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The Life Stories of a Woman From Rosebud:

Names and Naming in *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman*

by

Larissa Petrillo
B Sc , University of Toronto, 1992

Thesis
Submitted to the Department of Religion and Culture
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Master of Arts degree
Wilfrid Laurier University
1996

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Abstract

The Life Stories of a Woman From Rosebud: Names and Naming in *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman*

Lakota Woman (1991) and *Ohitika Woman* (1994) are the consecutive life stories of Mary Brave Woman Olguin (also known as Mary Crow Dog and Mary Brave Bird). The books portray Mary's telling of her life and its connection with Lakota history and tradition. Non-Native artist and writer, Richard Erdoes, was involved in the co-authorship of both books and recent criticism often focuses upon Erdoes' involvement in the writing process. I suggest that a reading which emphasizes Erdoes' contribution only isolates the reader from the actual subject of *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman*: Mary Brave Woman Olguin's presentation of her life. For that reason, my thesis focuses upon Mary Brave Woman Olguin's life and the traditional and contemporary Lakota elements which are evident in the books.

I uncover a number of patterns in *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman* which relate to naming and, through the use of ancillary material, I illustrate the ways in which the patterns call up Lakota naming practices. The honoring of names is integral to traditional Lakota culture and finds expression in *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman* through Mary's possibly intentional engagement of naming practices in the contemporary context of her life. Invoking a name is a way of honoring a person and their deeds. I illustrate some of the ways of honoring, such as the repeated invocation of names, the recognition of heroic deeds, and the specific practice of non-naming. I also investigate name-giving ceremonies through a discussion of Mary's personal names.

While naming refers to the Lakota naming practices which will be explored, I also use naming in the sense of identifying or indicating one's position or beliefs. Mary Brave Woman Olguin's understanding of who she is is revealed through overt declarations as well as through the associations she draws to specific people who are connected with Native culture. Mary's naming of her gender, her cultural affiliations, and her relationships with others contribute to her self-identification within Lakota culture. I will explore the way in which Mary Brave Woman Olguin indicates, or names, her identity as a Lakota, specifically as a Lakota woman. I offer an *exploration* of Lakota naming practices and Mary's presentation of her identity. My investigation is informed by an understanding of the interpenetration of traditional and contemporary Lakota culture and is achieved through a critical reading of *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman* as well as through information derived from extratextual sources by and about the Lakota people.

To

Mom

Dad and

Matt

Acknowledgments

Of critical importance throughout the entire thesis-writing process has been the unending intuition and much-needed motivation provided by Kay Koppedrayer, my advisor and my friend The many conversations which ensued over this thesis, sometimes in some very unusual places, were dynamic exchanges in which I was never able to tell where each of our ideas started or ended I could not have moved through the writing process without her support as a mentor and companion Thanks is owed also to her husband, Jaap, for trusting in me (enough to let me drive their new Explorer) Friends and family have supported me and listened to my woes throughout the writing of my thesis -- you know who you are and what you've had to put up with In addition, several professors have helped along the way with comments and ideas, most particularly Ron Grimes and Eleanor Ty

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> You have to find meaning not in the sides but in the seam in between and that's obviously where a mixed-blood, an earthdiver, a trickster, must try and find all meaning, imaginative meaning. It's where the contention is, it's where the energy lies, it's where the focus is . . . so, as the deconstructionists might argue, the meaning is in the play; it's in the trace, it's in the difference, it's in what isn't there.
>
> Gerald Vizenor (Coltelli 1990:174)

Lakota Woman (1991) and *Ohitika Woman* (1994) are the consecutive life stories of Mary Brave Woman Olguin,[1] also known as Mary Crow Dog and Mary Brave Bird, a mixed-blood Lakota woman from the Rosebud Reservation in South Dakota. *Lakota Woman* was first published in 1990, although completed in 1979.[2] *Ohitika Woman* followed the publication of *Lakota Woman*; it came out in print in 1994. Both works were co-authored with non-Native writer and artist Richard Erdoes[3] and chronicle Mary's telling of her life, its stories, and Lakota history and tradition.

Lakota Woman and *Ohitika Woman* describe the difficulties experienced on the reservation by Mary Brave Woman Olguin and others; difficulties such as struggling to deal with racism, poverty, and alcoholism. The books also note the political activities of the American Indian Movement (A.I.M.), traditional Lakota ceremonies, and contemporary feminist beliefs, which have provided sources of strength, supporting and

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[1]There are several different names used for Mary Crow Dog/Brave Bird throughout the books, each representative of a different phase in her life. For purposes of cohesion, the name Mary Brave Woman Olguin will be used. It is the name which is most contemporary since Mary was referred to as Mary Brave Woman Olguin in the credits of the film, *Lakota Woman: Siege at Wounded Knee* (1994).

[2]The publishing of *Lakota Woman* is described by Erdoes in *Ohitika Woman*'s "Instead of a Foreword." He indicates that *Lakota Woman* was written in 1979 but was not published due to its "lack of mysticism -- *en vogue* at the time," until published by Grove Weidenfeld in 1990 (1993:xiii). Reprinted by HarperPerennial (1991), *Lakota Woman* is a national bestseller; winner of the 1991 American Book Award; has been translated into several foreign languages (1993:xiv); and has recently been made into a movie. The film, *Lakota Woman: Siege at Wounded Knee* (1994), was produced by Turner Productions and is now available on home video at most video stores.

[3]Erdoes has been involved in the co-authorship of the following Lakota life stories: *Lame Deer: Seeker of Visions* (1972), with John Fire Lame Deer; *Gift of Power* (1992) with John Fire Lame Deer's alleged son, Archie Fire Lame Deer; *Lakota Woman* (1990) and *Ohitika Woman* (1993) with Mary Brave Woman Olguin; and *Crow Dog: Five Generations of Sioux Medicine Men* (1995) with Leonard Crow Dog.

propelling Mary Brave Woman Olguin throughout her life.[4] In *Lakota Woman*, these positive forces come together with Mary's most significant acts: giving birth to a child during the 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee and her subsequent relationship with Leonard Crow Dog, A.I.M.'s spiritual leader. *Ohitika Woman* continues Mary's story with the years following her separation from Leonard Crow Dog and her growing awareness of the solidarity among Native women.

Stylistically and thematically, traditional elements can be discerned in the contemporary context of Mary Brave Woman Olguin's life as she comes to terms with her mixed-blood status and her position in a culture which has endured extensive non-Native interference. I will explore, through an investigation of naming, the way in which Mary Brave Woman Olguin presents herself and her connection to Lakota culture in *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman.* While naming refers to the Lakota naming practices that I explore, I also use naming in the sense of *identifying* or *indicating* one's position or beliefs.

In describing her life, Mary Brave Woman Olguin stresses her connection to Lakota culture. She introduces herself to the reader by naming her affiliation with the Brule tribe in *Lakota Woman*:

> I am a Sioux from the Rosebud Reservation in South Dakota. I belong to the "Burned Thigh," the Brule Tribe, the Sicangu in our language. . . . The Brules are part of the Seven Sacred Campfires, the seven tribes of the Western Sioux known collectively as Lakota. (1991:5)

Mary begins her story by naming, or identifying, her connection to Lakota culture. As will be discussed, she continues to draw associations to Lakota culture in several ways throughout the books.

---

[4]For an alternate view of A.I.M., see Mark Monroe's life story (1994:202-209).

The Books

Lakota Woman details Mary's childhood during the 1950s and her schooling at St. Francis, the residential mission school. She tells us that, upon leaving the school when she was a teenager in the 1960s, she engaged in a fractious lifestyle which involved extensive drinking. Mary Brave Woman Olguin claims that her reckless lifestyle was rectified by her subsequent involvement with A.I.M. (1991:45), although her battle with alcoholism is continually described throughout both *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman.*

Lakota Woman extensively details aspects of Mary Brave Woman Olguin's life which resulted from her relationship with Leonard Crow Dog. She indicates that Leonard Crow Dog was imprisoned for over a year in 1975 due to his involvement in the siege of Wounded Knee. In order to aid with Crow Dog's legal campaign, Mary Brave Woman Olguin spent the year of Leonard's incarceration living with Erdoes and his wife in New York. It was also during her stay in New York that Mary and Richard Erdoes recorded her first life story. The life experiences recorded in *Lakota Woman* end with the episodes of the late seventies.

Ohitika Woman deals primarily with the years after Mary's attempts to end her relationship with Leonard Crow Dog. In 1991, she married Rudi Olguin, who is described as a Zapotec Chicano who was also involved with A.I.M. and prison rights. Mary Brave Woman Olguin has three children with Leonard Crow Dog, as well as a baby girl with Rudi Olguin and a son born prior to both relationships. She describes the sense of maturity that accompanies her position as a thirty-six year old grandmother. In addition, Mary Brave Woman Olguin continues to convey the many personal issues involved in the mediation of her identity and her struggle to exist in a culture which has been profoundly disrupted by the influences of non-Native culture.

The synopsis on the back cover of *Ohitika Woman* summarizes some of the bi-cultural negotiations which are encountered in the books:

> It is a memoir filled with contrast -- between her [Mary Brave Woman Olguin's] Sioux heritage and her feminist beliefs, between the philosophies and lifestyles of whites and those of Native Americans, between "full-bloods" and "half-breeds," between the ancient Sioux religion and Christianity, and between the traditional tribal patriarchy and women struggling for a sense of self and freedom (back cover).

Aptly highlighted in the passage are the various expressions of the contention and convergence of traditional and contemporary Lakota culture which are evident throughout the books, depicting the bearing of traditional Lakota culture upon the contemporary circumstances of Mary Brave Woman Olguin's life.

Traditional and Contemporary Lakota Culture[5]

Traditional Lakota culture is difficult to define, but an understanding of what Mary Brave Woman Olguin refers to as "our traditional ways" (1991:23) is essential to an understanding of the contemporary lives of the Lakota people. Marla Powers notes that, while anthropologists may have difficulty in differentiating traditional and modern culture, the Lakota people have an integral understanding of what is meant by tradition. Powers continues her discussion with an attempted definition of the term *traditional*:

> The category "traditional" encompasses all the cultural artifacts and behaviors that are perceived to have existed before the coming of the white man. All modern culture at least partly originates with or has been established by whites, not the least of which is the reservation. . . . Seeing themselves as both traditional and modern under certain conditions, they [Lakota] are not afraid to switch between the two. (1986:2)

[5]I use the term "Lakota culture" throughout the thesis to indicate "*Lakol wicoh'an*, the Lakota ways" (Young Bear 1994:112). It should be noted that Mary Brave Woman Olguin only uses the term Lakota culture when referring to anthropological research (1991:259). She more often uses expressions such as "our traditional ways . . . be[ing] an Indian . . . [and] after the Sioux manner" (1991 23)

I suggest that Powers' ossification of the traditional in the past and her strict delineation of traditional and modern is problematic. The traditional cannot be defined solely as that which was practiced "before the coming of the white man" since tradition endures under modern conditions and can be viewed along a continuum even after the imposition of non-Native culture.

In describing the way in which she wants to give birth, Mary Brave Woman Olguin acknowledges that there are degrees to which contemporary practices adhere to the values of traditional culture. She also indicates that traditional birthing practices can be carried out under contemporary conditions:

> Whatever, I'm going to have my baby right here, the Indian way . . . in the old Indian manner--well, old, but not too old. In the real ancient tradition our women stuck a waist-high cottonwood stick right in the center of the tipi. Squatting, holding on to that stick, they would drop the baby onto a square of soft, tanned deer hide. . . . So I could not be quite as traditional as all that. When I say that I was determined to have my baby the Sioux way, I simply meant with an Indian prayer and the burning of sweetgrass and with the help of Indian women friends acting as midwives, having it the natural way without injections or anesthesia. (1991:157,159)

Mary's account of her birthing process indicates that she is aware of the degree to which one may adhere to traditional practices under modern circumstances. She makes concessions to the contemporary situation in order to maintain traditional Lakota values, but she still views her modern practices as traditional.

Mary Brave Woman Olguin's description of the traditional practices that she is going to use while giving birth at Wounded Knee involve "an Indian prayer and the burning of sweetgrass." These practices are identified as traditional, but there are many others which are mentioned throughout Mary's life stories. In discussing traditional Lakota culture, Mary cites "heritage" (1991:96), "ancient rituals" (1991:23), "ancient beliefs" (1991:251),

"old tribal customs" (1994:34), "old legends" (1991:80), and "Indian self-government" (1991:113). Traditional Lakota culture is often also defined in opposition to non-Native culture. For instance, she delineates the "Christian and the traditional people" (1994:20) and describes traditional elders as those who "fought Custer" (1991:79).

Bucko states that "the English word "traditional" is simply used [by the Lakota] to indicate proper, correct, or accurate" (Bucko 1996:136) and this designation can be applied to past *and* present behaviors. However, Bucko's definition as well as the qualities listed by Mary Brave Woman Olguin fail to capture the intensity of traditional Lakota culture. Essential to Bucko's definition of that which is proper and accurate is an understanding of the connection of such behaviors to the support of the values of traditional Lakota culture. The depth of meaning implicit with traditional culture cannot be conveyed with a mere description of traditional qualities and practices. Traditional Lakota culture goes "way back to the old buffalo days" (1991:176) when "Indians were Indians" (1991:79), but it also persists in the modern world providing "spirit and wisdom" and "strength and power" (1991:79). Tradition is tied to a shared conception of what it is to be Lakota and an anticipation of the vitality of the future as subsequent generations maintain that which will not elapse with time. The cadence between the past and the future is embodied by tradition which enlivens Mary Brave Woman Olguin's sense of "being an Indian within a white world" (1991:72).

Bucko claims that tradition is not a homogeneous phenomenon and elaborates upon the unfolding of tradition in the present:

> . . . [C]ontemporary behavior is the ultimate criteria for tradition, albeit behavior that is linked to and evaluated by perceptions of the past . . . . Tradition draws on the past to create something both new and old in the present. (Bucko 1996:139-140)

Despite outside influences, traditional Lakota culture endures and can be discerned through its persistence within contemporary contexts. An example of the manner in which cultures interpenetrate one another can be discerned in the following analogy which is provided by Henry Crow Dog, Leonard Crow Dog's father:

> Just as Benjamin Franklin drew electricity from the clouds,
> so Crazy Horse received power from the thunders.
> (Kadlecek and Kadlecek 1981:96)

Henry Crow Dog has adapted his understanding of Lakota history and tradition to a contemporary field of knowledge. He has incorporated non-Native elements which contribute to his traditional understanding of power. While contemporary culture yields possibilities for a breakdown of traditional ways, Henry Crow Dog's analogy suffuses the contemporary with tradition allowing for continuance within adaptation.

Similarly, Mary Brave Woman Olguin draws upon the cultural resources of the past as well as aspects of non-Native culture which have become incorporated into her understanding of Lakota culture. In paraphrasing a story about the ancestor to first take on the Crow Dog name, Mary provides a poetic description of the interpenetration of traditional Lakota culture and non-Native culture:

> The first Crow Dog had shown them [the Crow Dog relations] the way. As a chief he had the right to wear a war bonnet, but he never did. Instead he found somewhere an old, discarded white man's cloth cap with a visor and to the top of it he fastened an eagle feather. And that he wore at all times--the lowest and the highest. He used to say: "This white man's cap that I am wearing means that I must live in the wasicun's [white] world, under his government. The eagle feather means that I, Crow Dog, do not let the wasicun's world get the better of me, that I remain an Indian until the day I die." In some mysterious way that old cap became in the people's mind a thing more splendid than any war bonnet. (1991:183)

Just as Crow Dog wore a "discarded white man's cloth cap," the Lakota have adopted many non-Native ideas, artifacts, and values. For this reason, when I refer to contemporary Lakota culture, my discussion often assumes an awareness of the Lakota adoption of elements of non-Native culture.

Robert Allen Warrior describes the significance of the mutability of traditional culture:

> To understand what the "real meaning" of traditional revitalization is, then, American Indians must realize that the power of those traditions is not in their formal superiority, but in their adaptability to new challenges. (1994:57)

Traditional Lakota culture persists, in *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman*, through a commingling of traditional Lakota culture with contemporary Native and non-Native culture. An understanding of the manner in which the cultural perspectives enrich one another provides insight into Mary Brave Woman Olguin's perception of herself and her connection to Lakota culture.

The interpenetration of traditional and contemporary elements within *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman* also functions in Mary Brave Woman Olguin's presentation of her position as a mixed-blood woman who is struggling to understand her connection to both Native and non-Native culture. Imaging and re-imaging her position, Mary Brave Woman Olguin negotiates the interstices concomitant with her mixed-blood status. Vizenor likens the bi-cultural negotiations of mixed-bloods to the transformative personification of the trickster:

> . . . [T]he mixed-bloods are between [worlds], so's the trickster, he's neither tradition nor antitradition, he's not power or weakness. And a mixed-blood must waver in the blood and it's difficult to waver the page. (Coltelli 1990:174)

Vizenor indicates that the trickster and the mixed-blood are situated between tradition and "antitradition." As a mixed blood, a trickster, Mary Brave Woman Olguin expresses her bi-cultural position through an incorporation of traditional culture into the contemporary context of her life.

Mary Brave Woman Olguin's position as a mixed-blood woman who has sought to record her life is by no means an exceptional situation. Mary Brave Woman Olguin and other Native writers often write from positions which span a broad spectrum. Native writers often diverge from that which is perceived as the quintessential stereotypical "Indian" allowing for the production of literature which is elusive and dynamic. I will now turn to a discussion of Native literature to further address these issues.

Native Literature

The production of written Native literature, as well as the accompanying critical theory, has been increasing exponentially in recent years. Despite a wider exposure to Native literature, a strict definition of what constitutes Native literature has yet to be defined. This issue has been addressed by Thomas King:

> It should be said at this point that when we talk about contemporary Native literature, we talk as though we already have a definition for this body of literature when, in fact, we do not. And, when we talk about Native writers, we talk as though we have a process for determining who is a Native writer and who is not, when, in fact, we don't. What we do have is a collection of literary works by individual authors who are Native by ancestry, and our hope, as writers and critics, is that if we wait long enough, the sheer bulk of this collection, when it reaches some sort of critical mass, will present us with a matrix within which a variety of patterns can be discerned. (1990:x)

Despite the lack of an agreed upon understanding of what constitutes Native writing and Native writers, a fair amount of criticism is unfolding, directed at that which is

indiscriminately described as Native literature. In the case of *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman*, the books deal primarily with Native issues and are written by a mixed-blood woman in a conjoined effort with a non-Native editor.

The increasing publication of literature and life stories by Native North Americans has led to an increase in literary criticism from non-Native scholars, as well as from Native writers, scholars, and critics. In referring to Native literature as "the frontier text," Kimberly Blaeser describes the "braided cultural contexts" which contribute to the narrative (1993:58). She cautions against removing text from context and emphasizes an informed approach which situates the literature within its respective culture. Mary Brave Woman Olguin's life stories are informed and animated by Lakota culture and an understanding of the interconnection between the textual and extratextual enlivens a reading of the books. While direct knowledge of Lakota culture is no doubt the most illuminating companion to a reading of Mary Brave Woman Olguin's books, there is also a growing body of literature by, and about, Lakota people that demands critical attention. I will draw upon such literature throughout my thesis.

Native life stories are often quite distinctive and the following terms have been used to describe the stylistic elements: miscellany, hybridized, dialogic, heterogeneous, fractured genres, polymorphous, heteroglossia, palimpsestic, sedimented, provisional, fragmented, and syncretic (Godard 1990). According to Godard, the stylistic characteristics involve a deliberate incorporation of embedded narratives, indigenous language and idioms, and the inclusion of adapted storytelling techniques. Godard claims that " . . . [Native women] write miscellanies--hybrid genres--mixtures of sermons, narratives, poetry, ethnographical treatises" (1990:190). The textured layering of a panoply of styles and genres, which is characteristic of much of Native literature, is evident in Mary Brave Woman Olguin's life stories and will be alluded to throughout my discussion.

The co-authorship of *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman* problematizes the strict designation of the books as autobiographical. David Brumble defines autobiography as "a

first person narrative that seriously purports to describe the narrator's life or episodes" (1981:17). His description removes the emphasis on singular authorship which is implied by the term *auto*biography. Brumble's definition encompasses traditional forms of Native autobiography, "as-told-to" autobiographies, written collaborations, and self-written narratives (1981:182-3). As-told-to autobiographies are written in collaboration with a non-Native editor, as is the case with *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman*. In order to avoid the difficulties incumbent with the use of the term autobiography, which implies that the narrative was independently written, I will use the term *life story.*

Reception of the Books

In the recent reviews of *Lakota Woman* (Rice 1994; Krupat 1994; Cook-Lynn 1991), the examination of Erodes' role as co-author often takes the forefront of the discussion. I suggest that Rice (1994) and Krupat (1994) are too often preoccupied with the contributions of Richard Erdoes to examine the ways in which elements of the text may reflect the qualities of Mary Brave Woman Olguin. A reading which exclusively focuses upon Erdoes disregards the other forces functioning in the production of the life stories. Discussions which focus upon Erdoes' contribution and the authenticity of the books only isolate the reader from the actual subject of *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman*: Mary Brave Woman Olguin's presentation of her life. In effect, the emphasis upon the involvement of Erdoes functions to isolate Mary in a position as "other" as she becomes the secondary focus of discussion. David Moore cautions against concentrating upon "represented otherness" which reinscribes the Native subject as a vanishing sign:

> A pragmatic dialogic does not pause at that semiotic abyss [the distance between representation and reality] to wonder at the irony of represented otherness; it moves by the force of material realities not to close that gap but to play around its circumference. (Moore 1994:25)

Attending directly to Mary Brave Woman Olguin's presentation of her life focuses upon the vitality of Mary's life instead of the mechanics of co-authorship.

While Erdoes' involvement remains troublesome, it is beyond the scope of most critical efforts to entirely disentangle the words of Mary Brave Woman Olguin and Richard Erdoes. The presence of traditional Lakota elements as well as contemporary Native and non-Native elements within the books need not solely depict contrived and inauthentic manipulations on the behalf of Erdoes, as Rice has suggested (Rice 1994). The intercultural dialogue represents Mary Brave Woman Olguin's position within a persistent and adaptive culture. Rather than concentrating upon Richard Erdoes, my discussion focuses upon Mary Brave Woman Olguin and her books which have had a significant impact on readers and writers.[6]

Naming in Lakota Woman *and* Ohitika Woman

My approach to the material presented in *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman* is essentially one of exploration. I am not intending to secure definitions or draw definitive conclusions. I *explore* traditional and contemporary Lakota culture through an examination of Mary's expressions of self-identity as well as through a discussion of naming practices. Traditional Lakota culture, naming practices, and identity are not concepts which can, or should be, pinned down and eruditely outlined. The borders of such concepts are abstract and indistinct, which is precisely what allows for their dynamic and interpenetrating nature. Mary Brave Woman Olguin's identity vacillates and remains equivocal, which is reflected by my tentative explication of Lakota culture and self-identity.

In reading *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman*, I attempt a cultural border-crossing to a degree, while also assuming my position as a non-Native reader struggling to achieve an

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[6]An example of such an influence can be seen in the references to *Lakota Woman* in Acoose's *Iskwewak - Kah' K Yaw Ni Wahkomakanak: Neither Indian Princesses Nor Easy Squaws*, in which fragments of a passage from *Lakota Woman* are incorporated as chapter headings (1995:68, 69, 89, 105).

awareness of Lakota practices which are intricately linked to spiritual beliefs and a depth of Native understanding in many ways foreign to my own experiences. In describing the contrast between Native cultures and non-Native cultures, Vernon Masayesva has indicated that the cultural differences are intimately connected with the "difference in religious belief," (1992:135) implying the essential union of the secular and the religious in Native cultures.

The intricate connection between the aspects of Lakota culture being investigated in my thesis and their resonance with the spirituality of the Lakota people is implicit throughout my discussion and reflects Mary's own elucidation of the vital place of "religion" in her presentation of Lakota culture:

> I want to talk further of the meaning our ancient beliefs have in our daily life, not as a medicine person, which I am not, but simply as a tribal woman. I do not want to "teach Indian religion." I don't want to give away any secrets because I do not have secrets of the sort that whites expect to get from Native American, secrets to "give them power," or to "enable them to have an extrasensory experience." I have no medicine to sell. I am talking of basic concepts, of everyday living. Indian religion--I use the English word religion for want of a better one--is an all-the-time thing. Whether you eat breakfast, or sweep the floor, or get the kids to school, it is always with you. (1994:101)

As a woman who identifies herself as a Lakota woman, Mary Brave Woman Olguin strives towards a sense of sacred relationship which pervades all aspects of Lakota life. While she provides descriptions of her own experiences of Lakota ceremonies, she also conveys the spirituality of Lakota culture in its many other facets, such as the respect accorded to the Native relations who are honored through the use of naming practices.

"MITAKUYE OYASIN--ALL MY RELATIONS" (1994:274) are the final words of *Ohitika Woman*, indicating Mary's recognition of the profound connection between all living things and the place of her story in illustrating those interconnections. *Mitakuye Oyasin* is a deeply felt statement uttered at the end of ceremonies, stories, and prayers. Thomas King

describes the meaning of "all my relations" and indicates the place of the telling of stories and the writing of literature in expressing the sentiments addressed by the phrase:

> "All my relations" is at first a reminder of who we are and of our relationship with both our family and our relatives. It also reminds us of the extended relationship we share with all human beings. But the relationships that Native people see go further, the web of kinship extending to the animals, to the birds, to the fish, to the plants, to all the animate and inanimate forms that can be seen or imagined. More than that, "all my relations" is an encouragement for us to accept the responsibilities we have within this universal family by living our lives in a harmonious and moral manner . . . . Within Native cultures, as within other cultures, this world of relationships is shared through language and literature.(ix)

By ending her work with *Mitakuye Oyasin*, Mary in effect suggests her entire recitation is a prayer. "Religious" Lakota culture finds expression in her writing, itself an act of ceremony which names and honors her relations. In the same way in which spiritual beliefs underpin Mary Brave Woman Olguin' presentation of her identity, so too is this interconnection between religion and the many facets of Lakota culture implicit in my discussion.

My investigation of Lakota naming practices and Mary's presentation of her identity is informed by an understanding of Lakota spirituality and the interpenetration of traditional and contemporary culture. My findings are achieved through a critical reading of *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman* as well as through information derived from extratextual sources by, and about, the Lakota people. I will explore the way in which Mary Brave Woman Olguin indicates, or names, her identity as a Lakota, specifically a Lakota woman. Mary Brave Woman Olguin's adoption of several personal names also provides an impetus for my exploration of naming practices in *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman*.

Names are accorded great significance in Lakota culture. Vizenor indicates that "the culture of tribal identities are heard in names and stories" (1994:125). He expresses the importance of names to one's personal identity as well as within the broader cultural tradition:

> Tribal nicknames are the shadows heard in stories; the pleasures of nicknames, even in translation, are an unmistakable celebration of personal identities. Nicknames are personal stories that would, to be sure, trace the individual to tribal communities. . . . (1994:120)

While names in Native culture support personal identity, they are also shared by the community through stories which connect the name to contextual points of reference. Severt Young Bear further describes the way in which personal names are cradled by the Lakota people through their honoring of names which have associations to stories and events (1994:178). The significance of names in Lakota culture relates to personal names, as well as to the remembrance of others through practices which honor their names. Many aspects of naming are evident within *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman* and aid in an illustration of the manner in which traditional and contemporary culture interpenetrate one another.

Chapter Outline

The titles of the books, *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman*, are used as an organizational device for Chapter One. Mary Brave Woman Olguin describes herself as a Lakota woman who is associated with *ohitika* (brave) women. The reader is partially alerted to these thematic descriptions in Mary's life stories since Lakota, *Ohitika*, and woman are qualities which are highlighted by the book titles (most likely chosen by the publisher). The titles of the books provide a framework to my discussion of Mary's identity, but my use of *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman* as chapter headings should not

be misconstrued as strict representations of Mary Brave Woman Olguin. I explore the manner in which Mary's naming of her cultural affiliations, gender, and relationship with others contribute to her self-identification within Lakota culture.

The first of the three sections which comprise Chapter One is an examination of the identifier, Lakota, as a designation for Mary Brave Woman Olguin. By tracing the developments which take place between the writing of *Lakota Woman* (1970s) and *Ohitika Woman* (1990s), I explore Mary Brave Woman Olguin's perception of her mixed-blood status. Initially, Mary Brave Woman Olguin struggles to reconcile her position as a mixed-blood woman. However, in *Ohitika Woman,* Mary gains an understanding of her place within a culture which is both traditional and contemporary and in which a Lakota woman is often *also* a mixed-blood woman.

In the second section of Chapter One, I explore Mary's identification with her reproductive role as a woman and her belief in feminism from a Native. Through jokes and analogies, Mary laments the breakdown of traditional Lakota gender roles. Her negotiation of feminist beliefs, itself a contemporary concern, involves empowerment through a reconnection with traditional Lakota culture. Mary Brave Woman Olguin's understandings of feminism are tied to her understandings of Lakota culture. This interconnection is illustrated by the coupling of the identifiers, Lakota and woman, in the title *Lakota Woman.*

The significance of *Ohitika Woman* as a designation for Mary Brave Woman Olguin is the focus of the final section of Chapter One. In *Ohitika Woman*, Mary connects her ceremonially-acquired name, *Ohitika Win* (Brave Woman), to the qualities of other strong Native women. The naming of other Native women as *ohitika* (brave) depicts Mary's solidarity with Native women and her implicit affiliation with that group. I examine Mary's listing of the names of these brave women. Mary Brave Woman Olguin's awareness of her role as a woman within Lakota culture is facilitated by her naming of Native women with whom she is connected.

Chapter One essentially involves a critical reading of *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman* in an effort to present Mary Brave Woman Olguin's negotiation of her identity. Young Bear states that "[i]dentity is based on the idea of *slolic'iya*, knowing who you are" (1994:106). Mary's understanding of who she is is revealed through overt declarations as well as through the associations she draws to specific people who are connected with Native culture. In the final section of Chapter One, I describe Mary's listing of the names and deeds of a number of Native women. In Chapter Two, I reveal the way in which the repetition of names and deeds, such as the list of Native women, invokes the honoring customs which are connected to names in Lakota culture. I further uncover a number of patterns in connection to names in *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman* and, through the use of extratextual sources produced by and about Lakota people, illustrate the ways in which the patterns follow Lakota naming practices. In Chapter Two I describe what I have discerned as several name honoring practices, such as the repetitive chronicling of significant names, non-naming, and name-giving ceremonies. I also illustrate the ways in which Mary Brave Woman Olguin has, intentionally or otherwise, incorporated traditional naming practices to the contemporary context of her life.

The focus of Chapter Two is basically the inverse of that of Chapter One. While Chapter One foregrounds Mary's identity and the associations which she uses to support that identity, Chapter Two foregrounds the practices which facilitate Mary's drawing forth of associations which, in turn, contribute to her identity. Mary Brave Woman Olguin invokes the names of significant figures through Lakota naming practices. The people named support Mary's self-presentation as a Lakota woman, but the focus of the chapter is the examination of the naming practices themselves. The chapter closes with an exploration of Mary's personal names which were not acquired through Lakota name-giving ceremonies. Mary adopts names which support her identity but she achieves such a connection through an independent adoption of names rather than through Lakota name-

giving practices. Mary's names reinforce her identity as a Lakota woman which allows my discussion of self-understanding and naming to come full circle.

I. Naming of Self: *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman*

> *Some might say that writing is just their role. That's what breeds do. They stand in the middle and interpret for everyone else, and maybe that's so That's what they are. (Green 1984:1)*

In *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman*, Mary Brave Woman Olguin captures elements of her life, as well as revealing aspects of herself which were developing throughout the recording of her life story. Eakin refers to the *activity* of writing an autobiography, the autobiographical process, as a distinct period which is in itself a primary biographical event (1992:55). Mary Brave Woman Olguin's unfolding understanding of herself, termed by Wong as the "self-in-process" (1992:16), is expressed in *Lakota Woman* (written in 1979) and *Ohitika Woman* (1994). In addition, comparing *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman* reveals the developments which took place in Mary's life during the interim between the two books.

I have used the titles of the two books, *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman* to format the chapter. The key words of the titles provide a starting point for discussing qualities which dominate Mary Brave Woman Olguin's presentation of herself, such as her identification with being Lakota, being a woman, and being associated with brave (*ohitika*) women. While Mary's identity involves many factors, such as her role as an A.I.M. supporter, the titles of the books encourage the reader to forefront the qualities of culture and womanhood in their reading of Mary's life. Mary Brave Woman Olguin's efforts towards conceiving her identity are variously expressed through direct assertions, alliances with a variety of people and organizations, and through the adoption of names and roles. Mary's identity unfolds through a process which often involves steps backward, as well as forward. Young Bear draws associations between the process of moving forward and the rabbit dance:

> When you do a rabbit dance, you take two steps forward and one step back . . . . If you can rabbit dance as you hear the winds tell you real good soft music in your ear, then you take two steps forward and one step back to reidentify, to continue. (1994:xxv)

Mary Brave Woman Olguin often experiences realizations which, although they seem complete, eventually lead to new territories and a continued progression of identity.

Initially, I will explore Mary's gradual embracing of her mixed-blood status. In negotiating her mixed-blood background, Mary Brave Woman Olguin initially attains an understanding of herself as unconditionally Lakota through an emphasis on Lakota ceremonies. Eventually, she comes to understand that there are contemporary and non-Native aspects in her life which must be acknowledged in order to fully understand herself as Lakota. Her internal conflict is quelled with her acceptance of the traditional and contemporary aspects of Lakota culture.

In the section on *(Lakota) Woman*, I explore Mary's reconnection to traditional Lakota gender roles which arises through her feminist queries about the role of women in Lakota culture. In recognizing the loss of gender roles evident in contemporary Lakota culture, Mary Brave Woman Olguin laments the loss and remains focused upon that which is lacking in the modern world. Her understanding of the role of women in Lakota culture is further discussed in the section on *(Ohitika) Woman*.

Mary Brave Woman Olguin comes to identify with her ceremonially-acquired name, *Ohitika Win* (Brave Woman), in *Ohitika Woman*. She also acknowledges the relevance of the name to the lives of other Native women. Mary comes to realize the strength of the feminine which persists in contemporary Lakota culture. She intimates that the heroism of past male warriors persists in the actions of contemporary Native women. With this understanding, Mary celebrates the positive contemporary roles of women and arrives at a recognition of the continuity of Lakota culture, specifically with reference to gender roles.

***Lakota** (Woman)*

Identified simply as *Lakota Woman*, not as *A Lakota Woman*, the absolute quality of the title of Mary Brave Woman Olguin's first life story is telling in how one reviews Mary's narration of herself. The emphasis upon Native identity which is implied in the title is echoed by Mary's direct assertions throughout her life stories. For instance, Mary begins *Lakota Woman* with the declaration that she is "a woman of the Red Nation, a Sioux woman" (1991:3). The link which Mary stresses between herself and Lakota culture is central to her self-understanding.

The terms, Lakota and Sioux, are used variously throughout *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman*. In the opening chapter of *Lakota Woman*, Mary offers the following categorization of the Lakota people:

> The Brules are part of the Seven Sacred Campfires, the seven tribes of the Western Sioux known collectively as Lakota. The Eastern Sioux are called Dakota. (1991:5)

Powers, in providing an analysis of the problems of Sioux nomenclature, states that the original Seven Fireplaces [Seven Sacred Campfires] migrated from Minnesota and spoke three different dialects, Dakota, Nakota, and Lakota (1977:5). The designation of Sioux was used by Europeans in 1640 to indicate all of the members of the Seven Fireplaces,[7] but terms such as Lakota later became increasingly utilized "to define and classify political units" (1977:5). Mary refers to herself and others as both Sioux and Lakota throughout the two books. The following is an example of the interchangeable use of the terms as employed in *Ohitika Woman*:

> The government tries to solve the modern "Indian problem" by relocation, which means dumping large numbers of *Lakota* [emphasis added] men and women in faraway cities.

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[7]The pejorative term, Sioux, is "a French corruption of the Algonquian *nadowe-ıs-iw-ug* 'lesser, or small, adder' . . . which was used by the Ojibwas to distinguish the Seven Fireplaces from the Iroquois" (Powers 1977:5).

> There are sizable numbers of *Sioux* [emphasis added] in L.A., Denver, Chicago, Rapid City, Cleveland, and St. Paul . . . . (1994:153)

While an extensive study of the possible patterns in the contrasting usage is beyond the scope of the present work, it should be noted that Sioux is used to a greater extent in *Lakota Woman* (written in 1979), while Lakota is used increasingly in *Ohitika Woman* (1994). The difference may reflect the increasing usage of Lakota on the Pine Ridge and Rosebud Reservations in a conscious effort to replace the derogatory designation of Sioux (Powers 1990:177n.1). The accelerated use may also be linked to Mary's connection to the term which resulted from the titling of her initial life story, *Lakota Woman*. In using Lakota, Mary acknowledges and deconstructs the pejorative associations of the term, Sioux. Despite the alternating use of Lakota and Sioux, I will foreground 'Lakota' in my discussion since Mary herself moves towards an accentuated use of the term.

In casually speaking with Lakota women from the Pine Ridge and Rosebud Reservations, I found that several women expressed a concern over the title of *Lakota Woman*. They felt that the use of *Lakota Woman* as a title suggests that Mary Brave Woman Olguin was assuming representation for an entire culture. Mary Brave Woman Olguin is a Lakota woman, but some Lakota women have asserted that she is *a* woman, *one* woman. In referring to Mary as *Lakota Woman*, she too easily assumes the role of spokesperson and prototype for all Lakota women. An example of a contrasting Lakota life story is expressed in *Madonna Swann: A Lakota Woman's Story* (1991) which portrays the life of a vastly different Lakota woman who adheres to the Catholic tradition, struggles with tuberculosis, and is by no means involved in radical political activity. The contrast between the life stories of Madonna Swann and Mary Brave Woman Olguin reveals that there are many different types of women within the Lakota culture, all of whom have different stories. As opposed to the title, the actual content of the books

reveals a textured portrayal of the context-specific life of Mary Brave Woman Olguin. The unique circumstances of Mary's life will be the focus of the remaining discussion.

Mary Brave Woman Olguin is a Lakota woman, but she is also of mixed-blood ancestry. The present discussion is not an attempt to isolate qualities of Native identity and blood quantum, but rather to explore the manner in which Mary Brave Woman Olguin expresses her own identity as a mixed-blood Lakota woman. *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman* chronicle Mary Brave Woman Olguin's various negotiations of her mixed-blood position and the manner in which she attempts to reconnect with Lakota culture.

In *Lakota Woman*, Mary Brave Woman Olguin emphasizes her mixed-blood position and struggles to reconcile the Native and non-Native aspects of her identity. Her mixed-blood status is isolated as a defining characteristic which has contributed to her hardships:

> It is not the big, dramatic things so much that get us down . . . It is being an iyeska, a half-blood, being looked down upon by whites and fullbloods alike. (1991:5)

In comparing *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman*, it becomes evident that Mary 's understanding of her mixed-blood position developed during the period between the recording of the two life stories. Mary Brave Woman Olguin's recognition of her position as a mixed-blood is expressed differently in the latter life story. In *Ohitika Woman*, Mary Brave Woman Olguin displays an increased awareness of the affinity between full-bloods and those of mixed-blood ancestry:

> Ikche wichasha [full-blood] or iyeska [mixed-blood], we are all no longer living like the old Indians--we all go to the same stores and supermarkets and have had to compromise, with one foot in the white and the other in the Indian world. Also, at Rosebud we are all related in some way, particularly as we recognize fourth, fifth, and sixth cousins as relatives. I am a half-breed. So what? (1994:10)

The process of arriving at the understanding expressed in *Ohitika Woman* can be traced by attending to Mary's growing understanding of traditional Lakota culture. I will examine the progression which ensues throughout the books, beginning with Mary Brave Woman Olguin's childhood upbringing and ending with her account, in *Ohitika Woman*, of the choices she intends to make for her own children.

Mary Brave Woman Olguin describes herself as being "raised as a Catholic, in the white man's way" (1994:18), but she struggles with her non-Native upbringing and ancestry. Mary expresses her life-long frustration with her racial background in *Lakota Woman*:

> I have white blood in me. Often I have wished to be able to purge it out of me. As a young girl I used to look at myself in the mirror, trying to find a clue as to who and what I was. (1991:9)

Mary Brave Woman Olguin wants to identify herself as a Lakota woman as evidenced by her overt declarations that she is a "Sioux" woman (1991:3, 1994:208). However, in *Lakota Woman*, she often expresses difficulty in reconciling her Lakota identity with her mixed-blood background. Mary's desire to "purge" her non-Native blood indicates her inability to resolve what she perceives to be an incongruence between the Native and non-Native aspects of herself.

Mary Brave Woman Olguin's growing understanding of herself as a Lakota woman is facilitated by her efforts to gain knowledge of traditional Lakota culture. Primarily through her relationship with Leonard Crow Dog, Mary is able to reconnect with traditional Lakota culture. Mary describes Leonard Crow Dog as "a peyote priest, but also a traditional Lakota medicine man, a yuwipi, and a Sun Dancer" (1991:98) and she claims that he is "famous among many Indians and whites alike" (1991:245). Through his teaching, Mary Brave Woman Olguin is able to gain insight into many aspects of Lakota

culture of which she was previously unaware. She describes the way in which Leonard Crow Dog helped her to reconcile her mixed-blood background:

> He [Leonard Crow Dog] taught me so much about ceremonies and how to prepare for them. . . . He had a good influence on me. He opened the door to me, a door that led me back to being Indian and not merely a half-breed. (1994:52)

Mary's growing understanding of Lakota culture is exemplified through the contrasting descriptions of traditional ceremonies in the two books. *Lakota Woman* offers very detailed factual descriptions of ceremonies which resemble ethnographic accounts. On the other hand, Mary relates her personal experiences of ceremonies in *Ohitika Woman*. Prior to her relationship with Leonard Crow Dog, Mary claims that she was fairly ignorant of Lakota rituals:

> I knew little of traditional ways. I had been to a few peyote meetings without really understanding them. I had watched one Sun Dance, and later the Ghost Dance held at Wounded Knee, like a spectator--an emotional spectator, maybe, but not different from white friends watching these dances. (1991:200)

Mary Brave Woman Olguin equates her position with that of a non-Native spectator indicating that, despite her inclusiveness in Lakota culture, she sees herself as an outsider. Mary's description of her distance from Lakota ceremonies portrays the fissure which she attempts to reconcile throughout *Lakota Woman*.

Mary Brave Woman Olguin's ignorance of Lakota rituals, akin to that of a non-Native observer, is conveyed through the objective third-person descriptions of ceremonies which are prevalent throughout *Lakota Woman*. For instance, the sweat lodge is described in a manner which focuses upon structural components:

> The lodge is made of sixteen willow sticks, tough but resilient and easy to bend. They are formed into a beehive-shaped dome. The sweat lodges vary in size. They can accommodate anywhere from eight to twenty-four people. (1991:203)

The above summary of the structure of the sweat lodge resembles the detailed ethnographic accounts which are found in anthropological literature. The following is an example of the ethnographic description of a sweat lodge provided by Powers:

> The sweat lodge is constructed in the following manner: Sixteen willow saplings . . . are then bent over and tied with rawhide thongs to form a domoidal structure, at the center approximately four feet from the ground to the apex of the roof. (1977:89)

The similarity between ethnographic accounts and portions of Erdoes' co-authored books has been addressed by Rice (1994). Rice has asserted, particularly with reference to *Lame Deer: Seeker of Visions*, that Erdoes has spuriously incorporated ethnographic accounts into the text and attributed such narratives to the Lakota co-author. The objective and descriptive language used for discussions of certain Lakota ceremonies suggests that Rice's claim may apply to some of the material in *Lakota Woman*. Whether initiated by Mary Brave Woman Olguin or by Richard Erdoes, the ethnographic mode of description depicts Mary's isolation from traditional Lakota ceremonies.

The detached factual style used to describe ceremonies in *Lakota Woman* is contrasted by the personal anecdotal descriptions of ceremonies found in *Ohitika Woman*. For instance, in referring to the dog feast of the *Yuwipi*[8] ceremony, Mary declares that she likes Laura's feasts the best "because she always singed the dog real good, and she was

[8]Mary Brave Woman Olguin describes the *Yuwipi* as a ceremony which takes place when "[s]ome person wants to find something--something that can be touched, or something that exists only in the mind" (1991:207). She further states that the yuwipi man "is the go-between, a bridge between the people and the spirits" (1991:207). Through his connection to the spirits, the answer to the person's question is achieved.

real clean, and the meat was always tender" (1994:108). Such a description indicates Mary's visceral experience of specific ceremonies. The chapter entitled "Peyote Memories" offers several anecdotal descriptions of peyote meetings which Mary found particularly memorable. For example, she describes a specific meeting which occurred during a storm:

> We had one peyote meeting where the wind was so strong that it lifted the whole tipi up, and lightening was hitting the ground everywhere around us. It was like an earthquake. A lightening bolt struck the tipi of our friend Rod Skenandore while he was inside. A fireball was rolling around on the floor and he was quite shaken up. Our meeting went on all the same . . . . (1994:89)

The accounts of Mary's personal experiences are more textured and intimate than the ethnographic mode of description used in *Lakota Woman.*

Mary's understanding of her place within Lakota culture is facilitated by her growing personal connection to Lakota ceremonies. The ending of *Lakota Woman* describes Mary Brave Woman Olguin's "final" attainment of an understanding of herself as a Lakota woman. Her exhuberation with her realized identity is expressed during her piercing[9] at the 1977 Sun Dance:

> It was at that moment that I, a white-educated half-blood, became *wholly* Indian [emphasis added]. I experienced a great rush of happiness. I heard a cry coming from my lips: . . . My Voice you shall hear: I will live! (1991:260)

Mary's Lakota identity is primarily derived from her reconnection with Lakota ceremonies. With the phrases "my voice you shall hear" and "I will live," Mary Brave Woman Olguin invokes the traditional songs of the Lakota Sun Dance. Similarities accorded with songs of the Sun Dance are illustrated in accounts such as those provided by Densmore:

[9]Piercing refers to the ceremonial practice of piercing the flesh during the Sun Dance.

Song of the Final Visit to the Vapor Lodge
a voice
I will send
hear me
the land
all over
a voice
I am sending
hear me
I will live (1992 [1918]:124)

Opening Prayer of the Sun Dance
grandfather.
a voice I am going to send
hear me
all over the universe
a voice I am going to send
hear me
grandfather
I will live
I have said it. (1992 [1918]:131)

Mary's invocation of traditional Sun Dance songs juxtaposes the contemporary struggle for identification and survival with the spiritual continuance of the Lakota people. In *Lakota Woman*, Mary expresses her perception of herself as Lakota in absolute terms which stress that she is "wholly Indian." Mary's claim as to the completeness of her Lakota identity shifts with her realization, in *Ohitika Woman*, that cultural boundaries are indistinct.

Mary Brave Woman Olguin's exhilaration at seeing herself as a Lakota woman provides her with a moment of entry into Lakota culture, but the process of coming to terms with her mixed-blood status continues in *Ohitika Woman*. With the claim, "I'm forever bouncing back and forth between the white and the Indian world" (1994:161), Mary provides a description of her "white and middle-class binges." According to Mary Brave Woman Olguin, the white binges involve loud music, makeup, frizzy hair, junk

food, television, and Margaritas. Eventually, the indulgence ends with the exclamation, "Shit, what is going on here?" (1994:161) and the transformation back to "the Indian world" then takes place. Mary states that the transformation involves the re-instatement of a choker, loose hair, peyote meetings, *Yuwipi*, forty-niner songs, *wasna*, and *wojapi*.[10]

Mary Brave Woman Olguin attributes her "white man binges" (1994:161) to her exposure to middle-class comforts while staying in New York. Mary lived in New York with Richard Erdoes and his wife, in the late 1970s, during Leonard Crow Dog's imprisonment. At this time, while in her mid twenties, Mary undertook the recording of *Lakota Woman.* I suggest that, given Mary's life-long struggle in securing her racial identity, her difficulties with the confluence of Native and non-Native elements in her life arose long before she went to New York. Conversely, I suggest that Mary's stay in New York contributed to a consolidation of her Lakota identity. Mary gained a sense of herself as a woman who was regarded as representative of Native culture and essential to the civil rights issues which were being raised with Leonard Crow Dog's imprisonment. One's identity is often accentuated while in foreign surroundings as illustrated by the following joke from the Pine Ridge and Rosebud Reservations:

> An Indian on Pine Ridge is just another Indian. If he goes off to Nebraska he portrays himself as a local leader. If he makes it to New York, he is a chief. If he gets to Europe, he immediately becomes a shaman. (Bucko 1996:148)

Mary's understanding of her role as a Lakota woman is partially consolidated through her experiences as a spokesperson for Native issues while outside of the reservation. Surrounded by those unfamiliar with Native culture, she was prompted to recognize herself as Lakota.

In *Ohitika Woman*, Mary Brave Woman Olguin's understanding of her mixed-blood identity is supported by an awareness of the difficulties concomitant with being a Lakota

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[10] *Wasna* and *wojapi* are traditional Lakota foods.

woman. *Ohitika Woman* ends with Mary's discussion of her hopes for her children. Her recognition of the need to incorporate both traditional and contemporary Native and non-Native culture into the lives of her children indicates Mary's acceptance of the indistinct categories of culture and identity:

> I try to raise my own kids in a traditional way while also trying to get them a modern education. I know that this is a hopeless contradiction, but then I've never lost hope yet. I will endure. I will fight to the end of my days--for everything that lives. (1994:274)

Mary Brave Woman Olguin acknowledges that she must teach her children the traditional *and* contemporary ways of life, which necessarily involve aspects of non-Native culture. She acknowledges the contradictions and challenges in being a Lakota woman, but assumes the role and implies that she will provide for survival by ensuring that her children are able to perpetuate Lakota culture.

While Mary Brave Woman Olguin does not directly address her mixed-blood heritage at the end of *Ohitika Woman*, she indirectly accepts aspects of her non-Native upbringing in suggesting something similar for her children. She returns to an acknowledgment of the difficulties that being a mixed-blood has created for her in recognizing that her children will have to deal with similar problems. The difference between the perspectives in *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman* is the ease with which her mixed-blood position is accepted in *Ohitika Woman* both for herself and for her children. Initially, Mary Brave Woman Olguin struggles with her Lakota identity, but she comes to acknowledge and accept being a mixed-blood *as* a Lakota woman.

The emphasis on Lakota in the designation, *Lakota Woman*, highlights a persistent theme evident throughout both books. Mary attempts to indicate, or name, her place within Lakota culture. At the same time, she struggles with her non-Native background and her existence in a community which must bridge two cultures. Finally, Mary Brave

Woman Olguin abandons the distinction that she is a Lakota woman *but* also a mixed-blood woman and achieves an understanding of herself as a Lakota woman *and* a mixed-blood woman.

Mary Brave Woman Olguin's understanding of herself as a Lakota woman fluctuates but moves forward throughout *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman*. In *Lakota Woman*, her moment of entry into Lakota culture arises through an engaged participation in the traditional Lakota ceremony of the Sun Dance. Mary Brave Woman Olguin's awareness of her place within Lakota culture is expanded in *Ohitika Woman* with the acceptance of the contemporary as well as the traditional aspects of Lakota culture. Mary's presentation of her Lakota identity is brought full circle from the presentation of her childhood in *Lakota Woman* to her views on the upbringing of her own children in *Ohitika Woman*. Mary's recognition of her role as a mother issues forth her awareness of her identity as a woman, to which I will now turn.

(Lakota) ***Woman***

In *Ohitika Woman*, Mary Brave Woman Olguin acknowledges that women fulfill a vital role in Lakota culture which supports her identity as a Lakota woman:

> Together with my *sisters* from many tribes, I am a *birth-giver*, a rebirth-giver, fighting to ensure a life for unborn generations. I am a Sioux *woman*! [emphasis added] (1994:208)

The emphasis which Mary places upon her reproductive role, and her responsibility in ensuring cultural survival through contributing to future generations, provides her with a sense of empowerment. Mary Brave Woman Olguin repeatedly asserts the importance of womanhood and her belief in feminism (1994:58). I will explore the identifier, woman, in a discussion of Mary's understanding of her role as a woman, specifically as a Lakota woman.

Given my own understanding of feminism, I had difficulty reconciling Mary Brave Woman Olguin's reliance upon Leonard Crow Dog with her claims of feminism. The continual emphasis upon Leonard Crow Dog, particularly throughout *Lakota Woman*, indicates Mary's dependence upon Leonard Crow Dog and their relationship. Elizabeth Cook-Lynn's review of the book describes it as a story which "fades into the romanticized spiritual redemption of a woman who loves a man" (1991:79). Eventually, I came to understand that Mary Brave Woman Olguin derives a sense of her place within Lakota culture through Leonard Crow Dog's connection to traditional culture. The strength of the feminine in Lakota myth and history is conveyed to Mary through Leonard Crow Dog's teachings and she gains an understanding of her gender identity through their relationship. Mary Brave Woman Olguin relies heavily upon her husband because he mediates her connection to traditional Lakota culture and indicates the place of women within that culture.

While I had difficulty in understanding Mary's dependence upon Leonard Crow Dog, Rice expresses his concern with the description of gender issues and male dominance in *Lakota Woman*:

> Erdoes' female *persona* may or may not be the real Mary Crow Dog, but her comments on the status of Sioux women, past and present, as having to do all the work without real respect from men is simply false, as attested to by both oral tradition and the written record. Saying that men paid lip service respect to Grandmother Earth and the White Buffalo Calf Woman, while treating their women as baby makers and household drudges might be acceptable if "men" were changed to "*some* young, culturally ignorant members of AIM in the early 1970's." But *Erdoes* [emphasis added] indicts all of Lakota culture extending the stigma of male dominance to a mockery of the prohibition against menstruating women attending ceremonies . . . . (1994:174)

There are several problems with Rice's statements, including his emphasis upon Erdoes as the sole author of *Lakota Woman* and his assumption that the books are inclusive of all Lakota women, rather than indicative of one woman's experience. Rice's imperious disparaging of Mary effectively reduces her to an empty sign. More important to the present discussion, however, is Rice's perception of Mary Brave Woman Olguin's feminist beliefs. In criticizing Mary's statement that women do not receive respect from Lakota men, Rice fails to take into account the complication of traditional gender roles within the contemporary context. Rice cites Reyer (1991) in his discussion of contemporary perspectives on gender roles, but he emphasizes the "traditional role of Lakota women as it has been adapted to the modern world" (1994:192). By focusing on the traditional role of women, Rice is neglecting to acknowledge the fact that the views in *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman* are based upon the experiences of a contemporary mixed-blood woman whose understanding of gender inequality may be valid despite its incongruence with ethnographic accounts.

Both my concern with Mary's dependency on Leonard Crow Dog and Rice's criticism of Mary's feminist statements can be dismissed with a deeper comprehension of Mary Brave Woman Olguin's understanding of her role as a Lakota woman within contemporary culture. The lack of respect to which Mary refers reflects her frustration with the disjunction between traditional and contemporary gender roles. A 1940s psychological report done on Pine Ridge Reservation correlates men's antagonism towards women with the frustration which results from the loss of gender roles:

> Dakota culture was definitely oriented toward the life and pursuits of the men, and the women's life was almost completely supplementary to the men's activities. The position to which most of the men have now been reduced by economic and political changes has not given them much prestige by which they can maintain their pre-eminent role. The men have felt, therefore, some resentment, some guilt,

> and much dissatisfaction, and they often become critical of
> and antagonistic towards women. (McGregor 1946:56)

Similar statements have been made more recently by Native men and women, such as Mary Brave Woman Olguin. The lack of respect, to which Mary refers is demonstrated by many Lakota men who have lost respect for themselves and their women because of unemployment and other hardships.

Many Native men, such as those who attended the 1993 conference on "Wellness and Native Men," realize the need to return "to the respect that we once held our woman--the respect that was there as the lifegivers without being macho or sexual or paternalistic" (Anderson 1993:13). In making this statement, Native men acknowledge that they display a lack of respect towards women at present. In assimilating the values of non-Native society, contemporary Native men have become frustrated with their powerless position and often take their frustrations out on Native women (Anderson 1993:12-13, 15). The difficulties presently endured by Native men are also described by Lindy Trueblood:

> The women of our tribe are the stronger of the two--not
> necessarily because our men are weak, but because the
> available work is more woman-oriented. . . . In my opinion,
> they [men] seem to fall into the hopeless need for laborers
> and they get a feeling of uselessness. (Reyer 1991:50)

The Native men being criticized in *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman* are suffering because of the identity crisis resulting from a shift in gender roles. Grant, in describing the intricacies of gender relations in contemporary Native culture, indicates that there is a lack of a contemporary cultural identity for men, resulting in the "loss of their soul" and leading to the mistreatment of women (1993:57). Similarly, Mary Brave Woman Olguin indicates that many contemporary Lakota women must deal with the outward projections of anger and despair displayed by Lakota men who have lost their sense of productivity and contribution:

> I have a feeling that many of ~ur men resent women, and I know the reason. The men ‿ n't hunt anymore, can't find jobs, can't provide. There is nothing they can do. A woman can still make beadwork to sell to tourists, or wait on tables in the tourist traps along the highway, or clean up in the many motels. The women get the welfare checks, the Aid to Dependent Children. . . . So the roles are reversed. (1994:186)

It is clear from the many accounts of both Native and non-Native writers and scholars that contemporary some Lakota men demonstrate a lack of respect towards Lakota women because their traditional gender roles have eroded resulting in despair and frustration. I will now turn to an investigation of the way in which Mary illustrates the loss of traditional roles through her use of analogy and humor.

Mary criticizes male dominance in discussing Leonard Crow Dog's occasional disrespect for women. Leonard Crow Dog is held to have the ability to convey the majesty and power of the sacred feminine but "at almost the same time be very macho, very man-centered" (1994:185). Mary Brave Woman Olguin equates him with Anung-Ite, the mythical Two-Face Woman, whose face is very beautiful on one side and extraordinarily ugly on the other (1994:185). The analogy is then extended in a general reference to Lakota culture: "we have all become two-faced when another culture was imposed upon us from the outside" (1994:185).

Anung-Ite is a supernatural being who was cursed with a face that has an ugly and a beautiful side because she "neglected her tipi, forgot her sons, flouted her husband and offered herself as the companion of another" (Walker 1983:294). Attributed with inciting dissension, temptation, and gossip (Walker 1980:53), Anung-Ite is responsible for seducing a god away from his wife, as well as leading the Lakota away from their comfortable existence in the underworld. Anung-Ite's actions anger the gods (Walker 1982:10) and she can be seen to represent a force which separates the people from their

spirituality. She is subsequently punished for her disrespect and negligence. Similarly, certain members of contemporary Lakota culture who demonstrate a lack of respect for gender roles are accordingly punished through a dislocation from their culture.

Mary uses the analogy of Anung-Ite to explain the attitudes of Leonard Crow Dog and others who have been affected by the loss of traditional gender roles. At other points in the books, Mary Brave Woman Olguin uses jokes to indicate the way in which the contemporary positions of Lakota men and women differ from those which were held in traditional culture. While making fun of contemporary gender roles, Mary simultaneously bemoans the loss of tradition and conveys her disdain for the modern situation in which Lakota men and women find themselves.

Throughout *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman*, several jokes are told which relate to the contemporary position of Lakota men and women who have lost an understanding of traditional gender roles. The juxtaposition of the traditional past with the present Native situation creates a sense of irony in the jokes. The common experience of the loss of tradition provides the jokes with a communal factor; a characteristic which is described by Vizenor:

> What's comic is communal. That is, it can't be known very well as being comical if it isn't a departure from something that's pretty well established . . . you have audiences in on what the differences are. (Miller 1995:80)

The necessary comic difference, in the case of the following jokes, is that many members of contemporary Lakota culture are aware that traditional gender roles have been eroded with the influence of non-Native culture. Alex Jacobs Karoniaktatie, former editor of *Akwesasne Notes*, describes that laughter is necessary when coping with cultural devastation:

> Indians, Native People, deal with pain every day, every week, every year, every season. That's why we are so dang

> humorous, that's why we laugh so much, that's why we kid each other mercilessly . . . In the end we all would rather laugh than cry. (1995:7)

While the jokes in *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman* are quite humorous, the loss of tradition to which they refer is a reality that is painfully known by many Lakota men and women.

The irony of colonization, whereby "progress" supplanted an effective existing system, is highlighted with Mary's quoting of a humorous poster which hangs in the governor's office in Pierre:

> WHEN THE WHITE MAN
> DISCOVERED THIS COUNTRY
> INDIANS WERE RUNNING IT --
> NO TAXES OR TELEPHONES.
> WOMEN DID ALL THE WORK --
> THE WHITE MAN THOUGHT
> HE COULD IMPROVE UPON
> A SYSTEM LIKE THAT (1991:66)

The sarcasm of the joke is directed towards the ignorance of "the white man" in changing a proficient system. Criticism is launched against the structures of non-Native society, but the joke also invokes contemporary concerns over aspects of Native culture. For instance, the previous absence of taxes alludes to the present dependency of many Native North Americans on the welfare system. Stating that women did all the work is ironic because it is often only women who are able to get work at present. The same joke is also included in *Ohitika Woman* (1994:180) and in both cases the surrounding discussion involves a description of abandoned traditional gendered practices, such as female puberty ceremonies (1991:66) and courting customs (1994:180). The idealized remembrance of traditional Lakota customs, both in the joke and the surrounding discussion of gender roles, are covert lamentations of the present situation in which gender roles are ill-defined.

The glorification of the past indicates a veiled dissatisfaction with elements of contemporary Lakota culture.

Mary Brave Woman Olguin's challenge to lethargic men provides another example of her droll criticism of contemporary gender roles. Some Lakota men jokingly claim that they must be free of work in order to fulfill their traditional role as protectors of women. Mary counters with the comment, ""So, go already," I tell them. "Be traditional. Get me a buffalo"" (1991:67). The erosion of men's roles as hunters and protectors is the source of irony in Mary's joke. The depletion of buffalo, territorial grievances, and legal battles over hunting and fishing rights in certain Native cultures are lamented with Mary's absurd request for a newly hunted buffalo. Her joke covertly condemns the contemporary subsistence activities of the Lakota. While both jokes deal directly with the loss of traditional gender roles, a subtext is implied through the romanticization of the past, which conveys Mary's bewilderment with certain aspects of contemporary Lakota culture.

The need for feminist beliefs in Native culture has arisen partly because of the loss of traditional roles which provided for reciprocal respect between the sexes. The feminist movement is primarily a non-Native contemporary movement and it should be noted that, despite Mary's positioning of herself as a feminist, her views often differ from those of a feminism which she terms "a white middle-class thing" (1991:31). Grant states that "many [non-Native] feminists operate in cooperation with a racist system" (1993:56), which further marginalizes Native women who are trying to maintain aspects of their culture in addition to addressing women's issues. The intrinsic connection between Lakota culture and gender roles, and contemporary culture and the need for feminism indicates that a recovery of traditional values is essential to Mary's hopes to remedy the relations between Lakota men and women. Empowerment through a reconnection with Lakota culture remains Mary's primary feminist concern, as indicated by the following statement:

> Once our men had gotten their rights and their balls back, we might start arguing with them about who should do the dishes. (1991:131)

Mary Brave Woman Olguin conveys her discontent with the present interaction between Lakota men and women. However, she envisions one another working together to ensure a reinstatement of the respect which was concomitant with the values of traditional Lakota culture.

Mary Brave Woman Olguin's reliance upon Leonard Crow Dog may be understood as her effort to connect with the values of traditional Lakota culture which, in turn, contributes to her empowerment as a Lakota woman. While Mary acknowledges that Leonard Crow Dog displays disrespectful behavior towards women, as described earlier with reference to Anung-Ite, his position as a spiritual leader provides Mary with considerable knowledge of traditional Lakota beliefs. Mary Brave Woman Olguin describes the process by which she came to learn of her Lakota heritage through her relationship with Leonard Crow Dog:

> On the one hand I was still the same footloose half-breed girl who once had ripped off stores in many big cities; on the other, I was becoming a traditional Sioux woman steeped in the ancient beliefs of her people. (1994:251)

Mary's understandings of feminism involve reconnecting with Lakota culture. She achieves that connection primarily through her relationship with Leonard Crow Dog.

The emphasis upon "woman" as an identifier in the title, *Lakota Woman*, aptly characterizes Mary Brave Woman Olguin's negotiations of what it means to be Lakota. In *Lakota Woman*, Mary grasps a textured awareness of feminist beliefs and the significance of gender roles in traditional Lakota culture. Her understandings of feminism indicate that the link between being a woman and being Lakota is essential, hence the union of the identifiers, *Lakota* and *Woman*.

Mary Brave Woman Olguin nostalgically laments the loss of traditional Lakota gender roles. In *Lakota Woman*, Mary emphasizes the value of traditional Lakota culture and subsequently devalues that which is contemporary. As was the case in my discussion of Mary's understanding of her mixed-blood identity, Mary Brave Woman Olguin's recognition of her role as a woman within Lakota culture progresses with her awareness of the interpenetration of traditional and contemporary aspects of Lakota culture. This move forward is examined in the following section.

(Ohitika) ***Woman***

I will now turn towards an examination of the identifier, *Ohitika Woman*, in an effort to explore Mary's developing understanding of her connection to Native women. Mary was honored by receiving the name, *Ohitika* (brave) *win* (woman), during a Lakota ceremony. Her ceremonially-acquired name implicitly indicates her designation as a Lakota woman while also emphasizing her individual identity. In *Lakota Woman*, Mary describes being named during an honoring ceremony for Leonard Crow Dog after his release from jail:

> Two medicine men, Wallace Black Elk and Bill Eagle Feathers, led me into the center of the circle, fastened an eagle plume in my hair, and gave me a new name: Ohitika Win, "Brave Woman." It made me proud and happy. (1991:240)

This same ceremony is described in *Ohitika Woman*,[11] but with one important defining characteristic. The name is acknowledged to pertain to all Native women:

[11]It should be note‿ ‿at, at the beginning of *Lakota Woman*, Mary declares that "[a]fter I had my baby during the siege at Wounded Knee they gave me a special name--Ohitika Win, Brave Woman . . . " (1991:3). While it's possible that Mary Brave Woman Olguin was named twice, I assume that by "after Wounded Knee" she means the distant future and is referring to the ceremony which took place in 1977 with Leonard Crow Dog's release from jail.

> In 1977, during a big honoring feast for Crow Dog, I was honored too. Two medicine men, Bill Eagle Feathers and Wallace Black Elk, gave me a new name--Ohitika Win, meaning Brave Woman . . . But I have a feeling that most of the Indian women I know are Ohitika Win, are very brave. (1994:179)

While receiving the name in the first book instills Mary with a sense of self-respect, the feeling becomes extended, in *Ohitika Woman*, to respect for the bravery of many Native women.

In *Lakota Woman*, Mary is involved in stabilizing her own identity as a Lakota woman, while *Ohitika Woman* involves the transition towards an identification with other Lakota women. In naming her connection to Lakota culture, Mary Brave Woman Olguin states that "[t]ogether with my sisters from many tribes . . . I am a Sioux woman," indicating her solidarity with other Native women (1994:208). Implicit in the connection between being Lakota and being a woman is the need for Mary, as a feminist, to identify and relate to other Native women. *Ohitika* is used to designate the qualities of strong Native women, while simultaneously establishing Mary Brave Woman Olguin's association to those women.

The solidarity of Native women, and Mary's implicit affiliation with the sisterhood, is demonstrated through the systematic listing of the names of strong Native women. The naming of Native women, in *Ohitika Woman*, adheres to a prominent highly stylized pattern. Eleven pages of the chapter "Bleeding Always Stops If You Press Down Hard Enough" are devoted to a roster of women's names, in which the women's names are written in capital letters with a description of each woman's extraordinary qualities. The women are in some way connected to A.I.M., have endured a great deal, and have contributed to the empowerment of Native North American women. Mary employs miscellany to great effect as a quote is attributed to each woman being discussed. The list is prefaced with the claim:

> I am proud of our Indian women, proud for their courage in adversity, for holding the tribes together. I think of them often, and I remember. (1994:194)

Mary remembers certain Native women through the retelling of some of their significant actions and she connects those actions to the woman's name. Lionel Bordeaux, president of Sinte Gleska University on Rosebud Reservation, describes the importance of remembering people and their deeds "so that the honor which is attached to that name might never be forgotten" (Thunder 1992:A2). The honoring of a name serves to elicit the remembrances of the person being recalled, their activities, and the contextual associations which are connected to that person's life. In elaborating upon broad cultural associations, a web of interconnections is established which situates the story in relation to other people and their stories.

Mary recounts the names, activities, and memorable words of particular Native women so that the honor associated with the woman's deeds might be remembered. The following is an example of the type of recitation devoted to each woman:

> One of the bravest women I ever met was GLADYS BISONETTE, ficm Pine Ridge, who always stood up to the goons who had murdered so many of our people, and who told our mini-Hitler, Dicky Wilson [former tribal president], to his face that he was a killer, a crook, and a drunken fool. It was Gladys, and a few other women like her, who, shortly before the takeover, at a meeting in Calico, told the men: "Let's make our stand at Wounded Knee, because that place has meaning for us, because so many of our people were massacred there. If you guys don't want to do it, we women will, and you men can stay behind and mind the kids." (1994:196)

The excerpts are all quite similar in form, and a quote is also attributed to each woman. Embedded speech, the narrative device which sets a quote apart from the text through the

use of quotation marks, occurs in most of the listings. Embedded speech is also evident within some Lakota songs, whereby certain words are attributed to particular people. Densmore provides an example with the Sun Dance song which is entitled "Wakan' tanka, Pity Me":

> Climbing Eagle (man's name)
> said this
> "Wakan' tanka
> pity me
> from henceforth
> for a long time I will live"
> he is saying this, and
> stands there, enduring. (1992[1918]:135)

Climbing Eagle's words are incorporated into the song in a manner which indicates that it was he who spoke the words originally. The use of embedded dialogue within the song cited by Densmore, as well in Mary Brave Woman Olguin's honoring of Native women, preserves the words of those being honored.

Mary also includes the brave deeds of each woman alongside the listing of their names. Mary Brave Woman Olguin's recounting of the brave deeds of Native women parallels the Lakota practice of honoring war *coups*. In a footnote to *Ohitika Woman*, *coup* is defined as "a French word meaning to 'strike' or 'hit' [and] *counting coup* [indicates] performing a brave deed by which a young warrior could earn eagle feathers" (1994:10). Lakota war victories are often recalled through the recitation of *coup* stories and honoring songs. *Coup* stories involve the retelling of honorable battle experiences. DeMallie recounts a ceremony which involved the telling of *coup* stories:

> One by one the old men rose to recite their coups (literally, "kill talks"), testifying to their right to dance and participate in the ceremonies . . . After reciting his coup, each man had to make a present to the singers who had sung in his honor. (1984:34-5)

Black Elk, in talking with Neidhart, describes that counting *coup* provides one with distinction and that those who have counted *coup* are honored through songs which memorialize the warrior's name and characteristics (DeMallie 1984:166). The following is the song which was sung to honor Black Elk's involvement in the Wounded Knee massacre:

> With great difficulty they are bringing him.
> . . . Black Elk the great -- with great difficulty
> they are bringing him. (DeMallie 1984:35)

Counting *coup* is an activity which renders great respect upon a successful warrior. The warrior's deeds are remembered and honored through the recall of their actions with *coup* stories and honoring songs.

Young Bear describes the continuation of *coup* stories and songs in contemporary Lakota culture, despite the fact that actual war battles are no longer fought. He states that "even though technology changed the way our warriors fought in battle, the basic idea stayed much the same into the twentieth century and even up to today" (1994:82). The words of the following *coup* song, sung by Young Bear, can be understood in many contexts: ""*Tukta kesa munkin dta ca le waun.*" (I'm willing to lay down my life anywhere.)" (1994:82). The words from the song can be incorporated into different contexts which allude to the fighting of battles. For example, Mary Brave Woman Olguin describes the contemporary battles of those involved in the siege at Wounded Knee:

> Another time a young Indian in our little Datsun chased one
> of the government's huge armored cars. He was banging on
> the armor with a stick, "counting coup." (1991:157)

While the actual context of war battles is no longer applicable to contemporary *coups*, other actions can be held to indicate bravery which is akin to that of counting *coup*, providing impetus for the honoring of such actions. The practice of honoring the brave

deeds of warriors can be discerned in *Ohitika Woman* with the memorialization of the names, speech, and actions of strong Native women. Mary Brave Woman Olguin describes the heroic actions of Annie Mae Aquash and notes the congruence of her activities with the *coup* activities of warriors:

> Someday I will tell her daughters [Annie Mae Aquash's daughters] that she died for them, died like a warrior. Someday I will see Annie Mae. In a strange way I feel that she died so that I, and many others, could survive. That she died because she had made a secret vow, like a Sun Dancer who, obedient to his vow, pierces his flesh and undergoes the pain for all the people so that the people may live. (1991:198)

The noteworthy deeds of the Native women accord similarities with the heroic actions of warriors who counted *coup* in historic Lakota battles. In providing a brief recitation of the names and deeds of significant women, Mary honors the actions of Native women as one would the deeds of a warrior.

In honoring the contemporary *coups* of Native women, Mary Brave Woman Olguin reworks a traditional Lakota custom. Most obviously, women are being honored, rather than men. In addition, *coup* stories generally involve the warfare activities of the Lakota triumphing over an enemy. Mary's listing of contemporary Native women from many different indigenous cultures focuses honoring practices upon those who are connected through their involvement in A.I.M. and in their unified struggle for the empowerment of Native culture. Mary Brave Woman Olguin is also an *ohitika* woman and her life stories, *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman*, can be perceived as an extended version of a *coup* story.

The interconnection between Mary and the women who are honored attests to the solidarity between certain Native women who are striving for empowerment. The attribution of the name, *Ohitika Win*, to other brave women indicates Mary's inclusivity

within the group of Native women, their unified struggle, and the honor which is accorded to their activities. The list of women, twenty-seven in all, ends with the following declaration:

> I could go on and on about strong sisters I'm proud to call my friends, but the list is so long that I better stop here. They are all ohitika win--brave women. (1994:205)

Through incorporating the stories of other women, and referring to them as *ohitika win*, Mary Brave Woman Olguin demonstrates her connection to the greater Native community. Morris and Wander describe the manner in which the incorporation of others into one's story allows for the realization of community:

> . . . [I]dentity that press[es] beyond the given "I," an equivocal "you," and the loathsome "it" toward a "we" out of which a new "I" [is] able to envision the possibilities and potentialities for collective action . . . . (1990:183)

Through acknowledging the connection between specific Native women and her place within that group, Mary's understanding of her identity extends beyond her initial struggle with her mixed-blood status which was expressed primarily in *Lakota Woman*. She comes to understand her identity through her connection with the "we" of other Native women In recognizing her solidarity with *ohitika* women, Mary Brave Woman Olguin acknowledges her own role in the empowerment of Native women. Inasmuch as Mary Brave Woman Olguin's story is a rendering of a *coup* story, her own actions are memorialized in order to provide a record of her brave deeds which contribute to the empowerment of Native women.

Mary Brave Woman Olguin names a place for herself within Lakota culture. She is only able to assume that place, however, after she has named what she perceives Lakota culture to be. Mary negotiates an understanding of Lakota culture through a growing

discernment which is chronicled in *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman*. Initially, Mary Brave Woman Olguin understands Lakota culture as that which is traditional and specifically removed from that which is modern, non-Native, or related to being a mixed-blood. Gradually, in *Lakota Woman*, she comes to understand herself as a Lakota woman through her reconnection with traditional Lakota ceremonies. Mary Brave Woman Olguin's experience of Lakota ceremonies is initially the prime index for her experience of being Lakota.

In *Ohitika Woman*, Mary Brave Woman Olguin comes to realize that her experiences span two cultures and are connected to contemporary Native and non-Native culture, as well as traditional Lakota culture. Precisely because she recognizes that Lakota culture is dynamic and incorporates both the traditional and contemporary, Mary Brave Woman Olguin comes to understand her place within that which is adaptive and changing.

Mary's understanding of her role as a woman within Lakota culture similarly progresses through an emphasis upon traditional Lakota culture to an eventual recognition of traditional Lakota culture as it is incorporated into the contemporary context. In the previous section, I detailed Mary's concern over the loss of traditional gender roles and her criticism of contemporary Lakota culture. In only looking to the past, Mary Brave Woman Olguin fails to incorporate the dynamic aspects of Lakota culture which allow for the interpenetration of traditional and contemporary elements. With Mary Brave Woman Olguin's recognition of the strength of other Native women, *ohitika* women, she comes to concentrate upon the positive expressions of gender identity in contemporary contexts.

The resemblance between *coup* stories and Mary's honoring of the deeds of contemporary Native women further indicates Mary's adaptation of traditional Lakota practices to contemporary situations. Instead of lamenting the loss of men's roles as warriors, the honoring of the *coups* of contemporary women places an emphasis upon continuity and change. In incorporating the traditional and contemporary into her

discussion of Native women, Mary Brave Woman Olguin further comes to understand her own identity as a woman, an *ohitika* woman..

Thus far, my analysis of *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman* has involved an examination of the surface features of the books which involve Mary's overt declarations about her place within Lakota culture. I will now turn to an exploration of traditional Lakota naming practices which are not directly discussed in the books, but are nonetheless evident. The incorporation of naming practices in *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman* further demonstrates Mary Brave Woman Olguin's connection to Lakota culture.

II. Naming of Others: Presentation of Lakota Naming Practices

. . . [I]t's important to remember, at least for Indians--just to say the names over and over.

(Green 1984:2)

Previously, I have outlined the manner in which aspects of *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman* reflect Mary Brave Woman Olguin's understanding of her position within Lakota culture. Mary Brave Woman Olguin names herself as a Lakota woman partially through her association with Leonard Crow Dog and her affiliation with Native women. Mary Brave Woman Olguin's listing of the names, stories, and words of Native women, described in the section on *Ohitika Woman,* is a pattern invoked elsewhere throughout the two books. In this chapter I further explore the pattern as it applies to the naming of many different people. Through the repetition of the names of significant figures, Mary Brave Woman Olguin, perhaps intentionally, invokes Lakota naming practices. Names are honored in Lakota culture through their repetition and sometimes through their avoidance. The honoring of names is integral to traditional Lakota culture and finds expression in *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman* through Mary's engagement of naming practices in the contemporary context of her life. The reader acquires information about traditional Lakota naming practices through the use of names in *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman.* We are not informed in a manner which resembles the ethnographic type of description used in detailing the sweat lodge which was addressed earlier. Lakota naming customs can be discerned through their direct incorporation in the books, rather than through statements intended to describe such practices.

I focus upon a discussion of naming practices in this chapter, while the associations which Mary establishes in her naming of specific people also further contribute to her presentation of self-identity. While my discussion emphasizes Lakota naming practices, I also allude to the relevance of specific names to Mary's unfolding identity. The interconnection between identity and naming is fully explored in the final section of the

chapter with a discussion of Mary's personal names and their associations to Lakota naming practices and Lakota identity.

Naming ceremonies, in and of themselves, are seldom discussed in the ethnographic literature. For example, Steinmetz indicates that "naming ceremonies usually take place at powwow celebrations" and he lists naming as a "minor ceremony" (1990:82). Only recently have Lakota and non-Native writers and scholars begun to devote more attention to naming. A careful reading of the material by and about Lakota men and women indicates the prominence of naming in many ceremonies, as well as specific naming ceremonies and practices.

It is an honor to receive a ceremonially awarded name (Walker 1983:183), but it is also an honor to have one's name remembered and repeated. Names are often recalled through their use in songs, as indicated by Young Bear:

> . . . [A]ll the honor songs and traditional songs we sing put someone's name in somewhere. All the honor songs made that are used at powwows or sweat lodge, or Sun Dances leave a place for somebody's Indian name. That's because it is a very respected and honored place for people to use their names. (1994:12)

Names accord a prominent place in songs, but people are also honored through the direct invocation of names as well as in the recounting of stories. While at a ceremony to reclaim the proper name and victory associated with a historical area, Lionel Bordeaux addressed the honor associated with names and deeds:

> Name-giving and name-changing is a spiritual occasion and a time for celebration for family and for community . . . Calling people and events by their rightful names was and continues to be important as a way of honoring their deeds, their character and their spiritual powers. (Thunder 1992:A2)

Invoking a name is a way of honoring a person and their deeds. I will explore some of the ways of honoring, such as the repeated invocation of names, the recognition of heroic deeds, and the specific practice of non-naming. I will also explore name-giving ceremonies through a discussion of Mary's personal names.

Repeated Invocation of Names and Deeds

The reverence for names is carried into daily life inasmuch as one's deeds, and their association with one's name, are of vital importance to those within Lakota society. An account, provided by Thomas Tyon, indicates that "if a young man . . . does a great deed, his name will be well known" which, in turn, contributes to the persistence of the Lakota people (Walker 1980:265). Densmore recorded the following statement, attributed to Reverend John Eastman, which highlights the importance of one's name and accomplishments in Lakota culture:

> More than 70 years have passed since this [story] took place, but through a song the Indian who gave himself for the honor of this tribe now receives the reward which an Indian most desires--that his name and deed shall be remembered. (1992 [1918]:516)

Eastman indicates the interconnection between one's name and deeds and emphasizes the value placed upon their remembrance. The practice of remembering important historical figures as well as significant contemporary men and women, through the recall of their names, is demonstrated throughout *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman*. For example, Mary Brave Woman Olguin illustrates the importance of names and their remembrance in her account of the chiefs and medicine men who were present during the siege of Wounded Knee:

> All the old chiefs with the historic great names were there and all the medicine men, people like Fools Crow, Wallace Black Elk, Crow Dog, Chips, and Pete Catches. (1991:123)

Mary indicates the importance of names by stating that the prominent figures have "historic great names." She goes on to list some of the men who were at Wounded Knee, honoring their contribution to the siege and to Lakota culture.

On several occasions throughout *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman*, Mary Brave Woman Olguin invokes the names of Lakota chiefs and warriors who are honored in Lakota culture. The following account describes the deeds of Chief Iron Shell and leads into a discussion of the various relations descended from Iron Shell:

> We are all descended from Chief Iron Shell, Pankeska Maza, a son of a warrior called Bull Tail. Iron Shell was a legendary fighter. In 1843 he killed eleven Pawnees during a single battle. He counted many coups and received many war honors. (1994:10)

In honoring Iron Shell, Mary Brave Woman Olguin establishes historical associations, cites the name of the chief being honored, and describes some of his memorable deeds. In connecting the name of Iron Shell with his deeds, the chief is honored and remembered.

Another example of Mary Brave Woman Olguin's invocation of the names of significant historical figures involves the listing of two important men in her discussion of land rights and cultural survival:

> Our famous chief, Red Cloud, once said: "The white man has made us many promises, but he has kept only one. He said: 'We will take your land,' and he took it." In 1929 or 1930, in my grandmother's day, they were holding a sun dance. It was a secret dance in a hidden place, far from wasichu eyes, because at that time our religion was still outlawed and you could be arrested and jailed for putting on an Indian ceremony. On that occasion, the holy man, Hollow Horn Bear, of my own Ashke clan, spoke to the dancers, saying: "A day will come, and it is not far off,

> when Unchi, our Grandmother Earth, will weep bitter tears,
> asking you to save her for our unborn generations . . . .
> (1994:221)

Mary recalls the words and deeds of those being honored and contexutalizes the remembrance through historical associations. The deeds being honored in Mary Brave Woman Olguin's remembrance of Red Cloud and Hollow Horn Bear are not related to feats of war, but deal with their struggle to carry on Lakota ways. For example, Hollow Horn Bear's deed lies in his position as one who helped maintain outlawed ceremonies. The narrative also establishes several associations between those recalled and the relatives of Mary Brave Woman Olguin. In describing Red Cloud, Mary alludes to her grandmother which situates Mary and her relations within the cataloguing of cultural struggles. The association to Mary's grandmother is further extended in naming the earth as Grandmother. Mary Brave Woman Olguin also intimates her connection with Hollow Horn Bear through the acknowledgment of their common tie within the Ashke clan. In establishing associations to those honored, Mary Brave Woman Olguin consolidates her placement within Lakota culture.

The repetition of the names of significant historical figures, which Mary employs in *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman*, is also found to occur in the narratives of other Lakota men and women. The following account is attributed to Carl Iron Shell, Jr. and was provided during a discussion about Beaver Valley:

> My father, Peter Iron Shell, told of the Chief Iron Shell generation. He said that Chief Two Strikes, Chief He Dog, Chief Turning Bear, and Chief Crazy Horse were all big chiefs who had at one time, all been in Beaver Valley. He also said that Chief Iron Shell and Chief Crow Dog were cousins. (Kadlecek and Kadlecek 1981:113)

Carl Iron Shell lists the names of significant chiefs, establishes some of their connections, situates their remembrance within a certain period of history, and notes the source of his

information. All of these devices aid in establishing the web of contextual interconnections between members of Lakota culture.

The devices which establish the interconnections between members of Lakota culture also occur in Mary Brave Woman Olguin's accounts. The names of principal Lakota historical personages are mentioned several times throughout *Lakota Woman*. Sitting Bull, Crazy Horse, Spotted Tail, Two Strikes and many other key figures in Lakota history are invoked repeatedly. Their deeds are usually described within a legend which highlights the accomplishments of the Crow Dog ancestors and the telling of the story is generally attributed to Leonard Crow Dog or his father, Henry Crow Dog (1991:182). For instance, Mary conveys a story, "as old man Henry tells it" (1991:78), about Two Strikes:

> With Crow Dog were many famous warriors. Numpa Kachpa was there, Two Strikes, who got his name when he shot down two white soldiers riding on the same horse with one bullet. . . . Crow Dog was looking around, hoping to catch himself one of the riderless Crow horses, when he took two enemy arrows. (1991:179)

The *coup* tale honors the Crow Dog ancestor, but embedded within the story is a remembrance of the deeds of another historical figure.

Mary cites another Crow Dog story and states that it is one "which Old Man Henry has told me many times" (1991:181). The account briefly describes the murder of Crazy Horse:

> Crow Dog had been a close friend of Crazy Horse . . . [H]e accompanied Crazy Horse when this Great Warrior surrendered himself at Fort Robinson in 1877. After Crazy Horse was treacherously murdered, it was Crow Dog's cool head and bravery which prevented a general massacre. (1991:181)

Once again, the remembrance of a great warrior is incorporated into the honoring of the Crow Dog relations. In contrast to the above *Lakota Woman* account, Henry Crow Dog tells a very different story when asked to talk about Crazy Horse in *To Kill An Eagle: Indian Views on the Last Days of Crazy Horse* (1981). He never mentions the battle in which Crazy Horse was killed or the involvement of the Crow Dog relations in any of Crazy Horse's actions. While his references are diverse and cover a wide range of topics, such as what foods were eaten by deer, the emphasis is upon Crazy Horse and his name:

> Crazy Horse was not afraid of bears which were the greatest source of danger to man. His horse always warned him of bears or enemies and when Crazy Horse was mounted, the horse rushed off carrying his rider from danger. Because of this, Crazy Horse received his name. (1981:96)

Henry Crow Dog's account directly honors Crazy Horse, demonstrating humility in his omission of references to his own relations. The account used by Mary Brave Woman Olguin emphasizes the affiliation of Leonard Crow Dog's relations with prominent figures. The contrasting emphasis indicates that the implication of the Crow Dog relations may be the result of Mary Brave Woman Olguin's interpretive efforts. The difference between the two narratives indicates Mary's efforts to establish web-like connections which support her identity.

A parallel can be drawn between Mary's honoring of *ohitika* women within her own story and her honoring of significant Lakota figures within the stories of the Crow Dog relations. The life story of Mary Brave Woman Olguin includes the deeds of other women within her own story in order to illustrate Mary's place within the group of women named. Similarly, through honoring the Crow Dog relations and noting her associations to that family, Mary establishes an indirect connection to the prominent Lakota warriors which are invoked through the honoring of the Crow Dog relations. The list of Native women as

well as the naming of Lakota historical figures provide groups of people to which Mary draws associations which support her identity as a Lakota woman.

Mary Brave Woman Olguin demonstrates her place within Lakota culture through her incorporation of naming practices into her own story. Whether through conscious decision or otherwise, Mary honors Lakota figures through the invocation of their names and deeds. Similar practices are evident in the accounts of other members of Lakota culture, indicating the prominence of naming in Lakota culture. While naming practices in *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman* afford Mary associations to those who further support her identity, the very use of such practices also illustrates her position within a culture in which the honoring of names is central.

Repeated Invocation of Contemporary Figures

While considerable respect is expressed for the skills and bravery demonstrated by past heroes, Mary Brave Woman Olguin's life stories also emphasize the contemporary aspects of Lakota culture:

> But you can't live forever off the deeds of Sitting Bull or Crazy Horse, freeload off their legends. You have to make your own legends now. (1991:11)

The recitation of contemporary names, through the application of Lakota naming practices to the contemporary context of her life, can be viewed as Mary Brave Woman Olguin's effort to "make her own legend." Mary Brave Woman Olguin applies the traditional recognition of names to her personal life, in which A.I.M. is of particular significance. Respect is accorded to those connected with the activities of A.I.M. through the repeated invocation of their names. For example, Raymond Yellow Thunder (1991:83), Norman Little Brave (1991:83), and Wesley Bad Heart Bull (1991:119) are often mentioned in *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman.* Raymond Yellow Thunder, Norman Little Brave,

and Wesley Bad Heart Bull were all killed by non-Native men whose racist sentiments were exacerbated by alcohol, resulting in undue violence.

The honoring of chiefs and warriors who died long ago is a way in which to maintain their remembrance. In contrast, I will illustrate that, under certain circumstances, those who have died recently are honored through a deliberate avoidance of their names. Initially, I was confused as to why Mary repeated the names of Raymond Yellow Thunder, Norman Little Brave, and Wesley Bad Heart Bull since they had recently met violent deaths. The most succinctly stated published examples of the custom of non-naming are written mainly about other Native cultures and I will refer to these descriptions since the cultures cited share some affinity with that of the Lakota, but I do not intend to establish a pan-tribal reference. With reference to the Cree and Ojibway, Rupert Ross provides the following descriptions of the hesitancy in pronouncing the names the dead:

> I have been told that, indeed, it is wrong to speak the name of a deceased person for a full six months after death, and wrong even to recount stories which involve him for a full year. I believe, however, that it goes even further than that . . . [A death] happened several years ago. To this day . . . the person who raises [the event] never mentions the dead boy's name or even that there was a death at all. (1992:31)

Another powerful example of this practice is demonstrated in Louise Erdrich's *Love Medicine,* which offers a fictional portrayal of the Chippewa custom in referring to a woman who met a sorrowful death:

> "June!" Her name burst from him. He wanted to take it back as soon as he said it. Never, never, ever call the dead by their names, Grandma said. They might answer. (1993:217)

Both of the deaths referred to by Ross and Erdrich involve unfortunate circumstances, indicating that the practice applies to deaths which reflect a grievous situation.

Evidence that the practice applies to deaths which involve lamentable circumstances can be discerned from the Lakota winter counts included in Walker's *Lakota Society* (1982). Winter counts are the pictographic representations of the significant events of specific years which were historically used as a calendar by the Lakota people. In examining the winter counts, it becomes evident that the names of those who have died either from suicide or murder are specifically not named:

> A child of Drum committed suicide (1982:149) . . . An old woman disappeared (1982:155) . . . A child of Gray Warbonnet committed suicide [or, added by Walker: "Grey Warbonnet shot and killed his own son (when he was drunk)"] (1982:155) . . . While drunk, they killed each other [added by Walker: Probably a reference to the murder of Bull Bear by Red Could during a fight in which other Oglalas were also killed]. (1982:140)

Specifically not naming those who died under dishonorable circumstances is contrasted by the winter counts which specifically mention the names of those who died honorably:

> Pine Shooter was killed by the enemy [added by Walker: Deloria comments that *ahiktepi*, literally, "arriving they kill him," is an idiom meaning "to be killed in battle, killed by the enemy."] (1982:125) . . . Conquering Bear was killed [added by Walker: Appointed chief of the Sioux at the 1851 treaty council, Conquering Bear, a Brule, was killed by Lieutenant J.L. Grattan's command August 19, 1854. In retaliation, the outraged Lakotas killed Grattan and his twenty-nine soldiers, the event which triggered the Sioux war of 1855]. (1982:142)

It is evident from the above accounts that there are specific circumstances in which the names of the dead are avoided. The circumstances of the death are generally disturbing, often involving alcohol-induced violence or suicide. The way in which a death is honored often provides a deeper understanding of the way in which the death is perceived by the Lakota.

Raymond Yellow Thunder, Norman Little Brave, and Wesley Bad Heart Bull were violently murdered in situations which involved alcohol. The circumstances of their deaths parallel those of the alcohol-related murders mentioned in the winter counts in which the names of those murdered are specifically not repeated. I had assumed that the recollection of the deaths of Raymond Yellow Thunder, Norman Little Brave, and Wesley Bad Heart Bull would similarly involve an avoidance of their names. The apparent discrepancy between the two practices prompted me to examine the specific circumstances of their deaths.

Raymond Yellow Thunder, Norman Little Brave, and Wesley Bad Heart Bull are amongst the Native North Americans who have been killed through assault due to prejudice. The description of their deaths is utilized to explain the motivation behind the activities of A.I.M. For instance, at the end of *Ohitika Woman*, the death of Raymond Yellow Thunder is described as inspiring the initial activities of A.I.M. in South Dakota in the 1970s:

> Gordon, Nebraska, that's where it all started, over twenty years ago, with the senseless and brutal murder of Raymond Yellow Thunder by a bunch of drunken rednecks and American Legionnaires. That's when AIM came out from Minnesota to join the Lakota traditionalists, and that was the beginning of the movement. (1994:272)

The names of Raymond Yellow Thunder, Norman Little Brave, and Wesley Bad Heart Bull are essential to the political agenda of A.I.M. and, from Mary Brave Woman Olguin's perspective as an A.I.M. supporter, their deaths are of critical importance to the resistance strategies of the Lakota people. The deaths associated with contemporary resistance may be construed as heroic deeds, similar to those of significant historical figures who contributed to the persistence of the Lakota people. Their names are repeatedly invoked

not in defiance of the custom of refraining to name the dead, but in order to elicit the heroism and continuance concomitant with their politically-affiliated deaths.

A somewhat similar practice can be discerned within the short story by Oglala Lakota writer, Robert L. Perea. The story, entitled "Eagle Bull's Song," is included in Bruchac's anthology, *Returning the Gift: Poetry and Prose from the First North American Native Writers' Festival* (1994). The narrative describes Roland Eagle Bull, his songs, and his stories. Roland Eagle Bull's name is elicited repeatedly in varying forms, as indicated in the following excerpt, "There were stories. Stories of Eagle Bull. Roland Eagle Bull. Roland. Ro'" (1994:228). The short story ends with the death of Roland Eagle Bull and, although it is not made entirely clear, the death is in some way related to the fact that he is a supporter of A.I.M. After his death, he is only referred to as Eagle Bull as opposed to Roland Eagle Bull, Roland, or Ro' (1994:230). An adoption of a somewhat altered naming practice is present within Perea's story, as well as in *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman.* Those who have died due to political connections on the South Dakota reservations are remembered through the continued use of their names in a manner which is similar to the practice applied to heroic historical figures.

The Lakota practice of repeating names, and thereby honoring those named, recurs throughout *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman.* Significant relations, chiefs, and warriors are invoked alongside those who have significance in the contemporary life of Mary Brave Woman Olguin. Through naming, Mary Brave Woman Olguin honors those she perceives to be crucial to the persistence of Lakota culture. Mary Brave Woman Olguin honors historical battles as well as the present bravery of the Lakota people. The traditional Lakota naming practice of repeatedly invoking the names of others is reconfigured to the new circumstances of Mary Brave Woman Olguin's life.

Non-Naming

While the names of Raymond Yellow Thunder, Norman Little Brave, and Wesley Bad Heart Bull are repeatedly invoked in order to honor their heroic deaths, there *are* those who are specifically not mentioned in *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman*. While the repeated invocation of a name denotes honor, the refrain from repeating a name indicates that a situation of dishonor surrounds the person not named. Both practices accord respect to those invoked through the variously expressed observance of their names. Several examples of non-naming are evident in *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman* which denote situations that reveal the breakdown of Lakota values.

Mary refers to certain people with whom she is acquainted, but she specifically omits their names. For example, several people are not named in Mary's discussion of violence against women. The story is told of a couple brought to violence through the abuse of alcohol, but Mary makes a specific point in not providing their names:

> There was a man and his wife, *I won't mention their names* [emphasis added]. They seemed to have a good marriage and to be happy together. One day he got into drinking the hard stuff, more than usual. He went berserk and killed her. (1994:188)

In the same discussion, Mary also avoids the names of several other people who were involved in brutal murders. Those not named are contrasted with the naming of the women who fought back against violence and sexism. For example, Mary cites Annie Mae Aquash for leaving her husband because he was possessive and beat her (1994:188). Perhaps, names are not offered in order to provide those not named with privacy or because Mary Brave Woman Olguin has been privy to a version of what occurred of which other people are unaware. I suggest, however, that the practice of non-naming is invoked in an effort to acknowledge a situation which breaks from traditional Lakota values, namely the abuse of alcohol and loss of respect between the sexes.

The practice of non-naming indicates that the person who is not named has been involved in an activity which counters traditional Lakota values. An example of such a practice can be discerned in the following account, offered by Peter Bordeaux, which describes the manner in which Crazy Horse was killed:

> The great battle man [Crazy Horse] met a sharp and sudden death by the cold steel of a soldier's bayonet speared into his ribs from behind his back by a guard directed by a Sioux Scout . . . Chief Chips, a member of the Oglala Sioux tribe, and Chief Turning Bear, a member of the Brule Sioux tribe, held Crazy Horse on each of his arms to help him lay down where he was bayoneted. (Kadlecek and Kadlecek 1981:89)

The account provides a simultaneous example of the practices of naming and non-naming. Chief Chips, Chief Turning Bear, and Crazy Horse are all mentioned, whereas the soldier who murdered Crazy Horse and the "Sioux Scout" who aided in Crazy Horse's demise are specifically not mentioned by name. The dishonor of both the scout and the murderer is indirectly remembered through the practice of omitting their names. Another account of the same event is provided by Thomas White Face:

> Crazy Horse resisted and was stabbed from behind with a bayonet through the kidney. Thunder Hawk with the help of others picked the body up. (Kadlecek and Kadlecek 1981:155)

Crazy Horse and the man who helped are named. The murderer is completely absent from the account although reference to his presence is implicit because someone is responsible for the stabbing which is vividly described. In both accounts, Crazy Horse and those who supported him are named, while the murderer and scout are dismissed with an indeterminate label or acknowledgment of their actions.

The murderer is not mentioned in the stories about Crazy Horse or in Mary's account of the murder of the wife. The name of the murdered wife is not mentioned because her

death involved unfortunate circumstances. The woman met a dishonorable death which resulted from the abuse of alcohol; an activity that reflects a break from the values of traditional Lakota culture. As described in *Ohitika Woman*, alcoholism and domestic violence have become problems in Native culture because of the effects of colonization and racism:

> You can't solve the drinking problem without getting rid of its causes but you can't do this either, because it is the government and white society that are at the root of the problem, and both are beyond our power and influence. That goes not only for our Sioux reservations but for nearly all tribes in the United States. (1994:163)

Mary Brave Woman Olguin attributes the murder of the wife to the abuse of alcohol which has resulted from the effects of the "government and white society." The circumstances of the death reflect the breakdown of the Lakota value system which has resulted from the interference of non-Native culture.

The Lakota practice of non-naming is also applied to the names of specific non-Native people throughout *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman*. The non-Native people who are not named are amongst those who contributed to the incarceration of Leonard Crow Dog and other A.I.M. members. For example, Mary both names and does not name a specific judge, depending upon his judicial stance and its accordance with her beliefs. The trial in which Leonard Crow Dog was sentenced to twenty-three years in jail is described in *Lakota Woman*. The length of the trial and other descriptions of the procedure are included, but the judge who presided over the hearing is not named (1991:223). In contrast, the same judge is named and described at length when he passes a verdict in favor of Leonard Crow Dog's appeal for a reduction of his sentence:

> We appealed to Judge Robert Merhige for a reduction of sentence to time served under Rule 35. Merhige was the judge who had sentenced Leonard in the phony assault-and-

> battery cases. He looked like a tiny, mean, gray-haired owl with a sharp beak. In the courtroom he had been a veritable tyrant and we had hated him. . . . But now Merhige was receiving armloads of letters and petitions pleading for Leonard. . . . With all that information pouring in upon Merhige, the judge began feeling twinges of conscience. . . . [Finally, the] judge repeated, grinning, "Didn't you hear me? I ordered Crow Dog's release. (1991:238-239)

In contrast to the previous sentencing of Leonard Crow Dog in which the judge was not named, a great deal of information is provided about the judge when he passes a favorable verdict. Both naming and non-naming practices are applied to the judge dependent upon the honor of his acts.

The Lakota practice of avoiding a name is apparent in situations which depict a break from traditional values. The murderer of Crazy Horse is not mentioned, just as the murderer of the wife is not mentioned, since naming the murderers would be naming, and therefore honoring, their dishonorable acts. The murdered wife is not mentioned because her death reflects a grievous situation and her memory is honored by not saying her name. In the case of the judge, both naming and non-naming practices are evident depending upon the honor of his ruling. Non-naming practices indirectly acknowledge dishonorable acts which depict a break from Lakota culture. In *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman*, Mary Brave Woman Olguin incorporates the practice of avoiding names into the contemporary context of her life.

Repeated Invocation of Celebrity Names

The names of celebrities and other non-Native supporters are catalogued in *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman*. Initially, I was unsure as to the connection between honoring those who contributed to traditional Lakota values, such as historical Lakota figures and strong Native women, and the application of naming practices to non-Native figures. However, the celebrities and friends that are mentioned are backers of Native issues and are notably associated with the support of civil rights. Marlon Brando, Dick

Gregory, Rip Torn, and the Belafontes are amongst the celebrities that Mary Brave Woman Olguin lists as acquaintances (1991:234). They are described as people whom Mary Brave Woman Olguin met during her stay in New York, while she was campaigning for her husband's release from jail.

The celebrity names differ from the names of Native North Americans which have previously been described. Firstly, their portrayed relevance is only to the life of Mary Brave Woman Olguin as opposed to a larger contingency of Native North Americans. In addition, their names are merely listed without a description of their life experiences or their individual contributions to Native North American causes. Specifically, their deeds are not honored. The names of the celebrities are catalogued alongside the names of significant Native North Americans, allowing for the differences between the groups of names to be manifest. The following excerpt is an account from the list of Native women's names which illustrates Mary's incorporation of details which provide texture to the life being honored:

> Last year I found a new friend in YOSSI RAMOS, who is half Mexican but has a classic full-blood face. She now lives with her daughter in Santa Fe, but she also spent years in New York and sun danced both at Crow Dog's Paradise and at Big Mountain. She was part of the Indian civil rights movement back in the seventies, long before AIM. (1994:204)

The elements which add such vitality to the listing of the names of significant Native North Americans, such as stories and contextual associations, are not evident in the listing of the names of celebrities:

> . . . we found ourselves making speeches on campuses, in churches, and on street corners talking to prominent supporters such as Marlon Brando, Dick Gregory, Rip Torn, Jane Fonda, and Angela Davis. (1991:77)

Perhaps the names of the celebrities are assumed to stand on their own merit, as it is taken for granted that readers will be familiar with those mentioned. I suggest, however, that there are distinct reasons for the way in which celebrities are recollected.

Mary mentions other non-Native supporters, who are not celebrities, in a manner which invokes the person's name, specific accomplishments, and the context of their activities, which indicates that the one-dimensional portrayal of celebrities is not dependent upon their non-Native status. Mary describes the people who visited Crow Dog Paradise as "outsiders" (1994:46) who came to the reservation, but their deeds and contributions to Native American issues are recounted alongside their names:

> One of them [friends] was Cy Griffin. We met him at Richard Erdoes's place in New York . . . Cy had magnificent, shoulder-length bright orange-red jungle of hair and a huge beard of the same color. It made him look like St. John the Baptist. He had been advertising, a Madison Avenue type, but when he saw Crow Dog he was born again. He became a faithful friend, stayed for long periods at the Paradise, and made himself useful, chopping wood, doing errands, helping Grandma Gertrude. He later became involved in almost all the AIM confrontations and was inside Wounded Knee for most of the siege. (1994:44)

Mary recalls the non-Native supporters who visited Crow Dog's Paradise in a manner which elicits their deeds and a story about their life. These accounts do not differ significantly from the accounts of Native women, historical Lakota figures, or contemporary Native heroes.

I suggest that one of the reasons why the accounts of the celebrities are unique is because Mary tauntingly holds the celebrities to be representatives of *non-Native* culture. The one dimensional portrayal of the celebrities mimics the way in which Mary is perceived by non-Native supporters as stereotypically Native. In *Lakota Woman*, Mary Brave Woman Olguin describes that she was treated by non-Native supporters as an

object, a sign functioning to allow access into what was perceived to be representative Native culture:

> Most of the New York women who had supported us had been feminists . . . With all their good intentions some had patronized me, even used me as an exotic conversation piece at their fancy parties. (1991:244)

The listing of notable non-Native activists serves to reverse the dynamic described above so that the celebrities, in turn, become exotic conversation pieces. The celebrities can be seen as representative of non-Native culture in a reversal of the manner in which Mary was "used as a conversation piece."

For those living on the reservation, television facilitates access into non-Native culture. Celebrities and movie stars understandably become figures that are representative of that which differs from reservation life. The Rosebud reservation, as well as the surrounding area in South Dakota, is quite insulated from non-Native culture. Huge expanses of land, the difficulty in maintaining cars, and the tendency for tourists to remain outside the reservation, result in the relative isolation of those living in Pine Ridge and Rosebud. The contact between those living on the reservation and the non-Native population living outside of the reservation most often occurs in the border towns in which the exchange is largely restricted to that which occurs in stores and government offices. As described in *Lakota Woman*, television provides the primary access into certain aspects of the non-Native world:

> TV has destroyed the innocence, broken through the wall that separates the rich whites from the poor nonwhites. The "boob tube" brainwashes people, but if they are poor and nonwhite, it also makes them angry seeing all those things advertised that they can never hope to have--the fancy home and cars, the dishwashers and microwaves, the whole costly junk of affluent America. (1991:26)

As Mary indicates, television functions as a window into non-Native culture. Through the television, those who are marginalized are able to vicariously partake of "affluent America." Despite Mary Brave Woman Olguin's claims that some people watching the television can never attain that which is broadcast, she briefly experiences the lifestyle depicted on television and meets several celebrities.

Mary Brave Woman Olguin uses the celebrity names to indicate the way in which she was treated as an exotic conversation piece, but they also depict a part of Mary's life in which she became a celebrity. In describing her year in New York, Mary claims that "people had made a big fuss over me, treating me like a celebrity" (1991:244). She assimilated her new role as a celebrity and used it to her advantage to campaign for Leonard Crow Dog's release from jail. The incorporation of the names of celebrities reflects Mary Brave Woman Olguin's awareness of her role as a mediator between the two cultures and her position as a representative Native woman. The names illustrate the experiences of Mary as a woman who has lived in New York as well as on the reservation and who has functioned as a spokesperson for Native issues and as a celebrity.

There are parallels between Mary's naming of celebrities and the naming of those who helped Crazy Horse after his death, which was previously described:

> Chief Chips, a member of the Oglala Sioux tribe, and Chief Turning Bear, a member of the Brule Sioux tribe, held Crazy Horse on each of his arms to help him lay down where he was bayoneted. (Kadlecek and Kadlecek 1981:89)

Chief Chips and Chief Turning Bear are named because they supported Crazy Horse and helped him, but they are only briefly mentioned because the story being related is honoring Crazy Horse and his death. Similarly, the names of celebrities are invoked because they support and contribute to Mary Brave Woman Olguin's story.

The significance of the one dimensional naming of the celebrities is twofold. The celebrities are presented as exotic conversation pieces in an effort to mimic the manner in

which Mary was held to be a representative Native figure. The celebrity names also elicit Mary's own position as a celebrity and a cultural mediator. In effect, the deeds of the celebrities are not listed alongside their names because the notable act of the celebrities is their support of Mary Brave Woman Olguin and her awareness of her role as a Lakota woman.

Name-Giving Ceremonies

Mary's personal names elicit the honor which is associated with names in Lakota culture. Mary refers to herself as Mary Crow Dog, Mary Brave Bird, Mary Olguin, and Mary Brave Woman Olguin. *Ohitika Win* (Brave Woman) is apparently the only name which Mary receives through a name-changing ceremony. Her other names are self-chosen and depict different stages of her life. I will explore the ways in which Mary's personal names support her identity as a Lakota woman.

In Lakota culture, names are often granted which are supported by the community and relate to specific personal and communal experiences. Vizenor describes the individuality of personal names in Native culture and notes the support of the community for such names:

> Is there any more highly individualistic reference than to give someone a unique name from their experience? . . . It comes out of someone's acts or behavior. This isn't a sacred name, this is a nickname. . . .And one can have several nicknames. So they're very individualistic and there are stories surrounding them. We have a really interesting sophisticated system of individualism and communal responsibility. What we have is a high degree of individual identification within the support of community. What a superior artistic practice, huh? (1995:86)

While Vizenor refers to nicknames, there is also meaning and honor accorded to what Young Bear refers to as one's "ceremonial Indian name" as well as one's "census name" (Young Bear 1994:11). The census name is that which is recorded in Native enrollment,

but may also be taken to mean the name which one uses on a daily basis. Young Bear states that one's "ceremonial Indian name" is not used in everyday situations, but that "once you go into a gathering, it's an honor for people to use your Indian name" (1994:11). Nicknames, ceremonial Lakota names, and census names support individual identity, but also contribute to the community through associations and a shared understanding of the story which surrounds the name.

The interplay between one's personal name and the community, and the honor which is derived from the interconnection, is demonstrated in the following song which is attributed, by Densmore, to noted warrior and tribal leader, Sitting Bull:

> the tribe
> named me
> so
> in courage
> I shall live
> it is reported
> Sitting Bull
> said this. (1992 [1918]:460)

The fact that the community was involved in the naming of Sitting Bull provides incentive and meaning in his life as attested to in the song. The involvement of the community in naming is evident in the various naming ceremonies which are integral to Lakota culture.

In describing contemporary naming ceremonies, Young Bear stresses that too often at powwows "about five minutes before a naming ceremony" (1994:8) people ask to be given a name. He states that this habit contradicts the traditional practice of contemplating the appropriate name for a year prior to the naming ceremony (1994:9). According to Young Bear a "ceremonial Indian name" may be passed on (1994:8) during the "*hunka* (making of relatives) or just a plain naming ceremony" (1994:8). Otherwise, a unique name which has "meaning -- a story, a history -- behind it" (1994:11) may be granted during a naming ceremony.

Names are derived from acts, behavior, or experiences which have widespread associations that support and surround the name. Marla Powers describes traditional naming ceremonies with an indication of several sources for "census names" and "ceremonial Indian names":

> Both females and males usually were named for some important natural event, for a deceased relative or important person in the tribe, or for a historical occasion judged important to the *tiyospaye*. Both also had a ritual name that would be used by the *eyapaha* 'announcer' at giveaways or inserted into the songs sung on such occasions as the Victory Dance . . . Naming often took place at one of the great ceremonies such as the Sun dance. (1986:60)

In giving a person a new name which supports their identity within the community, a person is honored and recognized. Young Bear provides a humorous story about the naming of one of his friends which indicates the inception of a name:

> There's another story about a time we were coming back from a powwow, the moon was full, the summer night was real nice, and we were drinking and singing. . . . He [Drury] said solemnlike, "Stand in a circle; I wanna do something honorable, to honor somebody." He said, "Everybody take a drink." So we all took a drink. "We're going home safe and we had a good time and enjoyed ourselves, we're singing and feeling good. I wanna honor somebody, but before I honor somebody, I wanna say two short words." Everybody quieted a little and he said, "Irving Tail." You see, Irving is short, so we laughed. Then Drury said that he wanted to give Irving an Indian name. When we traveled at the time, everything he and Irving talked about was *ta supa* (baloney). Any Lakota word they used, they added *ta supa*. If one of them started a song, they put the name *Ta Supa* in it, and they were kind of silly about it all weekend. Drury went on to say that the name *wanbli* (eagle) was used all over, and that since Irving flew all over, he traveled all over just like an eagle. Drury then said, "Tonight I want to name you *Wanbli Ta Supa* (Baloney Eagle)." Then he passed the

> jug and we drank and all sang an honor song for *Wanbli Ta Supa*. (1994:75)

Young Bear's anecdote illustrates the narrative associations which embellish a name, providing honor through shared understanding. The complexity of the source of inspiration for the names creates a web of interconnections which contribute to the meaning of the name. These associations contribute to the "high degree of individual identification within the support of community" to which Vizenor refers.

The emphasis on personal names, which is inferred from the numerous names that Mary uses throughout *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman*, seems to relate to the conditions of her life, such as marriage, rather than the communally supported Lakota customs which accord meaning and honor upon ceremonially-acquired names. Mary Crow Dog, Mary Brave Bird, Mary Olguin, and *Ohitika Win* (Brave Woman) are amongst the names adopted throughout the two books. *Ohitika Win* differs from the others in that it was received during a ceremony. As described in *Ohitika Woman*, Mary was given the new name when she and her husband were honored after Leonard Crow Dog's release from jail:

> In 1977, during a big honoring feast for Crow Dog, I was honored too. Two medicine men, Bill Eagle Feathers and Wallace Black Elk, gave me a new name--Ohitika win, meaning Brave woman. (1994:179)

Mary's other names, however, are not described in a manner which indicates their connection to name-giving and name-changing ceremonies.

Mary's description of her attempts to name her son in the traditional manner illustrates that maintaining Lakota naming practices in the modern world is often a difficult process:

> I should have found a winkte, that is a gay person, to give my baby a secret name. Winktes were believed to always live to a great old age. If they gave the newborn such a

> hidden name, not the one everybody would know him by, then the winkte's longevity would rub off on the little one. Such a winkte name was always funnily obscene, like for instance, Che Maza, Meaning Iron Prick, and you had to pay the name-giver well for it. Well, I had no money and how was I going to find a winkte at Wounded Knee? I could not very well go to every warrior and ask him, "Are you by any chance gay?" (1991:158)

Mary's description of her attempt to traditionally name her son indicates that Lakota naming practices are often not carried out to full effect at present. The contemporary predicament of the Lakota is reflected by Mary Brave Woman Olguin's independent adoption of Native-sounding names which support her self-identity.

Mary Crow Dog is the name used to cite Mary's role as co-author of *Lakota Woman*. She is also referred to as Mary Crow Dog in both books through comments attributed to others (1994:3). The Crow Dog family is of great importance within Lakota culture and the name carries great weight with both the Native and informed non-Native population. In fact, Mary claims that Leonard Crow Dog is known by all the Native Americans in the country (1994:28). Mary's connection to the Crow Dog family derives from her union, recognized through a traditional Lakota ceremony, with Leonard Crow Dog. In assuming the Crow Dog name, Mary takes on an association with the Crow Dog relations.

Mary Brave Bird is used to indicate authorship of *Ohitika Woman*. In addition, Mary asserts, "I am Mary Brave Bird" (1991:3) in the opening line of *Lakota Woman*. While the actual manner in which she assumes the Brave Bird name is not clearly expressed, the reader is able to piece together the fact that her mother's father was named Robert Brave Bird (1994:13). Robert Brave Bird died, however, in the 1930s and Moore became the last name of both Mary's father and maternal grandfather. Mary claims that Noble Moore "rais[ed] us ever since we were small babies [and was] the only father I knew" (1991:18). Her mother then married Noble Moore's son, Bill Moore (1991:18). Mary describes her

father, Bill Moore, as "part Indian but mostly white" (1991:14). He deserted his family and had little to do with Mary throughout her life.

The use of the name, Brave Bird, rather than that of Moore seems somewhat displaced since the name of Mary's paternal father was Moore and the name of the grandfather who raised her was Moore. Also, the use of Brave Bird raises a dilemma between maternal and paternal lineage and naming. It is interesting to note the ease with which Mary adopted the names of both of her partners, Crow Dog and Olguin, but the degree to which she refuses to use her father's name and chooses her mother's father's name instead. While I do not intend to engage in an extended discussion of married names in Lakota culture, the adoption of a husband's name and simultaneous maintenance of a personal name is alluded to by Kadlecek in his reference to "Mrs. Fast Thunder, also known as Wounded Horse" (1981:21).

It should be noted that in the co-authored life story of Leonard Crow Dog, *Crow Dog: Four Generations of Sioux Medicine Men*, Leonard Crow Dog states that "Mary Ellen Moore moved in with me together with her little boy" (1995:211). This statement seemingly indicates that those who were acquainted with Mary on the Rosebud Reservation, in the 1970s, referred to her as Mary Moore. In a recent book review, Beatrice Medicine also refers to Mary by her father's name:

> The Letters to the Editor, *Indian Country Today*, have challenged the truthfulness of Mary Monroe's [*sic.*[12]] story in *Lakota Woman*. (1995:66)

While I do not intend to address the truthfulness of Mary's story since it is beyond the scope of my discussion, the fact that two Lakota people have recently referred to Mary as Mary Moore is telling since the name is absent from *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman*.

[12]Medicine's book review deals primarily with Mark Monroe's life story, *An Indian in White America* Referring to Mary Moore as Mary Monroe is most likely an oversight which was prompted by the discussion of Mark Monroe's book.

Mary's names reflect a decision to adopt a name which is connected to the Lakota aspect of her identity, rather than its possible non-Native counterpart. Brave Bird represents Mary's Lakota ancestors, whereas Moore is linked to the non-Native side of her family. Crow Dog is a prominent name in Lakota culture and Mary's connection to the name emphasizes her associations to the Crow Dog relations and highlights her position within Lakota culture. Beatrice Medicine comments on the trend towards adopting names which reflect the Native aspect of one's background, with reference to Mark Monroe's life story, *An Indian in White America* (1995):

> His [Mark Monroe] name ranged from Mark Stone Arrow, "after my [Mark Monroe's] mother's father, an Oglala Sioux (p.1)." His paternal grandfather . . . chose the name Monroe to replace his surname of Long Time Sleep when this grandfather was with Buffalo Bill's Wild West Shows in England in the 1930s. Name change seems a common dynamic in this time period. The reverse seems true today with the selection of native-sounding names which, in a sense, reflects the emphasis on an Indian identity. (1995:66)

Mary Brave Woman Olguin uses Lakota-sounding names which emphasize her Lakota identity.

The honor associated with names in Lakota culture is invoked in *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman* through repetitive naming and non-naming. This is *seemingly* also the case with regard to Mary Brave Woman Olguin's names, but her names differ from the manner in which names are to be understood within traditional Lakota culture. The appellations of Mary Brave Woman Olguin are evidently self-chosen. Gerald Vizenor indicates that the individual adoption of personal names, autoinscription, reflects the contemporary practices that have been adopted in circumstances in which naming ceremonies have receded:

> Traditional nicknames, however, are seldom autoinscriptions; most descriptive nicknames are given by peers not publishers . . . the romantic adoption of tribal names and identities is passive and serves the causes of dominance. (1994:117-18)

Vizenor indicates the connection between the adoption of names and the making of an identity. Most of Mary's names are "autoinscriptions" which indicates the role of the names in contributing to Mary's perceived personal identity. Mary Brave Woman Olguin's names are acquired either through marriage or, in the case of Brave Bird, because she preferred her grandfather's name rather than that of her father. With the exception of *Ohitika Win,* Mary's names are evidently not connected with Lakota name-giving or name-changing ceremonies.

Young Bear indicates that "autoinscription" is a practice which presently occurs in contemporary Lakota culture because it allows people to adopt a name which supports their identity. With reference to his own names, Young Bear states that "[i]f I'd wanted to I could have taken the name of my mother's side [names of chiefs] and could've been a movie star or whatever" (1994:6). The relationship between one's independently chosen name and one's identity is clear in Young Bear's description of the option for autoinscription. Mary adopts specific names in order to provide herself with an identity which is linked to Lakota culture. The names chosen by Mary Brave Woman Olguin tell her who she is and informs others how she views herself. The negotiation of identity is invariably a process which eludes closure and certainty. Mary's identity is variegated and mutable and the shifting associations which characterize her identity are reflected in her individual adoption of several different names.

With the recent adoption of Mary Brave Woman Olguin as a name, Mary has assumed a name which speaks of her associations to Lakota naming practices, as well as official marriage practices. The name was used in the credits for the film, *Lakota Woman: Siege at Wounded Knee* (1994), and is presumably Mary's most recent name. Mary Brave

Woman Olguin, as a name, incorporates Mary's Christian first name, the name she received with her marriage to Rudi Olguin, and Mary's ceremonially-acquired name, *Ohitika Win*. The adoption of Christian names, such as Mary, became prevalent after the arrival of missionaries on the reservations. Young Bear states that Christian names now "play a very important part in our [Lakota] history" (1994:5), indicating the manner in which new practices are incorporated into Lakota tradition.

Mary's middle name, Brave Woman, is the English translation of her ceremonially-acquired Lakota name, *Ohitika Win*. Mary had been provided with her Lakota name in the late 1970s, upon Leonard Crow Dog's release from jail. While she discusses the ceremony in which she received her new name in *Lakota Woman*, she does not fully acknowledge her connection to the name until much later in her life with the writing of *Ohitika Woman*. Mary's awareness of the relevance of the name to other Native women, as well as the meaning which "brave" has in her own life, contribute to her identification with the name which develops after the writing of *Lakota Woman*. Mary Brave Woman Olguin's growing understanding of herself of as a Lakota woman is illustrated with her use of her ceremonially-acquired name.

Olguin is the last name of Mary's husband, Rudi Olguin. Mary expressed some embarrassment in her decision to become legally married, rather than assuming a union recognized through a Lakota ceremony. She expresses that embarrassment with her relief that Leonard Crow Dog also chose a legally binding marriage:

> I am glad for them [Leonard Crow Dog and his new wife], and wish them all the best, but I am also much relieved. With Crow Dog having done this [legal marriage], it makes me feel less bourgeois and establishment for having done the same. (1994:248)

While Mary Brave Woman Olguin still expresses some concern over the presence of contemporary practices in her life, she is able to reconcile these elements with traditional

Lakota culture by associating Leonard Crow Dog with similar practices. Her uncertainty about what is Lakota continues to a certain degree as indicated by her interest in Leonard Crow Dog's actions, but her own actions remain independent of Leonard Crow Dog which indicates Mary's internalized understanding of the ways in which indistinct practices consistently contribute to her Lakota identity. Mary's new name, Mary Brave Woman Olguin, expresses a union between the traditional Lakota and the contemporary Native and non-Native forces that she has struggled to reconcile throughout *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman.*

Lakota culture endures in *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman*, even when incorporated into a contemporary context, but it does so in ways which are often covert and indirect. Lakota naming ceremonies are never directly discussed in the *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman*, but their presence is nonetheless evident throughout the books. Lakota naming practices are incorporated into the contemporary context of Mary Brave Woman Olguin's life. The presence of traditional Lakota elements as well as contemporary Native and non-Native elements depicts Mary Brave Woman Olguin's position within a persistent and adaptive culture. Mary Brave Woman Olguin's connection to Lakota culture is demonstrated through the manner in which traditional naming ceremonies are expressed both intact and altered, illustrating the manner in which Lakota culture has adjusted and endured.

Conclusion

My reading of *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman* has focused, through an examination of names and naming, upon the expression of traditional Lakota culture in the contemporary context of Mary Brave Woman Olguin's life. The realization of the importance of naming came to me slowly, with many readings, since I began with only a faint sense of the significance of naming in Lakota culture. As my study of names and naming in Lakota culture neared completion, I came to discover Young Bear's *Standing in the Light: A Lakota Way of Seeing.* He describes the choice he made to begin his book with the stories of his own names:

> After some careful thinking about it, I decided to begin our whole book with the story of my names and the names of some of my relatives because through the proper understanding of names, the giving of names, and the remembering of names, each of us is given a personal identity by becoming part of a social reality. We are then like a leaf on a cottonwood tree or a thread in a spider web-connected to every other part of the tree and of the web as a living being. (1994:178)

Young Bear's words come to me almost as those of a trickster, playfully taunting my ignorance and my struggle with the ideas that he is able to so clearly express. Succinctly and poetically, Young Bear indirectly describes the significance of Mary Brave Woman Olguin's names and her use of naming practices in *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman.*

Names and naming in *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman* play a role in providing Mary Brave Woman Olguin with "a personal identity by becoming part of a social reality." Mary's own names provide her with a sense of her position within Lakota culture and from that position she draws on Lakota naming practices. The web of interconnections, to which Young Bear has referred, is mapped through Mary's naming of herself and her relation to others in a demonstration of her place within the "social reality" of Lakota

culture. Mary's naming of her son, Pedro, serves to illustrate the way in which names issue forth associations to specific people and events which are collectively remembered and honored by the Lakota. Mary named her son after Pedro Bissonette, founder of the Oglala Sioux Civil Rights organization. He protected Mary Brave Woman Olguin during the siege at Wounded Knee, but was later "murdered by the tribal police" (1994:24). In describing the naming of her son, Mary explains the honor associated with the name since it is connected to Pedro Bissonette:

> They brought in the pipe and we prayed with it, prayed for my little boy whom I named Pedro. I am glad I did because this way Pedro Bissonette's name is living on. (1991:163)

Names tell people who they are as well as providing links to the stories of people who continue to be honored. Naming illustrates the connectivity of Lakota and Mary's use of naming demonstrates her place amidst those relations.

In following the developments between the two books, I found Mary's understanding of herself as a Lakota woman shifts with her gradual realizations of the necessary presence of both the traditional and contemporary in Lakota culture. In contemporary Lakota culture, "tradition is negotiated within the present (Bucko 1996:138)" which renders change and divergence, as well as continuity and permanence. The strength of Lakota culture is expressed through its dynamism and adaptation and finds expression in Mary's discussion of traditional and contemporary issues as well as her application of naming practices to traditional and contemporary figures.

Lakota Woman and *Ohitika Woman* illustrate Mary Brave Woman Olguin's position as a mixed-blood woman who is struggling to understand her personal identity and its relationship to Lakota culture. In her life stories, Mary Brave Woman Olguin names herself and her associations to others. The life stories also involve the naming of Lakota culture itself. In drawing associations to traditional and contemporary figures, as well as

through her use of several different personal names, Mary Brave Woman Olguin issues forth elements of Lakota culture which are both past and present. She names her understanding of Lakota culture, with its web of interconnections, and names a place for herself within that web. The words with which Mary Brave Woman Olguin begins *Lakota Woman* offer an appropriate conclusion to my discussion:

I am Mary Brave Bird. After I had my baby during the siege of Wounded Knee they gave me a special name--Ohitika Win, Brave Woman, and fastened an eagle plume in my hair, singing brave-heart songs for me. I am a woman of the Red Nation, a Sioux woman. That is not easy. (1991:3)

Afterword

The material in *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman* lends itself to several approaches. I could have attempted to isolate Richard Erdoes' contribution to *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman,* or I could have endeavored to complete a strict literary analysis of the material. Issues of authenticity and co-authorship were concerns which I initially considered as thesis topics. I must admit that Richard Erdoes' involvement as co-author of *Lakota Woman* and *Ohitika Woman* remains problematic. The co-authorship has not produced a product in which two voices can distinctively be heard. In fact, I remain overwhelmed with uneasiness as to *who* exactly is writing *whose* story and I hope that further collaborations do not pose such problems. I also hope that the practice of collaborating with a non-Native editor will fade with the increasing numbers of Native writers who are coming to the fore.

Nonetheless, with several readings the relevance of the above issues began to dissipate, as the narrative qualities of the books increasingly demanded attention. I am hoping that, to a certain extent, my reading of the books allowed for a realization of the contextual aspects of Lakota culture, which is an approach that is addressed by Moore:

> If non-Native or Native readers cannot finally read Indian texts to "know" the other, or even themselves, they can read to trace a path through the text to context, and thence to participation with textual and extratextual concerns of Indian communities. Thus the telos of reading would be not a cognitive commodity but a pragmatic, incremental, and participatory process. It would become not "the Indian problem" but everyone's responsibility, nor would it be a canon and its exclusions, perhaps not even a set of "American" and "Native American" literatures. (1994:19)

Moore's hope for extending one's reading and actually becoming involved in "Indian communities" became unintentionally manifest with my decision to visit Pine Ridge and Rosebud Reservations in South Dakota. The trip was not motivated out of a desire for

ethnographic research and I had assumed that my stay there would simply provide me with an elusive sense of life on the reservations. However, as I neared the completion of my writing, a memory from my stay in Pine Ridge suddenly brought itself to my awareness:

I recall my first experience of a sweat in Pine Ridge. I was struggling not to succumb to the heat. My thoughts were foggy and my concentration was focused upon the rocks. Then, a woman in the sweat lodge began speaking in Lakota. Not understanding what she was saying, I let the words wash over me, although I was able to vaguely discern the names of people being mentioned. My name suddenly leapt out from her words, and I realized that she was listing the people who sat in the sweat lodge. Perhaps, that memory lay dormant in my thoughts while I was engaging in this project, or perhaps, unknown to me, it spurred my awareness of the importance of names in Lakota culture. My name is, of course, a non-Native name, and perhaps discerning my name in the sweat lodge also alerted me to the presence of contemporary non-Native elements which have been incorporated into traditional Lakota culture.

And, so--

As I write this,

I speak the names of those

sitting with me in the sweat lodge.

Now

I am saying their names . . . .

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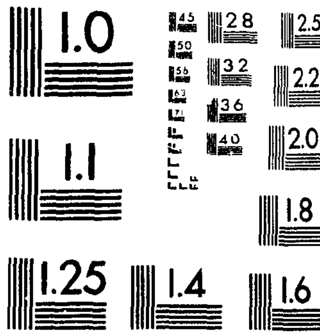

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