

of Alcatraz Island: Indian Self-Determination and the Rise of Indian Activism (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996); Olson and Wilson, *Native Americans in the Twentieth Century*, 157–219.

Chapter 6. Counterculture Indians and the New Age

1. William Hedgepeth, with photographs by Dennis Stock, *The Alternative: Communal Life in New America* (New York: Macmillan, 1970), 73, 84, 81. For corn, beans, squash, see Robert Houriet, *Getting Back Together* (New York: Coward, McCann, and Geoghegan, 1971), 170–71. Although my understanding of countercultural communalism relies on certain personal experiences, I have also drawn upon Keith Melville, *Communes in the Counterculture: Origins, Theories, Styles of Life* (New York: William Morrow, 1972); Richard Atcheson, *The Bearded Lady: Going on the Commune Trip and Beyond* (New York: John Day, 1971); Lewis Yablonsky, *The Hippie Trip* (New York: Pegasus, 1968); Timothy Miller, *The Hippies and American Values* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991); Benjamin Zablocki, *Alienation and Charisma: A Study of Contemporary American Communes* (New York: Free Press, 1980); Laurence Veysey, *The Communal Experience: Anarchist and Mystical Communities in Twentieth-Century America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 279–406.

2. The Beatles, "Strawberry Fields Forever," *Magical Mystery Tour* (EMI, 1967).

3. In thinking about this cluster of ideas, I have been informed by, among others, Andreas Huyssen, *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), esp. 141–221; David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1989); Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991); Hal Foster, ed., *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture* (Port Townsend, Wash.: Bay Press, 1983); Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulations*, trans. Sheila Faria Glaser (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994); Jean-François Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, trans. Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984).

4. Fredric Jameson, *The Prison House of Language: A Critical Account of Structuralism and Russian Formalism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), ix.

5. Goodman, as quoted in Melville, *Communes in the Counterculture*, 114. See also Goodman, *The New Reformation: Notes of a Neolithic Conservative* (New York: Vintage, 1969), 143–54; Veysey, *Communal Experience*, 3–73. On Paul Goodman, see Theodore Roszak, *The Making of a Counter Culture: Reflections on the Technocratic Society and Its Youthful Opposition* (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1969), 178–204; Morris Dickstein, *Gates of Eden: American Culture in the Sixties* (New York: Basic, 1977), 74–83.

6. See, for example, Abbie Hoffman [pseud. Free], *Revolution for the Hell of It* (New York: Dial Press, 1968), 10, for "Do your own thing" as a mantra; Goodman, *New Reformation*, 145.

7. Stewart Brand, "Indians and the Counterculture, 1960s–1970s," *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 4, *History of Indian-White Relations*, ed. Wilcomb Washburn (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988), 570. For "Navajo," see Houriet, *Getting Back Together*, 170.

8. For Warhol, see Robert Rosenblum, "Warhol as Art History," *Andy Warhol: A Retrospective*, ed. Kynaston McShine (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1989), 25–36, 183–97. See also John Cage, *Imaginary Landscape No. 4* (for twelve radios, twenty-four players, and conduc-

tor), 1951, with performances in 1951 and 1959; Cage, *Radio Music* (for one to eight radios), 1956. On Cage, see *John Cage Catalogue* (New York: Henmar Press, 1962), 36, 38; Eric Salzman, "Imaginary Landscaper," and Richard Kostelanetz, "John Cage as Hörspielmacher" in *Writings about John Cage*, ed. Richard Kostelanetz, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), 1–7, 213–21. See also Douglas Crimp, "On the Museum's Ruins," *Anti-Aesthetic*, ed. Hal Foster, 43–56.

9. For antiwar movement, see Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage* (New York: Bantam, 1987), esp. 242–60, 285–304; William Chafe, *The Unfinished Journey: America since World War II*, 3d ed. (New York: Oxford, 1995), 320–28; Tom Engelhardt, *The End of Victory Culture: Cold War America and the Disillusioning of a Generation* (New York: HarperCollins, 1995), 244–46; Nancy Zaroulis and Gerald Sullivan, *Who Spoke Up? American Protest against the War in Vietnam, 1963–1975* (Garden City, N.J.: Doubleday, 1984); Charles DeBenedetti with assistance from Charles Chatfield, *An American Ordeal: The Antiwar Movement of the Vietnam Era* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990). For the relation between antiwar and counterculture protest, see David Farber, "The Counterculture and the Antiwar Movement," *Give Peace a Chance: Exploring the Vietnam Antiwar Movement*, ed. Melvin Small and William D. Hoover (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1992), 7–21. For a general survey, see Farber, *The Age of Great Dreams: America in the 1960s* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1994).

10. Mitchell Goodman, "What's Happening," *The Movement toward a New America: The Beginnings of a Long Revolution (A Collage) A What?* (Philadelphia: Pilgrim Press/Knopf, 1970), vii. For LSD, see Farber, "Counterculture and Antiwar," 19.

11. *Little Big Man*, directed by Arthur Penn (Fox, 1970).

12. Naomi Feigelson, *The Underground Revolution: Hippies, Yippies, and Others* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1970), 7, 64; Hoffman, *Revolution for the Hell of It*, 37.

13. See Hoffman, *Revolution for the Hell of It*, 71–73, for appropriation of racial victim identity. For crossing to the Vietnamese position, see Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 261–82. See also Karin Ashley et al., "You Don't Need a Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows" (1969), in *A History of Our Time: Readings on Postwar America*, ed. William H. Chafe and Harvard Sitkoff (New York: Oxford, 1983), 235–38.

14. See Tom Holm, *Strong Hearts, Wounded Souls: Native American Veterans of the Vietnam War* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 118. One should note as well the tendency of American ground troops to reprise nineteenth-century Plains warfare, designating North Vietnamese territory, "Indian country." See Holm, *ibid.*, 129.

15. For Indian activism, see *Indians of All Tribes*, ed. Peter Blue Cloud, *Alcatraz Is Not an Island* (Berkeley: Wingbow Press, 1972); Adam Fortunate Eagle, *Alcatraz! Alcatraz! The Indian Occupation of 1969–1971* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1992); Vine Deloria, Jr., *Behind the Trail of Broken Treaties: An Indian Declaration of Independence* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985); Stanley David Lyman, *Wounded Knee 1973: A Personal Account* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991); Paul Chaat Smith and Robert Allen Warrior, *Like a Hurricane: The Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee* (New York: New Press, 1996). For Anderson, see Troy R. Johnson, *The Occupation of Alcatraz Island: Indian Self-Determination and the Rise of Indian Activism* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 32. For Brando, see "Brando Has Long Backed Rights of Racial Minorities," *New York Times*, March 28, 1973, 40. For Poor People's Campaign, see Paul Cowan, "Indians Meet the Press: It's Pride vs. Prejudice," in Goodman, ed., *Movement toward a New America*, 249–50.

16. Feigelson, *Underground Revolution*, 11; Hoffman, *Revolution for the Hell of It*, 164, for pastiche poster. For revolutionary bandanna, see Jerry Avorn, Robert Freedman, et al., "Up against the Ivy Wall," in *Our Time*, ed. Chafe and Sitkoff, 246. For bandanna in drug and communal culture, see Yablonsky, *Hippie Trip*, 64, 74, 80. See James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 346, for Indianness encoded in a bandanna headband. For the compression of high and popular culture, see William L. O'Neill, *Coming Apart: An Informal History of America in the 1960s* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1971), 200–27, 245–49.

17. Paul Goodman, *New Reformation*, 194; Hoffman, *Revolution for the Hell of It*, 71–73; Jerry Farber, "Student as Nigger," in Goodman, ed., *Movement toward a New America*, 303–04; Farber, "Counterculture and Antiwar," 17; John Lennon and Yoko Ono, "Woman is the Nigger of the World," *Shaved Fish* (EMI, 1972).

18. Hoffman, *Revolution for the Hell of It*, 9.

19. Peter Clecak, *America's Quest for the Ideal Self: Dissent and Fulfillment in the 60s and 70s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 117; Chatfield, "The Antiwar Movement and America," *American Ordeal*, 396.

20. As quoted in Rudolph Kaiser, "Chief Seattle's Speech(es): American Origins and European Reception," in *Recovering the Word: Essays on Native American Literature*, ed. Brian Swann and Arnold Krupat (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 517.

21. For a tracing of the speech's diffusion, see *ibid.*, 497–536, esp. 515.

22. Goodman, *New Reformation*, 59.

23. *Ibid.*, 54; Feigelson, *Underground Revolution*, 50–51, 64–65; Roszak, *Making of a Counter Culture*, 124–77.

24. John Neihardt, *Black Elk Speaks: Being the Life Story of a Holy Man of the Oglala Sioux* (New York: Pocket Books, 1972); John Fire Lame Deer and Richard Erdoes, *Lame Deer: Seeker of Visions* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972); Hyemeyohsts Storm, *Seven Arrows* (New York: Ballantine, 1972). On drugs, see William Braden, *The Private Sea: LSD and the Search for God* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1967); Melville, *Communes in the Counterculture*, 223–27; Veysey, *Communal Experience*, 437–39, 442–44.

25. Doug Boyd, *Rolling Thunder: A Personal Exploration into the Secret Healing Powers of an American Indian Medicine Man* (New York: Random House, 1974); Sun Bear, *The Medicine Wheel: Earth Astrology* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1980); Walk in Balance: *The Path to Healthy, Happy, Harmonious Living* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1989). See also James Clifton, *Being and Becoming Indian: Biographical Studies of North American Frontiers* (Chicago: Dorsey Press, 1989).

26. Editorial, *Many Smokes* 2:1 (1st Quarter) 1967: 3; 2:3 (3d Quarter) 1967: 3.

27. I make these observations after reading several issues of both *Many Smokes* and *Wildfire*. For specific examples listed, see *Wildfire's* inaugural publications, 1:1, 2 (Spring-Summer), and 1:3, 4 (Fall-Winter).

28. Carlos Castaneda, *The Teachings of Don Juan: A Yaqui Way of Knowledge* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968); *A Separate Reality: Further Conversations with Don Juan* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1971); *Journey to Ixtlan: The Lessons of Don Juan* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972); *Tales of Power* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974); *The Second Ring of Power* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1977). To date, four other books follow, the most recent being *The Art of Dreaming* (New York: HarperCollins, 1993).

29. MacLaine, *Out on a Limb* (New York: Bantam, 1983); *Dancing in the Light* (New York:

Bantam, 1985). Artists on the tastefully packaged Windom Hill label included the pianists George Winston and Bill Quist, the guitarist Ackerman, and the bassist Michael Manring, among many others. See also Marilyn Ferguson, *The Aquarian Conspiracy* (Los Angeles: J. P. Tarcher, 1980).

30. Dirk Johnson, "Spiritual Seekers Borrow Indians' Ways," *New York Times*, December 27, 1993, A1. Also printed as David Johnston, "New Age Rites Seen as Robbery," *Boulder Daily Camera*, December 27, 1993, 5C.

31. Stephen Buhner, "Protecting the Right to Worship," *Boulder Daily Camera*, January 3, 1994, 2C. See also Ed McGaa, *Mother Earth Spirituality: Native American Paths to Healing Ourselves and Our World* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1990); *Rainbow Tribe: Ordinary People Journeying on the Red Road* (San Francisco: Harper-San Francisco, 1992).

32. I do not mean to suggest that there are not teacher-student relationships in native religious traditions. It may be important, especially in discussing northern Plains traditions, to distinguish between healing and spirituality, the former relying more heavily on teaching. Sacred bundles and spiritual power have in fact been subject to transfer, although as often in an economic or kinship exchange as in a master-learner one. See, for example, Peter Nabokov, *Two Leggings: The Making of a Crow Warrior* (New York: Thomas Crowell, 1967), 143–54. For Plains spiritual tradition, see James Walker, *Lakota Belief and Ritual*, ed. Raymond J. DeMallie and Elaine A. Jahner (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980); Lee Irwin, *The Dream Seekers: Native American Visionary Traditions of the Great Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994); Raymond J. DeMallie, "Lakota Belief and Ritual in the Nineteenth Century," *Sioux Indian Religion*, ed. Raymond J. DeMallie and Douglas R. Parks (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 25–44; Joseph Epes Brown, ed., *The Sacred Pipe: Black Elk's Account of the Seven Rites of the Oglala Sioux* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1953).

33. Buhner, "Protecting the Right to Worship."

34. See, for example, *Badoni v. Higginson* 638 F.2d 172 (1980); *United States v. Dion* 476 U.S. 734 (1986); *Lyng v. Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective Association* 485 U.S. 439 (1988); *Employment Division, Department of Human Resources of Oregon, et al. v. Alfred L. Smith et al.* 494 U.S. 872 (1990). See John Wunder, "Retained by the People": *A History of American Indians and the Bill of Rights* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 180–99.

35. Johnston, "New Age Rites."

36. Buhner, "Protecting the Right to Worship."

37. Randolph Bourne, "Trans-National America," in *War and the Intellectuals: Essays, 1915–1919*, ed. Carl Resek (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1964), 107–23; Kallen, "Democracy versus the Melting Pot," *Nation* 100 (February 18–25, 1915): 190–94, 217–20. See also Gary B. Nash, "The Great Multicultural Debate," *Contention* 1 (Spring 1992): 1–28; and Nash, "The Hidden History of Mestizo America," *Journal of American History* 82 (December 1995): 941–64. See also David Hollinger, *Postethnic America: Beyond Multiculturalism* (New York: Basic Books, 1995), 11; Lawrence W. Levine, *The Opening of the American Mind: Canons, Culture, and History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996), 105–20 and *passim*.

38. See, for example, Werner Sollors, *Beyond Ethnicity: Consent and Descent in American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

39. I make this summary after years of reading Boulder's New Age periodicals and talking with friends who have been involved in New Age activities. Particularly useful have

been *Men's Council Journal*, *Nexus*, *The Eagle's Cry: A Journal for Holistic Experiences, Wisdom, and Education*, and the nationally circulated magazines *Shaman's Drum* and *New Age Journal*.

40. Lynn Andrews, *Flight of the Seventh Moon* (New York: Harper and Row, 1984), 26. For others in the series, see, for example, *Medicine Woman* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1981); *Jaguar Woman and the Wisdom of the Butterfly Tree* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1985); *Star Woman* (New York: Warner, 1986); *Shakki: Woman of the Sacred Garden* (New York: Harper-Collins, 1992).

41. Clarissa Pinkola Estes, *Women Who Run with the Wolves: Myths and Stories of the Wild Woman Archetype* (New York: Ballantine, 1992); Robert Bly, *Iron John: A Book about Men* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1990); Sam Keen, *Fire in the Belly: On Being a Man* (New York: Bantam, 1991); Diane Stein, *Dreaming the Past, Dreaming the Future: A Herstory of the Earth* (Freedom, Calif.: Crossing Press, 1991); James Redfield, *The Celestine Prophecy: An Adventure* (New York: Warner, 1993); Michael Rossman, *New Age Blues: On the Politics of Consciousness* (New York: Dutton, 1979). For more analytical treatments, see Michael Schwalbe, *Unlocking the Iron Cage: The Men's Movement, Gender Politics, and American Culture* (New York: Oxford, 1996); Michael York, *The Emerging Network: A Sociology of the New Age and Neo-Pagan Movements* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1995). For a critique, see Henry Gordon, *Channeling into the New Age: The "Teachings" of Shirley MacLaine and Other Such Gurus* (Buffalo: Prometheus Books, 1988). Numerous other authors, ranging from "Indian" mystery writers Tony Hillerman and Jean Hagar to high culture writers like M. T. Kelly and W. P. Kinsella, have assumed the literary voice of "the Indian." Others, such as Jamake Highwater and Forrest Carter, have taken Indian identity as their own.

42. For mascots, see Philip Deloria, "Mascots and Other Public Appropriations of Indians and Indian Culture by Whites," *Encyclopedia of North American Indians*, ed. Frederick Hoxie (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1996), 359-61; Dennis Banks, Laurel R. Davis, Cynthia Syndnor-Slowikowski, and Lawrence A. Wenner, "Tribal Names and Mascots in Sports," *Journal of Sports and Social Issues* 17 (April 1993): 1-33. For Redskins, see, for example, Ward Churchill, "Crimes against Humanity," *Z Magazine* (March 1993): 43-47.

43. On play, see Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955), 8.

44. Christine Mather and Sharon Woods, *Santa Fe Style* (New York: Rizzoli International, 1986); Mary Emmerling and Carol Sama Sheehan, *American Country West: A Style and Source Book* (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1985).

45. This is not to say that New Age followers have offered no political help to native people, or to suggest that they have completely failed to engage Indians. Rather, it is the nature of that engagement which is at issue. New Age participation in Plains Sun Dances, for example, has been so overwhelming and so lacking in etiquette that many dances have been closed to non-Indians.

46. *Indian Country Today* 13:3 (July 14, 1992): 1, 2, and subsequent editions throughout the months of July and August.

47. On cultural difference, see Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 34-35. On power, I have been influenced by Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1, *An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Random House, 1978); *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Pantheon, 1977); *The Foucault Reader*, ed. Paul Rabinow (New York: Pantheon, 1984).

48. Jameson, *Postmodernism*, x-xxii, 3-6. See also Huyssen, *After the Great Divide*, viii-x, 178-221.

Conclusion. The Grateful Dead Indians

1. Society of Indian Dead, *Live and Let Live*, #9.

2. *Ibid.*

3. See Richard Slotkin, *Regeneration through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1973), 191-92; Christopher Castiglia, *Bound and Determined: Captivity, Culture-Crossing, and White Womanhood from Mary Rowlandson to Patty Hearst* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

4. Renato Rosaldo, *Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993), 68-87.

5. Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 31-39, 40-65.