses of colonialism and the aggressive politics of forced removal and religious persecution, still fresh in Native people's memories, make the whole notion of remembrance of what is behind while looking ahead especially important.

Last year, a Native artist visited campus of the University of Oklahoma with a guest talk about the current state of indigenous artistry in America and about his own work. After he finished his talk, I asked him whether he, from his perspective as a Native person, thought decolonisation was possible, whether in art or in a broader picture of contemporary society. His answer was fascinating and thoughtful. He said that we should not place such a great emphasis on decolonisation because it implies getting back again and again to the discourse of colonisation and a continuous reminiscence of colonial violence. Although he does not know whether decolonisation

is real, he *does not need to know* — he does not ask this question because it is not important. What is important, is that the discourse of the horrors of colonialism, which we all are already well aware of, is being reiterated through these kinds of questions. "We need to look forward".

Over the last several centuries since the contact, religion has been an aspect of the Native American life that has experienced some of the most drastic changes. Most related scholarship has focused on the processes of assimilation, acculturation, and an often rather aggressive missionary activity as a part of a broader historical picture of violence against indigenous people (Lassiter et al. 2002, 115–116). However, despite a self-evident significance of this history of colonial violence in Native North America, to do so would mean to overlook agency that some Native American Christians exercised through Christianity (see McNally 2000). Indeed, if we look more closely at how Christianity was and is practiced by Native Christians, we can see "what native peoples *made* of the Christian tradition" (2000, 835, author's emphasis), weaving it into their lifestyles and worldviews and even using it as "a resource in the effort of communal survival, linguistic preservation, and cultural continuity" (2000, 835). This essentially means that the colonial tool has been used by the colonised themselves in discordance with the colonial ideology, being adapted for the changing realities of life and serving as a powerful mechanism of adaptation through non-violent resistance. Native Christian hymn is but one illustration of this process. As one of Sterlin Harjo's interviewees in his documentary about Native American songs and hymns said,

> The hymns become Muscogee, they become Creek, even though they were intended to be something else. Those hymns are all about survival

> because they are taking something that's introduced from the outside, in fact, taking Christianity which in, in some sense was designed to break the community. And they are taking them and transforming them into something that sustains community. And twisting it around, taking its meaning and making into entirely something else (Harjo 2010).

More recent scholarship has demonstrated a significant shift in its focus getting away from studying missionaries and their activities on reservations "to what native peoples *made* of the Christian tradition, …equipping us to appreciate the complexity and variety of ways of being both native and Christian" (McNally 2000, 835, author's emphasis). In particular, such Christian elements as hymn singing (Lassiter et al. 2002; an aforementioned documentary directed by Harjo [2010] is an interesting and important contribution to the scholarly discussions as well), language, entextualisation, and religious discourse (Nevins 2010) were studied by this new generation of scholars to discover how Christianity has been transformed and used by Native people as a means to preserve, maintain, and revitalise ethnocultural and community identities, languages, and long-held values emphasising those parts of the Christian message that have the capacity to empower Native cultures (Marshall 2016, 4).

Overall, as I have tried to demonstrate in this chapter, the concepts of "tradition" and "authenticity" are problematic and should be revised carefully before being applied in the studies of indigenous communities and contemporary forms of Native religions. In the context of the syncretic peyote religion, amalgamating the supposedly "authentic" aspects of the earlier forms of Peyotism with "inauthentic" Christianity, the dichotomy between "pure" and "spoiled", or "Indian" and "not-so-Indian" does not provide sufficient explanation for it fails to recognise the processual nature of culture, including

the definition, perception, and sometimes “invention” of “traditional”, as well as what Native people themselves think.

Conclusion

The present work is an attempt to fill the gaps in the scholarship of the peyote religion that, I feel, are critical. Based on the literature and my own observations, I have tried to build the bridges between the studies of Peyotism and the recent theories of heritage as a cultural construct, discussions and reconceptualisations of Native sovereignties, and critiques of "tradition" and "authenticity", informed by the developing indigenous scholarship.

The core case study here is the Native American Church centennial commemoration that took place in Concho, Oklahoma, in October 2018. Contextualising my discussion in this relatively small setting, I address the problems whose magnitude extends well beyond this particular context, and this study might be a contribution to a larger body of knowledge on these issues and have some important implications for the practice of anthropology, policy towards indigenous peoples, and social theory.

The main ideas discussed in the present work are the reassessed concept of history, localisation and delocalisation of sovereignties, and supplement to the cultural heritage theory.

Regarding history (or, rather, history-making), the importance of this concept for the present work cannot be overestimated. I did not, however, intend to utilise and interpret this term as encompassing just the past and thus replicate the (undoubtedly important) ethnohistorical studies of Peyotism conducted by my precursors. Rather, in the context of the Native American Church and the discourses at its centennial commemoration, as well as other movements with strong emphasis on cultural

continuity, I expand the idea of history. Rather than being concentrated on the inherited past and its interpretations as statement of facts, history, in fact, is also simultaneously created through the ongoing construction of historical narratives and production, reproduction, and performance of heritage in the present. The moment of present when historical narrative is being both perceived (or inherited) and actively constructed is thus the overlap between historical memory and heritage from the past and their continuation to the future.

This reasoning is closely connected to the discussion of cultural heritage, particularly Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's and Mary Hufford's theorisations of heritage. They both share the idea of heritage as a cultural construct (Hufford 1994; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995); furthermore, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett adds a crucially important temporal aspect, defining heritage as a cultural production in the present that has recourse to the past (1995, 369–370).

Responding to Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and contrasting the Native American Church centennial commemoration, as, essentially, a heritage project, with other heritage projects that are not meant for cultural and generational continuity, I have tried to supplement the existing theory. The commemoration project allows of extending the notion of heritage and its (re)production beyond the present and the past to also include the future. This case study, as I have demonstrated, particularly, through the speeches of the participants, contextualises remembrance and heritage as creative processes in the present with recourse to the past, but at the same time, with anticipation of the future. The nature of this process, I argue, is cyclical because it is not improbable (and sometimes very likely) that the moment in the past, to which cultural production of

heritage in the present has recourse, did carry the same anticipation of the future and the idea of continuance. Those involved in the reproduction and reiteration of heritage and historical narratives in the present, however, although hope that people in the future will remember and share their sentiments, cannot be sure, nor can they be certain that those people in the future will decide to do the same. A connection of the past with the future *through* the moment of active reproduction, performance, and even re-articulation of heritage in the present thus becomes a desideratum of the cultural heritage theory when it is being applied in the particular contexts.

Finally, I have discussed spatiality in the contexts of Peyotism and the centennial commemoration and attempted to theorise a concept of "localisation of sovereignty", determining its potential to be applied in discussions within indigenous scholarship on sovereignty and other problematic issues. Most sovereignties (not just political, but also cultural, for example), I argue, are localised due to their inherent spatial character, i.e. their attachment to a particular place or places. However, to focus on the localised national (tribal) levels of sovereignty and to overlook the *delocalised* transnational level manifested, in particular, through the generic pan-Indian culture (of which the Native American Church is an important aspect), would mean to miss the important part of the complex picture of contemporary Native identities and sovereignties.

In the discussion of spatiality in the Native sovereignty context, Peyotism is unique in that, despite it being the example of what can be defined as delocalised sovereignty, it nonetheless has in its core the cherished connectedness to place and space, both physical and symbolic, which is illustrated by the centennial

commemoration organisers' choice of locale and attention to the mapping and disposition of the particular chapters' tepees.

It is particularly interesting that there is a clear-cut demarcation in the meanings of particular spaces at the centennial commemoration. The commemoration itself is a secular event, whereas during the overnight service, space inside the tepees is always constructed as profoundly sacred. Indeed, over the two days at the commemoration, not much was said about God whatsoever. I assume, God was more present in the tepees that night. For participants at the centennial commemoration of the Native American Church, I think, it was not about God as much as it was about the power of their forefathers' prayers, as well as the power of their own prayers for the generations to come, and of course about sovereignty, heritage, and history(-making). Indeed, it was celebration of the future just as much as it was celebration of the past.

Beyond the commemoration context solely, the time periods shortly before and shortly after the peyote meetings and spaces where people communicate at these time periods are also secular. Even space inside the tepee becomes secular in the morning after the service, when people eat, chat, joke, stretch themselves, and just relax. In the morning, even people who were not in the tepee that night, including non-Peyotists, are welcome to come inside. The very process of entering and leaving the tepee ceases to be ceremonially restricted and controlled. This dichotomy between sacred and profane spaces created in the context of the peyote religion, as well as the processes of transition from one to another, are interesting to elaborate on and to further explore in the future studies.

I argue, then, that the kind of cultural sovereignty that is exercised by Peyotists, although somewhat similar to those more localised sovereignties that we find in particular communities involved in cultural revitalisation and decolonisation practices, in fact differs from them. The key difference is related to identity. Localised sovereignties that can be observed in local communities are closely tied to ethnocultural identities that are spatialised as well. The Native American Church's sovereignty, in contrast, being itself inherently delocalised, is not associated immediately with localised identities. Rather, the Peyotists' religious and, to a certain extent, cultural identities, in the pan-indigenous context, become translocal. But at the same time, these translocal (or delocalised) identities and sovereignties coexist with the multiple localised ethnocultural identities and sovereignties. I have come to the conclusion that, somewhat paradoxically, the peyote religion appears to be the most localised part of the generally delocalised transnational pan-Indian cultural environment and the related sovereignties.

This work is by no means an exhaustive one. Rather, I see it as a modest contribution to the broader discussions aimed to integrate the studies of particular sociocultural phenomena into the major bodies of knowledge on such important concepts as sovereignty, heritage, and indigeneity. In this essay, I have tried to elaborate on those concepts in the context of one of the widespread Native American religious movements, Peyotism, or the Native American Church, particularly in the context of the centennial commemoration of the Native American Church.

There are some topics, however, that have been left uncovered in this work, but undoubtedly deserve careful study. The most important of these topics, in my opinion, is cultural revitalisation theory and the peyote religion in this context. While writing, I

have made a deliberate choice to exclude this discussion from the main body of work. There are two main reasons for the exclusion. The first reason is methodological, namely, a simple lack of ethnographic data to draw upon. The second reason is related to the premise of this work, which is aimed to discuss the topics that have not been covered sufficiently in the literature on Peyotism. Regarding cultural revitalisation theory, this is not the case since, as Jason Jackson points out, "[b]ased on its history of development among western groups, particularly on the Plains and in the Great Basin, peyotism is widely recognized and well documented as a revitalization movement"[34]. Furthermore, like the Ghost Dance and the Longhouse religion, Peyotism has been extensively used as one of the fundamental case studies in the elaboration of a general theory of cultural revitalisation (Jackson 2004, 186), first articulated by Anthony Wallace (1956) and subsequently re-evaluated and developed by other scholars (see Harkin 2004a). So, given the aforementioned premise of this work, Peyotism in the context of revitalisation theory does not quite fit.

The theme of cultural revitalisation, nonetheless, deserves attention at least in the concluding section of this work, as a recommendation for the future studies. One reason for that is the fact that "[c]reation of identity through discourse and ideology

[34] However, it is important to make a reservation here that this explanation is by no means a generally accepted and uncontested one. While Wallace (1956) considers Peyotism a revitalisation movement, Aberle (1966, 341) argues that it should not be regarded as such due to its "passivity" in a sense that, as opposed to such movements as the Ghost Dance, it does not foresee the disappearance of white men" (Garucci 2004, 220). Aberle thus proposes redefinition of the peyote religion as a "redemptive movement", while the so-called "transformative movements", including the aforementioned Ghost Dance and Handsome Lake religion, fit well into the concept of revitalisation.

reformulation [which] is fundamental to postcolonial politics today", is often implemented through reactive (revitalisation) processes (McMullen 2004, 267). Another reason is that the existing theory of cultural revival proves to be inadequate when tested against particular cases (such as the study of adoption of Peyotism among the Yuchi people [Jackson 2004]). An important question that Jackson asks in his study is at what point in its expansion Peyotism is no longer recognisable as a revitalisation movement and transforms into something different. Furthermore, in the course of this transformation (if it is possible), he reveals the importance of social processes[35] in order to explain how people from a great variety of backgrounds incorporate "into a larger interactional world signified by the denominations of the Native American Church" and why this religion is inherently intertribal (Jackson 2004, 186). Let me now summarise briefly some of the existing literature on cultural revitalisation, particularly in the studies of Peyotism, and try to determine the potential for the subsequent studies.

First of all, it is important to consider three basic frameworks that have been formulated and utilised for explanation of the appearance and diffusion of the peyote movement. Jason Jackson (2004, 190–191) and Daniel Swan (1998, 52–53) discuss these frameworks in detail. All these frameworks are based on the notion of Peyotism as an adaptive mechanism in the dramatically changing social realities (Jackson 2004, 190).

The first view is nativistic; it focuses on Native features of the peyote religion and considers it as a form of opposition to settler-colonialism akin to the millenarian movements such as the Ghost Dance.

[35] Social networking is one of such processes.

The acculturational view, on the contrary, puts greater emphasis on Christian features of Peyotism "and its intertribal organization on the model of Christian denominations" (Jackson 2004, 190–191) thus seeing the faith as a means of establishing better relationships and participating more fully in the now-dominating sociopolitical order. In her discussion of differential contextualisations and uses of the Bible on the Fort Apache reservation across competing religious identities, M. Eleanor Nevins (2010) points out that the Bible, like mass media, in the discourse of religion in contemporary indigenous communities, becomes connected with broader communities, both national and global. Furthermore, "[r]eferencing the Bible establishes one's voice as a contemporary voice (due in part to the effectiveness of missionaries in defining local ceremonial practice as traditional or primitive), and as relevant in the context of an imagined global Christianity" (Nevins 2010, 21). At the same time, one should not disregard the importance of various local discursive practices in "how Christian discourse has been received and interpreted in indigenous communities" (Nevins 2010, 21). In the context of emergence and spread of the peyote religion, the interpretational lens curvature turned out to be a little stronger than in more distinctly Christian communities in Native North America. The ways of contextualisation and interpretation Christian theology and the Bible, as well as the fact that these were readily embedded in the practices of early forms of Peyotism[36], which served the threefold purpose of 1)

[36] See also discussion in (Brightman 2006), of how in Native American accounts of European origins Europeans were readily included in the existing mythological narratives of human origin, including the ideologies of pan-human creation foregoing differentiation between nations or tribes and the supposed prophecies of appearance of white people.

engagement with broader national and global communities, including above all the settler-colonial communities, 2) adaptation to the changing sociopolitical realities, and 3) maintenance of ethnocultural identities and sovereignties[37], can serve as one of the possible explanations of expansion and survival of Peyotism, at the same time fitting it as a congruent case study into a cultural revitalisation theory. It brings us to the third framework.

Finally, the accommodative view correlates with theorisations of pan-Indianism (of which Peyotism is, essentially, a part) framing the peyote religion as a syncretic faith "positioned midway on a continuum from distinct tribal religions at one end to the complete abandonment of native cultural forms on the other" (Jackson 2004, 191).

These three theoretical models, although undoubtedly convenient, have certain fallacies in that, being framed by Western scholars, they "obviously miss the very special and personal meanings religious life holds for the faithful" (Jackson 2004, 191). Furthermore, they do not allow for how Peyotists' and Native non-Peyotists themselves

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This is not unique to Native North American mythologies. For example, according to some sources (mostly the early Spanish accounts of the conquest of Mexico), the Mesoamerican myths of a deity Quetzalcoatl presumably prophesied his return from the East at a certain time, and by coincidence, Hernán Cortés and his people came to Mexico around that time and thus Cortés was mistaken for Quetzalcoatl (but see Townsend 2003 for critical reevaluation of this narrative).

[37] Although, of course, these identity and sovereignty discourses have changed over time with the development of pan-Indian movement and delocalisation or relocalisation of sovereignties as the necessary concomitants of this process (see Chapter 3).

perceive and interpret the peyote religion in both historical (in a "classic" sense of word, i.e. related to the past) and contemporary contexts of their societies[38].

Finally (this is related to the previous notion), these models seem to not have place for an individual and collective agency of Native people.

In the light of this critique, Michael Harkin argues for an importance of reconceptualisation of revitalisation as characterising "not necessarily deprivation but simply change in the social matrix" [Harkin 2004b, xxx]). The revitalisation rhetoric reiterating the ideas of "cultural death" and "deprivation", again, fails to recognise Native power and agency in their ability (inherent in all people) to act freely, instead focusing on indigenous people's "responses" or "resistance" to the exogenous stimuli of colonialism, which is not absolutely wrong, but is a half-truth.

Cultural revitalisation and revival are implemented, above all, through the building of healthy communities capable of maintaining continuity. Cultural reclamation "is widely understood to be an important response to despair and self-destructiveness that have plagued Native communities" (Clifford 2013, 221). In the Native American Church context, its strong emphasis on sobriety, mercy, and brotherly love, as well as an emphasis on continuity, which is well illustrated by the speeches at the centennial commemoration, is one of the keys to the health of community in both physical and spiritual sense.

[38] This is an important part of the problem of inaccessibility of information and anthropological discussions about Native people to these people. This problem, discussed in Chapter 1 of the present work, is essentially an overlap between owning of cultural knowledge, the practices of translation and textualisation, uneven redistribution of the end product (i.e., the ethnographic texts), and reciprocity of anthropology.

Based partly on this short summary of the literature and partly on what I have discussed in the main body of this work, I see a potential of connecting the cultural revitalisation and heritage theories, particularly in the light of the discussion of *active* production of heritage and historical narratives for the *future* (Chapter 3). In other words, temporal aspect of the heritage theory that has been discussed in Chapter 3, can also be considered in the context of the theories of cultural death and cultural revitalisation and potentially make these latter theories more inclusive of indigenous agency. Similarly, an application of the ideas of spatiality of Native sovereignties (Chapter 2) to the revitalisation/cultural death frameworks is also capable of reformulating them in order to include power and agency.

As another recommendation, it will be interesting to study how different levels of identity and sovereignty coexist and interact and how the ideas of refusal have been articulated in the Native American Church context. It will also be interesting to compare the Native American Church, with its "mild refusal", and some more aggressive reactionist movements such as the Ghost Dance, to study more thoroughly their similarities such as both movements' intertribal character and their functioning as means of coping with the social stresses of colonialism, and differences such as the peyote religion's vitality and persistence incomparable with the Ghost Dance for the former "has never, as a national institution, experienced a period of decline and obsolescence" (Jackson 2004, 186). I see a potential value and applicability of this kind of comparative analysis for the studies of social movements' formation and functioning in both diachronic and synchronic perspectives.

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…It is October 10, the next morning after the centennial celebration, and Dr. Swan and I are again heading to Concho. The sky is still a little bit gloomy, but the residues of the yesterday's clouds will surely have gone away by noon. Indeed, it is going to be a beautiful sunny day.

By noon, everything is ready for the fellowship meal. Those who have spent last night in the tepee and those who have, like us, just been going back and forth these two days, fill the hall lazily. I notice by the way that the wonderfully printed t-shirts and the souvenir coins of the centennial commemoration are almost sold out — good for you guys! (I've got both, yay!) People are getting ready to eat and are just chatting. Today's newspaper with an article on the Commemoration is circulating around the hall. People are relaxed and look happy.

It is October 10, 2018, and over the past 10 hours, throughout the long night of songs and prayers for the future, history was once again made. It is theirs. And no one will take it away.

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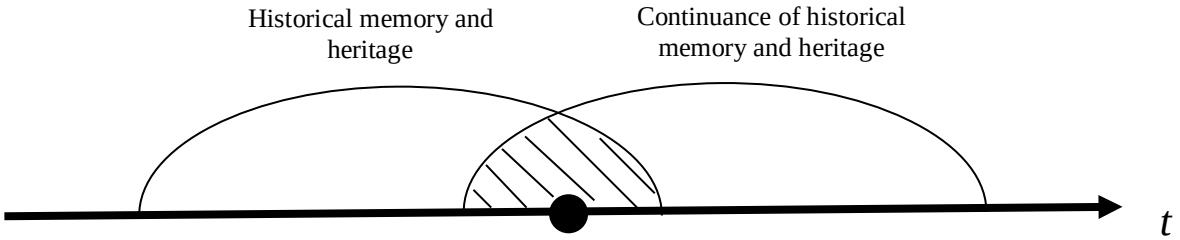
Appendices

Appendix 1



History, constructed and perceived in the present

Appendix 2

