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FIG. 1. *William F. Hanson and Zitkala Ša (Gertrude Bonnin) from Hanson's Sun Dance Land, page 1.* Courtesy of Photographic Archives, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. William Willard, photographer. (MSS 299, H27, 1659).

A CULTURAL DUET

ZITKALA ŠA AND THE SUN DANCE OPERA

P. JANE HAFEN

In 1913 Gertrude Simmons Bonnin (Zitkala Ša, 1876-1938) collaborated with local Duchesne, Utah, music teacher William F. Hanson to produce and stage a spectacle that combined the musical style of operetta, a melodramatic love triangle, and traditional Plains Indian ritual. In regional performances, *The Sun Dance Opera* provided a stage for Bonnin and other Native American singers and dancers to participate in rituals whose practice was forbidden by the United States government. Twenty-five years later, just

months after Bonnin's death in 1938, the opera was selected and presented by the New York Opera Guild as opera of the year.

The composition of the opera presents the challenges of forging distinct and disparate cultures by harmonizing traditional Native melodies and perspectives into the pinnacle of artistic expression in western civilization: grand opera. Opera, literally the plural of opus or "works" of artistic expression, provides a holistic context that represents varied and complex manifestations of culture. Visual presentation and costuming, singing, dancing, storytelling, and even incorporation of a trickster-like heyoka depict aspects of Plains culture in *The Sun Dance Opera*. At the same time, an orchestral accompaniment and dramatic plot infuse elements of western civilization. As a classically trained musician, Bonnin used her skills to affirm her Sioux cultural identity and to engage the conventions of popular culture.¹ Hanson used his fondness for Indian peoples and his association with them in what critics would now recognize as an artistic colonialism. The result is an uneasy duet of two cultures.

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Gertrude Simmons Bonnin had emerged from an obscure, reservation childhood, through the Indian boarding school system, to become a public figure. She compiled and published a book of traditional stories, *Old Indian Legends*.² She also had written compelling articles about her childhood and life experiences for *Harper's Weekly* and the *Atlantic Monthly*. She compiled and published those stories in 1921 in *American Indian Stories*.³ In 1902 when she married Raymond Bonnin, also a Yankton Sioux, she temporarily abandoned her public career. Although she would later emerge in the national arena of pan-Indian politics, her years in Utah (ca. 1904-16) were spent in relative obscurity. The local attention given *The Sun Dance Opera* reintroduced Gertrude to the popular stage.

A challenge in studying the opera is the lack of Gertrude's own voice while William F. Hanson's participation is well documented. The whole score is archived at Brigham Young University where Hanson (1887-1969) had a lengthy career as a professor of music education. Fifty-four years after the debut of the opera, Hanson published a memoir that loosely recounted an Indian history in Utah, his association with Gertrude and her husband, Raymond, and the composing and staging of the opera.⁴ However, Gertrude left no documentation of her involvement with Hanson and the performances. During this period, even her regular letters to the Catholic Indian Missions have no mention of the opera.⁵ Likewise, her diaries of the last years of her life focus on her family and her political concerns and do not mention the New York restaging of the opera.

Gertrude was familiar with performance: in oratory with her award winning speeches at Earlham College and musically in her participation with the Carlisle band. She had been studying at the Boston Conservatory of Music when she returned to the Yankton reservation in 1901. Apparently, her musical skills were in performance rather than theory and transcription; Gertrude played the Native melo-

dies on the violin while Hanson wrote them and orchestrated them. According to Hanson, he became acquainted with Gertrude and Raymond Bonnin in 1908 when he returned to Vernal, Utah, after studying music at BYU.⁶ Together they planned an opera, at first with the topic of Chipeta, wife of Ute leader Ouray, then, after observing a Ute Sun Dance in 1910, settling on that topic (74-75).⁷

Gertrude's position in contributing to the opera is complicated, almost inexplicable in her public revelation of the framework of sacred ritual, even though specific rites were not included. The melodies she played on her violin were traditional Sioux songs. Although she was reproducing familiar melodies, she was already participating in a cultural transformation by placing the songs in transition from vocal to instrumental and into a foreign medium of orchestrated drama. Hanson describes some tunes as love songs "seldom heard by whitemen" (75). The opera also incorporated flute melodies played on a traditional Native flute that Raymond had given Gertrude as a wedding gift. The musical numbers included chants: "sun dance, parade and game songs, medicine chants" (75). The heroic male lead of the opera, Ohiya, shared his name with the Bonnins' only son. Hanson declares that she was adamant in her devotion to the Sioux representation of the Sun Dance: "[Mrs. Bonnin] earnestly stated: 'Let us keep the *Sun Dance Opera* in the Sioux vernacular. The Sioux is [sic], of course, our "first love." Utes and a few other tribes just borrowed this festival, this national religion, from our people'" (76). This affirmation of tribal sovereignty represented her commitment and motivated her political actions throughout the remainder of her life, especially later as a public advocate for Indian rights. Gertrude was personally committed and involved in the composition and production of the opera, despite its public imitation of sacred rituals and enactment of ritual gestures by non-Indians.

During the time of the opera's initial performance, the practice of the Sun Dance was

outlawed on the Uintah Ouray reservation. Unable to distinguish between “improper dancing” and “hurtful or degrading practices or customs,” the Bureau of Indian Affairs banned all dancing at the Southern Ute Agency and, specifically, forbade the Sun Dance and Bear Dance at Uintah Ouray.⁹ In 1913 the Bureau attempted to control and disempower the rituals by suggesting they be performed at “agricultural fairs as a sort of commercial sideshow.”¹⁰ The chorus and dancers were mostly Utes in the Utah performances of *The Sun Dance Opera*; the lead singers, whose roles required trained singing voices, were primarily non-Indians.

Perhaps this exhibition allowed Native American participation in these forbidden rituals and provided an opportunity to sing familiar songs and dance traditional steps. Another motivation might have been Gertrude’s own sense of complicated cultural mediation with artistic endeavor. She may have considered that placing a very Indian ritual in the context of high opera was a cultural dissolution of hierarchy. If Native music were considered as valid as the sublime expression of western civilization, then Indian peoples would have to be considered for their own values and not be subject to racial injustice.

Additionally, the idea of public performance of cultural practices was not uncommon in this era. Indians had been participating in Wild West shows with Bureau supervision since 1883. L. G. Moses outlines the various venues of Indian performance in *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians* and refers to the years 1900-17 as “the Wild West show in its prime.”¹¹ Native peoples participated in not only the well-known Wild West shows but in cultural exhibits in large fairs like the Columbia Exhibition in Chicago and more localized state and agricultural fairs. Entrepreneurs quickly learned “the value of Show Indians whom [sic] . . . could attract crowds. Indians could participate . . . in legitimate and wholesome entertainments.”¹² Gertrude

Simmons Bonnin herself could be categorized as a “Show Indian.” As a writer and a musically and oratorically trained performer in European tradition, she had already demonstrated the “civilizing” accomplishments of the boarding school system. Rather than continuing as trained Indian on exhibit, she may have been trying to assume artistic control with composition and direction of the opera and to present her own cultural viewpoint. The performance of the opera allowed her personal and cultural validation.

Hanson’s role in the composition of the opera is complex as well. While sympathetic to Indian issues, Hanson exhibits a paternalism in his efforts to rescue the vanishing race, a prevalent attitude of the time. Referring to himself in the third person, he states:

This writer’s ambitions were further augmented when he realized that the unrecorded aboriginal songs, the rituals, and the habits (the National culture) were doomed to oblivion in the natural processes which were rapidly allowing the policies of the white man to have complete power and domination of America. . . . The writer finally decided that, due to the vastness of the nature of the culture, the most efficient mode of transcribing and interpreting the culture was in OPERA FORM. (2)

Hanson’s sense of theatrics had some of its inspiration from Mormon culture. Brigham Young was dedicated to the performing arts and built a theater in Salt Lake City in 1862.¹³ While the early Mormon theater eventually imported professional performers, outlying areas, like eastern Utah, continued to depend on local talent.¹⁴ That theatrical tradition encouraged young performers such as Hanson, and his affinity toward Indians led to the natural development of pageant-like performances. Prior to meeting the Bonnins, Hanson worked on transcribing the springtime Ute ritual and named it *The Bear Dance Opera*. After *The Sun Dance Opera* performances, he established the

Hanson Wigwam Company and toured Utah with shows that were similar in structure to Wild West shows. When Hanson began teaching at BYU in 1925, he wrote a master's thesis based on the springtime Ute ritual, *Teaman Nacup*.¹⁵

Additionally, as a product of Mormon culture, Hanson had a unique view of Indian peoples. Parallel to his summary of Indian history in Utah, he recounts his grandfather Peter Ernest Hanson's missionary efforts with the Indians (19-22). He explains the Mormon theological relationship to Native peoples: "[T]he Latter-day Saint People have always held a sacred interest in the American aborigine, whom they call 'The Lamanites of Book of Mormon history—a people of great promise and genealogy.' The Church and its adherents have always been eager and willing, even in the face of redman depredations, to conduct redman proselyting" (128). Hanson continues with a defense of Mormon policies and practices toward Indian peoples, in particular housing reservation Indian children in urban Mormon homes in the early 1960s.

Hanson's memoir is full of sentimental affections, undoubtedly as a result of his interactions with Native peoples. Despite his sympathies and good intentions, he remains colonially oblivious. His name alone appears on the title page of *The Sun Dance Opera*. When the opera was revived at BYU in 1935, and selected for performance on Broadway in 1938, Hanson claims sole proprietorship of the opera. Indeed, he later assigns copyright to BYU.¹⁶ Yet, in the memoir he acknowledges Zitkala Ša as coauthor and collaborator (3).

The opera itself is also very sentimental in both musical style and plot. The locale is the Pipestone Quarry near Yankton, South Dakota. The story is a love triangle between the outsider, Sweet Singer, a Shoshone lecher, and Winona and Ohiya, both Sioux, and their conflict is overlaid on the Sun Dance ritual. Several minor characters include gossips, Ohiya's mother, witches, and Hebo, the heyoka.

Sweet Singer is a perfect villain, despite his name. Not only does he represent intertribal rivalries, he has blasphemed; he "played lightly with certain love-leaves which are sacred, and are to be used only by the holy Medicine-men" (133). In the prologue during a monologue spoken over the orchestral overture, he confesses his deed but shows little remorse. His solution is to leave his Shoshone roots for the "land [of] the Sioux" (134).

The opera then begins with introduction of the lovers, Winona and Ohiya. In an aria that parallels Sun Dance traditions, Ohiya makes a pledge to be earned by sacrifice and dancing. His oath is to win the heart of Winona: "A Sun Dance brave would worthy be / To win Winona. / I vow!" (136). Amid the music and action, directions are given for Ohiya to improvise a love chant and sing "extemporaneous[ly]." This ad-lib is the first of several places where the opera resorts to oral tradition. Presumably, Gertrude may have coached the performers for these sequences. The departure from dependency on a written score not only would prohibit a faithful reproduction of the opera but demonstrates the flexibility with which the composers approached their work.

Further plot development of the opera is a combination of elaborate exposition, defining the background and motives of the principal characters, especially Sweet Singer, and set pieces for secondary characters. Ohiya's mother has a listful lullaby in "To / Star." The trickster, Hebo, is given an aria that has no bearing on the plot but introduces the culturally specific heyoka Sioux trickster. Hebo then tricks Sweet Singer into giving singing lessons. As preparations for the Sun Dance proceed, the tribal members perform what Hanson calls the "Squaw Dance" (145).

In Hanson's narrative description of the opera, he becomes an apologist for the Sun Dance tradition. He details the "capture" of tall trees and their personification and mediation between the Sun Dancers and the Sioux deity "Schenawv." In an inserted paragraph he defends these beliefs:

Even now the mounted warriors ride down the steep mountain trails, bringing these Tall Trees and making ready for the Sham Battle and the proud parade and battle ritual to actually capture these tree-people and make them SIOUX. This very day sees the consumation [sic] of a most spectacular and emotional event of no other people. However, it is purely Indian for it was conceived and practised long before the European invasion by a foreign people. (146)

Despite his familiarity with Ute practices, Hanson asserts the Sun Dance as Sioux-specific and echoes Gertrude's assertions of intellectual and tribal sovereignty.

The scene changes from Sun Dance preparations to the tipi of Winona's father. Her aria is "The Magic of the Night":

The magic of the Night of Nights
beckons me
A wonder-world is shelter 'neath the trees.
From grass and shrubs and willows low
Come mystic voices, sighs enchanting
breeze.

The pallid lake lies quiet now
Beneath yon mountain's somber breath.
The moonlight flickers—branches bow
But I? My lover comes! He comes to me!

Oh night of nights!
He comes—in his serenade!

Before the coyote's call at morn,
Or Bird awakes its mate at dawn,
While mystic voices sing their song
He comes—my lover comes—I know 'tis he!

Ohiya, yes Ohiya Brave—in his serenade.
I pass into the nightworld unafraid.
[He comes to chant ecstasy]¹⁷
He comes to chant his serenade. (148)

She hears the serenade of Ohiya's flute.

The musical structure of the aria is uncomplicated. The accompaniment begins with a

quasipentatonic motif that is echoed by the soprano. The formal structure is basically A B a B A. The meter changes from triple time to common time for each respective section. The B section uses a syncopated accompaniment. Harmonic progressions are simple, with only a few secondary dominants and tensions building dominant fifth chords, predictably resolved. Long stretches of melody stay on the same note, emphasizing rhythm rather than melodic progression. The tonality remains constant, with a brief foray into the relative minor in the B section. Additionally, the chromatic use of the secondary dominants, trilled transitions, and syncopated rhythms reflect the popular sentimental song style of the period.

The text seems to connect Winona's joy with the natural beauties of the earth. Her passion for Ohiya is matched by her fervent response to the lake, plants, birds, and coyote. Winona may represent one of the four sacred virgins requisite for the Sun Dance.¹⁸ The romance of the musical score accompanies her desire.

As the plot continues, the troupe constructs the Sun Dance arena along with the Wigwam of Consecration. A Shoshone Maid abandoned by Sweet Singer appears on stage to lament. She hides when Winona and Sweet Singer enter and Sweet Singer aggressively confronts Winona. He has earned the position of singing the Sun Dance chants and promises to make the songs long so that Ohiya will suffer more. Winona rejects Sweet Singer, who vows to victimize Ohiya further, but the exploited Shoshone maid intervenes and calls on Sweet Singer to account for his actions. She appeals for help from the quarry witches, who redeem her while bringing Sweet Singer to repentful remorse.

The ensemble reenters with an a cappella appeal to the Great Spirit. While a tenor and soprano chant a descant, the chorus sings:

Great Spirit hear our prayer
In this dance to Great sun.
To all who vow give a vision.

Give endurance
 [O let them dance 'til a vision]
 Give a vision clear
 Hear our prayer, Schenawv.
 May none fall in disgrace
 Give Courage endurance endurance to our
 braves
 Oh May none fall in disgrace
 Courage endurance endurance to our braves
 [Hear our vows Hi yi]
 Grant the wish of the lover, the lover
 [Hear Oh hear us Hi.]¹⁹

According to the subtitle in the score, this piece uses "Ute Sun Dance Motifs—Uinta and Sioux Indians." These motifs appear briefly and sequentially. None is developed or thematically repeated. Like "The Magic of the Night Aria," the chorus uses standard harmonies, mostly alternating between tonic and dominant, with an occasional subdominant chord and two diminished chords. The piece is organized A B A, with the A sections in B-flat minor and the B section in the parallel major key. Hanson composes hints of what would appear as traditional Native musical styles: a pulsing drum accompaniment, certain melodic phrases with pentatonic qualities, high introductory phrase with choral imitative response. Had the melodies remained monophonic, they might recall the original chants. However, with the added chord structures, they simply disappear into the harmonic direction and resolution. This selection from the opera demonstrates the challenges of superimposing a fixed structure of harmony, rhythm, melody, and direction upon a flexible and oral tradition where the notes are not always within the standardized scales nor the rhythms within metered and notational systems.²⁰ The lyrics of this chorus are indistinctive.

Ohiya makes a dramatic entry with those who have made sacred Sun Dance vows. The ensemble enacts the Sun Dance, chanting and circling around the Tall Tree pole at the center of the arena. From Hanson's descriptions, the singers and actors apparently feigned the

body piercing that is associated with the Sun Dance (165). Hanson observes: "The spirit of religiosity is unique and contagious" (168).

The ritual continues into a fifth act that represents the fifth day of dancing and chanting. The participants are exhausted. Sweet Singer is "immortalized—transmuted" (175) as he must join the witches of the quarry. Ohiya is consoled and aided by Winona and his mother. The Chieftain sanctions the union of Ohiya and Winona, as Ohiya has fulfilled his Sun Dance vow. Hanson describes the final scene:

The Sun Dance singer-drummers begin the war songs, the Scalp Dance chants. Old warrior-dancers, fully dressed and adorned with the symbolic facial and body war-paint marking, and in the costumes of many colors and designs, now enter the arena dancing. Tribesmen wildly applaud. Deeds of valor, of victory, with the grace of the eagle and with its fierceness; the strength of the bear; the stealthiness of the fox and the cunning of the coyote; all are pantomimed as enthusiastic chaos rules. *Religiosity supreme!* (175)

Many ensemble pieces are unscored, allowing the Native participants to sing their traditional songs. The musical style of the set pieces seems to be very much in keeping with the operetta style of the turn of the century. The lyrics seem plot driven rather than poetic. The melodies may have been tribally authentic, but they are virtually unrecognizable placed in the framework of precise meters and notation and with an orchestral accompaniment. Additionally, the music seems thrown into the realm of what has become, in the span of the twentieth century, parody and seed for stereotype. Contemporary listeners exposed to popular media might find familiar throbbing drums and pentatonic scales as background music to classic pseudo-Indian Western films or Saturday morning cartoons. However, early audiences of the opera would not have these exposures.

In the context of costumes, regalia, ritual, and love story, ascertaining audience perceptions is difficult. Audiences also may have been familiar with Wild West shows or with Buffalo Bill Cody's 1913 film *The Indians*, and may have been attracted to the romantic exoticism of seeing live Indians on stage, particularly with the attraction/repulsion of body piercing. Ironically, though, in Utah the lead singers were non-Indian while the chorus and dancers were mostly Utes. The exception was the improvised performance of Old Sioux (also known as Bad Hand), a centenarian under guardianship of the Bonnins. In the New York performances, the leads were played by several urban Indians and the chorus and dancers were non-Indians (177-78, 180). A further irony is that the 1938 New York opera performance occurs the same year as the final performance of Colonel Tim McCoy's Wild West Show in Washington, D.C.²¹

Beyond Gertrude's tribal ties to the Sun Dance and the Yankton setting, the opera became very personal with the use of her son's name and her own wedding flute. Certainly the details of the Sun Dance ritual must have come from the Bonnins, although Hanson, along with many others, attended and witnessed the Ute Sun Dance in 1910 (69). In describing the staging of the sacred ceremony, Hanson states that "The Bonnins always insisted that Indians are not idolaters, but that they use many symbols of things mystic and divine" (146). Hanson may be affirming that Gertrude's participation was validating Sioux culture as a means of mediating between the two worlds she inhabited. In an intricate way, Gertrude and other Native participants may have been blind to the hazards of cultural appropriation, instead asserting their right to perform these dances, songs, and rituals in any venue.

At the same time, Hanson seems to be trying to mediate between his mainstream culture and Indian cultures. Hanson's own words reveal his fervent devotion to his cause. Yet, while his memoirs reveal his sympathies, they also unmask his sense of expropriation. The

Sun Dance ritual itself has survived apart from this artistic rendering. Even in the summer of 1914, Northern Utes performed two Sun Dances under the guise of a harvest festival.²²

Hanson seems skilled at self-promotion, as well. His memoir omits the less than positive reviews of the opera.²³ Additionally, the crucial New York connection that led to the Opera Guild choosing the opera as the American opera of the year likely was facilitated as much by Hanson's personal connection with musical director John Hand, who had played the role of Ohiya twenty-five years earlier in Utah (109) than by the opera's musical merit. At worst, Hanson could be identified as a "wannabe," as evidenced by a photo where he is dressed in beaded buckskins, or as an Indian lover who attempts to consume Native ritual through his own cultural views. Even the best case for Hanson, that he was sympathetic and had good intentions, does not mitigate his own self-representation as sole composer of the opera.

Gertrude's motivations in the creation of the opera are more elusive. As Doreen Rappaport suggests in her creative reconstruction of Gertrude's life, participation in the opera relieved Gertrude's isolation in Utah.²⁴ Indeed, the opera offered her a creative outlet for her musical, literary, and performing talents. Additionally, the public performance was a political gesture, as it demonstrated the viability of Sioux life and traditions.

Gertrude Simmons Bonnin and William Hanson might be playing cultural duets with themselves and each other. Hanson was bent on saving American Indian traditions, as was Bonnin but with different purpose. Bonnin asserts the value of her specific tribal traditions while revealing her own romanticism with love songs and flutes. Hanson, though, takes over, making the opera and ritual his own through a sentimental colonialism. Were the whole opera reconstructed or performed now, certainly it would violate contemporary notions of artistic and tribal sovereignty and religious respect. The artistic elements of the opera—music, lyrics, and drama—seem simple

and unimaginative. Yet the opera provides a space in which to examine the perplexing relations between Euro-Americans and indigenous peoples and cultures.

As a Native women and academic, I recognize there are some indigenous scholars who would dismiss Gertrude and *The Sun Dance Opera*, in particular, as a ridiculous expression of tribal traditions. I agree that there are a multitude of problems inherent in the opera and in Gertrude's participation. However, without Gertrude's own explanation, her motivations will never be completely known. I find it difficult simply to dismiss or condemn her expedient decisions.

In the context of Gertrude's whole life, she had to make choices that many of us would not make today. The hegemonic assaults on her person, her tribe, and her culture were more direct and threatening than the cultural exploitations of Hanson and the opera. Her well-documented struggles in boarding schools and as a teacher, her fight for Indian citizenship, her campaign against peyote (despite the legal threat to tribal sovereignty), and her documentation of violence in Oklahoma during the "reign of terror" all reveal her underlying commitment to indigenous causes. Gertrude combated prejudice on fundamental levels and she responded by declaring the significance of Native cultures. It may have been beyond her imagination to consider that, in addition to the direct attempts to deprive Native peoples of their rights, there would be those who would patronizingly rob through imitation the sacred rituals, as well. *The Sun Dance Opera* allowed Gertrude to assert the value of her own beliefs without apparent consequence. It is also a brief representation in the whole of her creative literary and political life.

Gertrude's distancing from the opera and her apparent lack of involvement in its revival are balanced by her political and personal activities. While Hanson was musically performing, Gertrude and Raymond Bonnin were establishing land claims for various western tribes and were involved with other tribes

who were implementing the Indian Reorganization/Wheeler Howard Act of 1934. Artistic expression was a luxury that paled against political imperatives and financial and family challenges that included rearing her grandchildren. Perhaps this is why she did not contest Hanson's later self-representation as composer of the opera. Nevertheless, *The Sun Dance Opera* remains a fascinating duet between cultures, ideologies, and William F. Hanson and Zitkala Ša.

NOTES

1. Bonnin was Yankton Sioux and spoke Lakota. Her self-given Indian name, Zitkala Ša, is Lakota. During the period of the opera, she refers to herself as "Sioux" and Hanson uses the same term. "Sioux" will be used throughout this paper.

2. Zitkala Ša, *Old Indian Legends* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1901; reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985). Foreword by Agnes M. Picotte.

3. Zitkala Ša, *American Indian Stories* (Washington, D.C.: Hayworth Publishing House, 1921; reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985). Foreword by Dexter Fisher, also published as "Zitkala Ša: The Evolution of a Writer," *American Indian Quarterly* 5, no. 3 (August 1979): 229-38.

4. William F. Hanson, *Sun Dance Land* (Provo, Utah: J. Grant Stevenson, 1967).

5. Manuscript Collection, Catholic Bureau of Indian Missions, Marquette University Archives, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

6. References to Hanson's account are from *Sun Dance Land* and subsequently will be given in text in parentheses. Hanson states that the Bonnins arrived in Utah to work for the Indian agency in 1908 (69). Other sources place them there earlier, with Gertrude taking an oath of service in 1905. See Deborah Sue Welch, "Zitkala Ša: An American Indian Leader, 1876-1938" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wyoming, 1985), p. 253.

7. The Sun Dance was introduced to the Northern Utes in the 1890s after Grant Bullethead learned the ritual at the Wind River Shoshone Reservation (David Rich Lewis, "Reservation Leadership and the Progressive-Traditional Dichotomy: William Wash and the Northern Utes, 1865-1928," *Major Problems in American Indian History*, ed. Albert L. Hurtado and Peter Iverson [Lexington, Mass.: D. E. Heath, 1994], p. 426).

8. William F. Hanson, Manuscript Collection, Brigham Young University, hereafter referred to as Hanson Papers. In addition to Hanson's description, a flute replica is in the collection.

9. L. G. Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of the American Indians: 1883-1933* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), p. 206.

10. Lewis (note 7 above), p. 426.

11. Moses (note 9 above) constructs a detailed narrative of events, participants and policy concerns. The author does not address, however, what would motivate Native peoples' continued participation in performances and exploitative practices, p. 206.

12. Moses (note 9 above), p. 195.

13. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, *Journal of Discourses* (Liverpool, 1854-86), 9:242.

14. Robert Paxton, "History of LDS Theater," in Association of Mormon Letters column, 11 December 1996, Internet.

15. Hanson papers (note 8 above).

16. Hanson papers (note 8 above).

17. This lyric is in the score but not in Hanson's quotation in the book.

18. Mark St. Pierre and Tilda Long Soldier, *Walking in the Sacred Manner* (New York: Touchstone, 1995), p. 75.

19. Bracketed lyrics appear in the musical score but not the memoir.

20. Some contemporary Native American musicians, Louise Ballard, John Rainer Jr., and Arlie Neskahi, seem to have mediated successfully these stylistic musical conflicts.

21. Moses (note 9 above), p. 274.

22. Lewis (note 7 above), p. 426.

23. Hanson Papers. Dexter Fisher's foreword to *American Indian Stories* (note 3 above) quotes a glowing review from Edward Ellsworth Hipsher's *American Opera and Its Composers* (Philadelphia: Theo. Press Co., 1927), p. 237. The date of the publication is not concurrent with any known performances of the opera. Responses from the New York press to the 1938 performances include "'Sin Dance,' Indian Opera, Interesting but Could Use a Plot . . . A request for a libretto provoked the reply from the management that there wasn't any; that the only copy was in the composer's manuscript and this was in use" (*New York Daily News*, 28 April 1938).

24. Doreen Rappaport, *The Flight of Red Bird: The Life of Zitkala Ša*, (New York: Dial Books, 1997), pp. 115-18.