

Transmotion

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CALL FOR SUBMISSIONS

Transmotion will publish new scholarship focused on theoretical, experimental, postmodernist, and avant-garde writing produced by Native American and First Nations authors, as well as book reviews on relevant work in Vizenor Studies and Indigenous Studies.

The broad use of Vizenor-created theoretical terms in many different academic fields (e.g. law, literature, anthropology, sociology, museum studies, etc.) highlights the fact that Vizenor Studies represents a significant interdisciplinary conversation within the broader field of Indigenous Studies. As such, the editors of *Transmotion* will look for submissions that do any of the

following:

- Look at Vizenor's work directly, as well as the work of related authors and theorists in the field
- Employ Vizenor's theory to look at other writers
- Continue Vizenor's project of bringing together traditional indigenous knowledges and Asian or European continental philosophy
- Explore the inter-relation of image and text, art and literature, in Vizenor's work
- Contribute to recent developing conversations in contemporary Native American art and literature, in relation to questions of visual sovereignty, visibility, and ethics.
- Offer innovative, surprising, unexpected and creative critique of American Indian literatures or other creative arts
- Emphasize experimental, theoretical, and avant-garde Native North American work

The journal will also accept creative or hybrid work, provided that such work aligns aesthetically with the aforementioned editorial emphasis. The editors particularly welcome submissions of innovative and creative works that exploit digital media.

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Enquiries regarding submission are welcome and may be sent to the editors at transmotionjournal@gmail.com. Scholarly articles should be 20-25 pages in length, prepared according to the MLA Style Manual. Creative work can be of any length. We are also very keen for scholars to put themselves forward as potential book reviewers and to volunteer to be anonymous peer reviewers.

Information regarding on-line submissions of full drafts can be found at:
<http://journals.kent.ac.uk/index.php/transmotion/about/submissions#onlineSubmissions>

To contact the editors: transmotionjournal@gmail.com

Special Issue: Native American Narratives in a Global Context

edited by Eman Ghanayem & Rebecca Macklin



"To Exist is to Resist" mural on the Israeli Apartheid Wall by Gustavo Chávez Pavón.
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*Please note: amendments were made to Amal Equeiq's interview with Gustavo Chávez Pavón on July 29th 2019, which altered the page range of that piece and the pagination thereafter. The numbering below is up to date.

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Indigenous Narratives: Global Forces in Motion¹

EMAN GHANAYEM and REBECCA MACKLIN

In the contemporary moment, the world has seen an increase in transnational Indigenous and decolonial activist movements. Idle No More, Rhodes Must Fall, the BDS movement for a Free Palestine, and #NoDAPL and Mni Wiconi have all garnered international attention and trans-cultural calls for solidarity. These movements exemplify and build on long traditions of Indigenous resistance in international contexts and commitments to other marginalized groups.² Mindful of these continued struggles and concerns, this special issue seeks to bring together some of the diverse ways in which Native American and other Indigenous narratives circulate to create an influence globally. While we foreground Indigenous narratives in North America as our primary loci of interpretation, we are interested in the ways that they move outside of cultural or national boundaries and how communities around the world, Indigenous and otherwise, engage with them. In doing so, we attest to the necessity of thinking *globally* as a way to understand some of the forms of connectivity and relationality³ that embody Indigenous experiences.

We understand as narratives the endless multiplicity of modes through which people represent, remember, and share their stories. The narratives discussed in this issue affirm Indigenous survivance,⁴ regardless of how they are conveyed: whether through literature, historical revision, visual or performative arts, or digital media; irrespective of language; and whether they transpire in public spaces, classrooms, or through interpersonal communication. Indigenous narratives embody what Anishinaabe author and scholar Gerald Vizenor terms “transmotion,” as they invoke an active sense of presence that is fluid, mobile, and which transgresses colonial structures of legibility. In various ways, they disrupt or otherwise challenge the global circulation of prominent narratives about Indigenous peoples understood by Vizenor as “manifest manners,” i.e. the processes of erasure that include “familiar themes of classical, heroic tragedy, and modern victimry” (Vizenor, “The Unmissable”).

In recent years, there has been an increase in Indigenous scholarship that attempts to consider separate and distinct histories, cultures, and literatures in comparative and connective frames. In 2011, Daniel Heath Justice observed the number of Indigenous Studies scholars globally, “reaching out, learning about themselves and one another, looking for points of connection that reflect and respect both specificity and shared concern” (344). Jodi A. Byrd, in *The Transit of Empire* (2011), employs the concept “transit” to describe the

interconnectedness and continuum of colonial violence that implicated multiple peoples and spaces. In 2012, Chadwick Allen established the concept ‘trans-Indigenous’ to develop a methodology for global Indigenous literary studies and, elsewhere, scholars have explored the potential for comparing Native American socio-historic perspectives with those of other colonized and oppressed peoples. In his latest book (2016), Steven Salaita adopts “inter/nationalism” as a term that embodies decolonial thought and expression, literary and otherwise, that surface in the intersectional moments between Native American and Palestinian struggles. Similarly, there is a long tradition of Native American authors exploring the transnational politics of oppression and the multidirectional movement of memory⁵ in fiction, poetry and on stage: from Leslie Marmon Silko’s transcultural decolonial revolution in *Almanac of the Dead* (1991) to LeAnne Howe’s coauthored 2017 poetry collection *Singing, Still, Libretto for the 1847 Choctaw Gift to the Irish for Famine Relief*.⁶ These academic and creative projects cross the traditional disciplinary boundaries of Indigenous, Postcolonial, and Settler Colonial Studies, bringing together histories and cultures that have been too rarely considered alongside one another.

In this issue, we ask: what can the global offer as a lens through which to understand the movement of Indigenous narratives? And how can “thinking globally” help to facilitate a shift away from exclusively localized perceptions of Indigeneity to a view that sees it as an (already) travelling force? To theorize the global as it pertains to these narratives, we borrow from the fields of Indigenous and postcolonial scholarship as they are embedded genealogically and politically in critiques of empire. These two traditions register the connotations of empire within the global, both through colonial histories and the neocolonial (read also neoliberal) present, as well as theorize the potential for disrupting these structures.⁷ A global Indigenous Studies, or “trans-Indigenous” framework, such as that presented by Chadwick Allen (2012), valuably asserts the need to undertake Indigenous-centered scholarship by reading Indigenous texts in comparative terms, rather than comparisons rooted in settler-Indigenous binaries. In our issue, as well as in our own research, we build on this approach and attempt a more expansive global frame. This accounts for interconnections between groups that have survived colonial or other forms of oppression, but which have different socio-political relations to dominant definitions of Indigeneity. Such a methodology complements Kenyan writer Ngugi wa Thiong’o’s conception of globalectics (2012): a form of reading that foregrounds connections between disparate global and temporal spaces. A globalectical approach foregrounds periphery-periphery connections and dialogues,

particularly those in the Global South, over and instead of studies that are framed around a center-periphery dynamic. As Thiong'o asserts, "This attitude is germane to a global consciousness of our common humanity" (61). Reading texts in this way demands that we reconsider our understandings of how Indigeneity manifests in a global context, while fostering an acknowledgement of shared colonial experiences and understanding across cultural, linguistic, or geographic divides.

In addition, we build our approach to the global in ways that undermine how the democratized and capitalist articulations of globalization reproduce imperial hegemony. Following Stuart Hall, we understand globalization as "a structure of global power, and therefore of global or transnational inequalities and conflicts rather than the basis of a benign cosmopolitanism" (Hall cited in Webner, 345-6). And yet, as theorized by Bouvera De Sousa Santos, it simultaneously affords possibilities for "new opportunities for transnational creativity and solidarity," which can facilitate counter-hegemonic movements "intended to counteract detrimental effects of hegemonic forms of globalization" (180). Several of the essays in this issue explore such examples of creative exchange and solidarity that arise through the circulation of literature, art, or expressions of resistance (see Garsha, Pitman, and Egeiq). While many artists, writers, and political actors strategically utilize such opportunities to facilitate new connections (see Stratton, Jobin, and Zahzah), others employ the circulation of narratives to emphasise Indigenous sovereignty on a global scale by resisting the dynamics of accessibility that characterise the transcultural movement of products, ideas, and knowledge (see Wiese and Pitman).

Yet, while recent political movements such as Idle No More and the "#NODAPL" protests have helped to render these types of transcultural exchanges and connections more visible to a wider public, the processes of exchange and interconnectivity that we highlight are not new. Neither are they a consequence of globalized capitalism, though the technological advances of late capitalism certainly have shaped the ways that many of these connections materialize. Rather, the concept of relationality is fundamental to many Indigenous standpoints. In contradistinction to the self-exceptionalizing and oppressive strands of transnational settler thinking, relationality both operates and frames Indigenous relationships with others domestically and internationally, as well as motivates the storyline of their political and cultural practices. Glen Coulthard and Leanne Betasamosake Simpson define relationality as an Indigenous practice and situate it in what they call "grounded normativity":

Grounded normativity houses and reproduces the practices and procedures, based on deep reciprocity, that are inherently informed by an intimate relationship to place. Grounded normativity teaches us how to live our lives in relation to other people and nonhuman life forms in a profoundly nonauthoritarian, nondominating, nonexploitive manner. Grounded normativity teaches us how to be in respectful diplomatic relationships with other Indigenous and non-Indigenous nations with whom we might share territorial responsibilities or common political or economic interests. Our relationship to the land itself generates the processes, practices, and knowledges that inform our political systems, and through which *we practice solidarity*. To willfully abandon them would amount to a form of auto-genocide. (254)

Following this, we recognize that a global approach does not require a transnational or transcontinental focus. Neither should this be at the expense of understanding local connections and articulations of belonging or solidarity. Rather, we understand Indigenous narratives as having been always already global,⁸ and as having registered the culturally overarching networks of socio-political conditions not only internationally, but also locally. To state it differently, we believe that global conversations happen locally, in ways that are attuned to uneven experiences of colonial and capitalist oppression within regional or national spaces. By foregrounding this conception of globality, then, we argue that it becomes possible to develop a more holistic understanding of planetary conditions of subjugation, allowing for international and local solidarities to intertwine. Here, the article co-authored by Chew, Anthony-Stevens, LeClair-Diaz, Nicholas, Sobotta, and Stevens on the role of tribally-oriented pedagogy and its significance to Native nations and their languages offers an ethical practice that is simultaneously grounded and worldly, and whose instructive model could be valuably adapted by other communities.

This issue was originally conceived as a panel for the 2017 Native American Literature Symposium, entitled ‘Native American Literature in a Transnational Context’.⁹ Our panel considered Native American literary texts in relation to spaces of ongoing inequality in Palestine, South Africa, and Syria. This was inspired by our commitment to widening the conversation around the legacies and ongoing realities of colonialism across the world, in order to facilitate processes of mutual learning. In addition, by highlighting the globality of Indigenous peoples, cultures, and movements, we are actively pushing against the discriminatory logic of colonial management that perceives Indigeneity as unmodern, immobile, and insular. When conceptualizing the special issue, we sought to move beyond an

exclusive focus on literary studies to consider these questions in a transdisciplinary frame, thus attempting to create and sustain connections not only across global and temporal spaces, but also across the gaps that frequently exist between academic fields. From the beginning, it was important to us to include contributions that explore differential experiences of Indigeneity and colonial violence in geo-political spaces that are frequently left out of the conversations in trans-Indigenous studies that predominantly focus on the Anglo-settler colonial world. The pieces by Harris, Garsha, and Equeiq, in this way, make important provocations by expanding upon this focus, incorporating Mexican, Namibian, and Palestinian experiences. We see this issue as both inspired by and contributing to the conversations taking place across Indigenous Studies that consider points of interconnection between separate and distinct cultures, literatures, and colonial histories (Byrd 2011, Allen 2012, Jackson 2012, Salaita 2016). Our call for the special issue garnered interest from scholars around the world who were already actively engaging with these questions across a wide range of disciplines.

The contributors to this issue acknowledge modern-day colonialisms by emphasizing their local and international utterances, while foregrounding Indigenous responses to them that function within and outside their geographical boundaries. As these pieces show, though acts of resistance always spring in response to irreducibly local experiences of colonialism, the global is discernible in many expressions of resistance. In different ways, these articles foreground Indigenous peoples as global actors—whether by tracing the transnational influence of protest movements or the material circulation of Indigenous literatures, or by recognizing that Indigenous belonging operates simultaneously on local and global registers. While Indigenous belonging is always deeply rooted in place, these pieces show us that it is, too, continuously mobile and relational.

Some of these questions are taken up in Billy Stratton's article, "Transnational Narratives of Conflict and Empire, the Literary Art of Survivance in the Fiction of Gerald Vizenor." In an essay that impressively weaves together texts written over the course of Vizenor's career, Stratton examines the enduring "interest in international and transnational experiences" in Vizenor's work. Stratton reads tropes of "border-crossing, international exploration, transnational native liberty, and dynamic transmotion" to theorize an Anishinaabeg sense of global presence that animates the writing of Vizenor and which challenges circumscribed ideas of culture, identity, and geographic belonging. Danne Jobin in "Gerald Vizenor's Transnational Aesthetics in *Blue Ravens*" also frames Vizenor as a

transnational writer, whose aesthetics intentionally infuse Anishinabe knowledge into new geographies. Jobin analyzes the way Vizenor’s *Blue Ravens*, as a novel that is located in Paris during World War One and which centers Native characters, explores the question of Native agency and creativity as it manifests in moments of deep cultural encounters.

By exploring Vizenor as a traveling figure whose writings underlie a global aesthetic and mode of communication, Stratton and Jobin bring to our attention a long-standing tradition of Indigenous figures traveling to different parts of the world as cultural and political ambassadors. Two other contributors also center figures who, like Vizenor, pursue and participate in politically-motivated modes of global communication. Amal Equeiq in “Aesthetics of Indigenous Affinity: Traveling from Chiapas to Palestine in the Murals of Gustavo Chávez Pavón” shares her reflections on and conversations with Gustavo Chávez Pavón: a Guechepe muralist from Mexico City who is involved with the Zapatista movement. Chávez Pavón paints murals in Palestine and Mexico that connect Indigenous resistance in both spaces and, as Equeiq shows us, register the significance of Indigenous art, its traveling prowess, and the history and future of solidarity between Palestinians and the Zapatistas. Also discussing Palestine in a global context, Omar Zahzah’s essay “The Intelligentsia in Dissent: Palestine, Settler-Colonialism and Academic Unfreedom in the Work of Steven Salaita” gives an overview of Arab American scholar Steven Salaita’s *oeuvre* vis-à-vis his commitment to comparative Indigenous critique and anti-colonial movements. In 2014, and as a result of his critique of Israel on social media, Salaita’s scholarship was put into question, and he was denied a faculty position at the University of Illinois. Zahzah’s thorough exploration of Salaita’s books on Palestine, Israeli settler colonialism, Indigenous North America, academic freedom, and the ethics of solidarity returns us to Salaita’s importance in the growing field of global Indigenous Studies. Particularly, Salaita’s work and life represent how discussing Palestine in relationship to Indigenous contexts, Indigeneity as concept, and settler colonial violence globally is not only a significant feat, but one that is essential to its actual liberation and solidarity work with others.

Other articles explicitly consider the movement of texts produced by Indigenous artists and authors, examining the processes of material, linguistic and digital circulation that enable literary and visual narratives to journey across distinct cultural and geographic spaces. Doro Wiese’s article, “Untranslatable Timescapes in James Welch’s *Fools Crow* and the Deconstruction of Settler Time” foregrounds the transcultural circulation of Native American literature. Specifically focusing on the 1986 novel *Fools Crow* by Blackfeet and A’aninin

writer James Welch, Wiese draws on the concept of untranslatability to interpret Welch's engagement with temporality. She argues that the vision of time in the novel "cannot be transposed into Euro-Western temporal epistemologies": a literary strategy that, she suggests, can be read as an assertion of Indigenous cultural autonomy.

Audrey Harris' creative piece, "Two Maya Tales from the Mérida Cereso," also deals with questions of translation—both cultural and linguistic—in a contribution that seeks to shine a light on two emerging Mexican writers. She translates into English two short stories based on Mayan folklore written by Zindy Abreu Barón and Yesli Dayanili Pech Pech: two women writers of Mayan heritage, who have been imprisoned in the Mérida Cereso prison. Her introduction to the stories frames the enduring nature of Mayan narratives amongst Mexican communities and clarifies the politically-contested system that produced the authors' criminality and, consequently, led them to storytelling as a means of self-expression.

Thea Pitman's "Indigenous New Media Arts: Narrative Threads and Future Imaginaries" takes a wide-lens view, showcasing dynamic examples of Indigenous new media art and community art projects across the US, Canada, Aotearoa, and Australia. She considers how a diverse number of artists are utilising new technologies as modes of cultural expression, ranging from large-scale digital video and multimedia installations; to digital photography and computer game design. While recognizing the necessity of careful and respectful curation practices, Pitman celebrates the inclusion of Indigenous new media arts in galleries around the world. She cites Hunkpapa Lakota artist Dana Claxon, who evokes the potential for the circulation of Indigenous artworks to non-Indigenous audiences to facilitate exchanges "of pedagogy, understanding, truth, hope."

This type of connective work is developed in articles by Jeremiah Garsha and Paul Mackenzie Jones, who contemplate the parallel and interconnected conditions of modern-day colonialisms in distinct geo-political spaces and their corresponding protest movements. While mindful that transnational solidarities are always complicated by specific experiences of oppression and different conceptions of decolonization, we understand this type of connective analysis as necessary work to help bring about the conditions for meaningful and productive exchange between Indigenous and other dispossessed communities. Garsha's "Red Paint: Transnational 'Vandalism' of Colonial Relics in the Postcolonial World" centers "red paint" as an iconography that emerged out of the American Indian Movement (AIM) and influenced Indigenous struggles elsewhere. Garsha discusses the use of red paint in Namibia and Australia to vandalize colonial monuments in homage to its use in 1969 during the AIM

occupation of Alcatraz, revealing the similitude of both colonial violence in global spaces and the resistance movements that emerge in response. In “Indigenous Activism, Community Sustainability, and the Constraints of CANZUS Settler Nationhood,” Mackenzie Jones engages with transnational expressions of anti-colonial resistance by drawing on Mohawk scholar Audra Simpson’s concept of refusal to understand recent Indigenous movements across the Anglo-settler colonial world. This piece reads examples of Indigenous rights and environmental protests across the US, Canada, Aotearoa, and Australia as acts that forcefully refuse the absolutism of settler-colonial nationhood.

Finally, “Enacting Hope through Narratives of Indigenous Language and Culture Reclamation,” coauthored by Kari A. B. Chew, Vanessa Anthony-Stevens, Amanda LeClair-Diaz, Sheilah E. Nicholas, Angel Sobotta, and Philip Stevens, intervenes into anthropological and pedagogic discourses in order to theorize the sharing of narratives as a decolonial research methodology. Through reflective narratives, the contributions that form this article understand hope as a mobilizing and connecting force that is “an essential conduit between thought and action, belief and practice.” As such, hope plays a transformative role in the context of initiatives for language and cultural reclamation and education, across personal and transnational scales.

In many ways, hope is traceable throughout this whole issue—from its early inception to the thematic inclination of its pieces. Hope reminds us of an Indigenous continuum that travels in place and time, rooted yet mobile, introspective yet conversational. Recognizing colonialism in the many forms in which it exists today, this issue attempts to bring together global experiences in the aim of fostering understandings of shared struggles. We hope that it lands in places far and near, and reaches those who, like us, can see that a global framework can aptly foreground Indigenous narratives: not only as important in their respective contexts, but as necessary for everyone in the world to seek out, comprehend and recognize as global forces in motion.

Notes

¹ We are grateful to David Stirrup, David Carlson, Theodore Van Alst, and James Mackay for supporting us with the production of this special issue from the very beginning. Their interest, guidance and feedback have been instrumental in helping to bring this issue to fruition.

² See Nick Estes, *Our History Is the Future: Standing Rock Versus the Dakota Access Pipeline, and the Long Tradition of Indigenous Resistance* (New York: Verso Books, 2019).

³ We borrow relationality as Indigenous conceptualization of solidarity and intercultural connection from Jodi Byrd, *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), xvi; 118, and Glen Coulthard and Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, “Grounded Normativity/Place-Based Solidarity,” *American Quarterly* 68, no. 2 (2016): 254.

⁴ Following Gerald Vizenor, we understand survivance to refer to “an active sense of presence, the continuance of native stories, not a mere reaction, or a survivable name. Native survivance stories are renunciations of dominance, tragedy, and victimry.” (*Manifest Manners*, vii).

⁵ As theorized by Michael Rothberg, multidirectional memory refers to a mode through which distinct cultural memories and experiences are able to circulate and coexist in a non-competitive space. Rothberg suggests this “has the potential to create new forms of solidarity and new visions of justice” through “productive” processes of “ongoing negotiation, cross-referencing, and borrowing” (Rothberg, 32-33). See *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009).

⁶ This self-published trilingual chapbook, coauthored with Irish poet Doireann Ní Ghríofa, remembers Choctaw and Irish historic gestures of anti-colonial solidarity.

⁷ On neoliberalism and neocolonialism as interchangeable, particularly as rooted in transnational exploitations of Indigenous and racialized labor, see Lisa Lowe, *The Intimacies of Four Continents* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015).

⁸ An argument made by Richard Scott Lyons and the contributors in *The World, the Text, and the Indian* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2017).

⁹ We are thankful to Diane Glancy for participating in the 2017 NALS panel and to James Mackay for facilitating this.

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“Transnational Narratives of Conflict and Empire, the Literary Art of Survivance in the Fiction of Gerald Vizenor”

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With more than forty books to his credit, including poetry, fiction, critical theory, journalism, memoir, and tribal history, spanning the last five decades, Gerald Vizenor has established himself as a prolific, versatile, and influential contemporary native¹ writer and thinker. While Vizenor's works have consistently addressed the legacy of colonialism and native peoples' responses to its effects, they are also distinguished for their frequent placing of native people and characters within international contexts. These interests can be traced back to his earliest writings in the realm of haiku and imagistic poetry, directly inspired by his experiences living in Japan while serving in the U.S. military. These include the volumes *Two Wings the Butterfly* (1962), *Raising the Moon Vines* (1964), *Seventeen Chirps* (1964), and *Empty Swings* (1967). He has continued these poetic explorations in more recent collections, *Matsushima: Pine Island* (1984), *Almost Ashore* (2006), *Favor of Crows* (2014), and *Calm in the Storm/Accalmie* (2015). Writing on the influence of a deep understanding of place via a sort of communion with a particular ecosystem and its terrestrial cycles in *Favor of Crows*, Vizenor states, "Haiku, in a sense, inspired me on the road as a soldier in another culture and gently turned me back to the seasons, back to traces of nature and the tease of native reason and memories" (xi).

Cosmopolitan Origins

Vizenor's strong interest in international and transnational experiences is also evident in several works of fiction set throughout Asia and Europe. These include *Griever: An American Monkey King in China* (1990), *The Heirs of Columbus* (1991), *Hiroshima Bugi: Atomu 57* (2010), *Shrouds of White Earth* (2010) and *Blue Ravens* (2016)—the first of a trilogy of novels² addressing the European experiences of Anishinaabe soldiers in the contexts of World Wars I and II. In these works, Anishinaabe culture and ideas take on indelible "chancy presence," transcending political boundaries while conferring a deep sense of global belonging (*Postindian* 19). Vizenor's use of common tropes such as border-crossing, international exploration, transnational native liberty, and dynamic transmotion are, in many ways, reflective of his own

cosmopolitan experiences—initially through the tribal newspaper published at White Earth by his own ancestors, the *Tomahawk* (later renamed *Progress*); as a member of the U.S. military; and most fully as a transnational native writer, lecturer, and traveler. This cosmopolitanism would, perhaps, be natural for a native person, an Anishinaabe citizen of the White Earth Nation, the descendant of "postindian immigrants, and in that sense postmodern natives on the move from the reservation to modernity, the industrial world of Minneapolis" (*Postindian* 21). It is also natural for a storier whose homeland, while centered in Minnesota and the Great Lakes region, also includes the rest of North America, as well as a world and universe. This is so by virtue of its very creation and maintenance through the dreams and thoughts of the *gichi-manidoo*, or Great Spirit, in the creation stories of the Anishinaabe, transformed and always transforming into its present form by the trickster, *naanabozho*.

Among the Anishinaabe stories of origins and world-creation found in Vizenor's works, he describes the pre-historical world as originally consisting of water without form, or as a disordered and amorphous non-place in the midst of a global flood where creation and renewal are constant. Within the broader category of creation accounts known as earthdiver stories, these narratives concentrate on the processes by which supernatural figures, with the help of various animals, work to draw substance from the depths of the abyss to establish solid ground where living beings can enjoy rest and relief. In *The Heirs of Columbus* (1991), for instance, Vizenor relates the actions taken by *naanabozho* to accomplish this. In this work's opening, the narrator describes this figure as, simply, "the compassionate tribal trickster who created the earth" (5). The abbreviated description of creation that follows establishes a universal, native-centric, but non-exclusive conception of the world—which I have elsewhere termed, "heteroholistic"³—whereby "the trickster created the new earth with wet sand" (5). Vizenor's subsequent 1992 novel, *Dead Voices*, contains a more detailed version of this story. Here, the importance of cooperation in the process of creation are elaborated with *naanabozho* enlisting the assistance of various animals to restore the flooded world: "so he asked the beaver to dive down and rescue the last of the old earth, but it was the muskrat who came back with a little piece of sand, enough for the tribe to pack a new island on the back of a turtle" (111). In many ways such a conception of the world/universe is in harmony with the earliest conception of cosmopolitanism noted by Kwame Anthony Appiah as simply a "citizen of the cosmos" (xiv).

Utilizing *naanabozho's* wildly adaptive capacity as a ubiquitous narrative figuration in Anishinaabe storytelling and literature, Vizenor broadens their vital role even further, noting in *The Trickster of Liberty* (1988), "the trickster is a 'cosmic web' in imagination" (xi). As such, *naanabozho* is conceived and understood within a broader cosmological framework and as a prominent semiotic presence. Vizenor stretches the limits of the descriptive capacity for this ambiguous "tribal trickster" through the tease of chance and irony. In the essay "Trickster Discourse: Comic Holotropes and Language Games," for example, he describes *naanabozho* as "a liberator and healer in a narrative, a comic sign, communal signification and a discourse with imagination" (187). Writing on the function and purpose of the trickster in storytelling and literature, Jace Weaver, observes Vizenor's prevalent use of the trope, stating that "in the very process of disruption" initiated by the trickster both *naanabozho* and characters that embody its traits and qualities succeed in "imaginatively keeping the world in balance" (*Other Words* 56).

The resonance of such ideas emphasizes the values of restoration, harmony, and cooperation. At the same time the inclusion of these qualities helps shift the focus away from individuality and isolated facts, events, and locations that are central to Western knowledge. This grants even greater significance to restoration, harmony, and cooperation when combined with the transcendent conception and identity of *gichi-manidoo*. The eminent Anishinaabe scholar and storyteller, Basil Johnston, defines *gichi-manidoo* as "the Great Mystery of the supernatural order, one beyond human grasp, beyond words, neither male nor female, nor of the flesh" (2). In his explanation of how the universe and all things in it were created, Johnston states, "Kitchi-Manitou⁴ had a vision, seeing, hearing, touching, tasting, smelling, sensing, and knowing the universe, the world, the manitous, plants, animals, and human beings, and brought them into existence" (2-3). Similarly, this figure is simply described by the ethnologist, Frances Densmore, as "the master of life—the source and impersonation of the lives of all sentient things, human, faunal, and floral" (97). Anishinaabe poet and linguist, Margaret Noodin, emphasizes the global relevance and essential crux of Johnston's outline of these stories as a "way of saying the words of stories are medicine of the earth, information about all that can be observed, parts of universal understanding that are essential for living according to the Anishinaabe people" (112). Although native American creation stories may be dismissed as quaint myths, or worse, by non-native readers, the point Daniel Health Justice makes in *Why Indigenous Literature Matters* (2018) about native speculative fiction seems equally pertinent to oral tradition: "the fantastic is an

extension of the possible, not the impossible; it opens up and expands the range of options for Indigenous characters (and readers [or listeners]); it challenges our assumptions and expectations of 'the real'" (149).

One of the major implications of this native order of things is that as part of a contingent, cohesive, and global whole, the wide-ranging Anishinaabe lands and lakes located in Wisconsin, Michigan, North Dakota and Minnesota—home to the White Earth Reservation—and of the larger Great Lakes region on both sides of the American/Canadian border, form the geographic center for what is known as "Turtle Island" by the Anishinaabeg, as well as other native peoples. The first person narrator of Vizenor's *Shrouds of White Earth* (2010) takes little time in challenging the imagined communities of European colonialism in a dialogic statement put directly to the reader:

rightly you query my use of that facile word, culture. I should be more specific about the use of popular, cosmopolitan, and aristocratic cultures, but for now my use of the word culture is even more particular. I mean a reservation culture, a culture of reservations, that reservoir and uncommon association of colonial, foisted, bribable, simulated, countered, postponed, and ironic good stories, taste and company. (6)

The artificiality of these national and political boundaries, imposed in the aftermath of European colonialism, is precisely what another Anishinaabe writer, Gordon Henry Jr., playfully labels as "parameters of residence" (*Light People* 76-79). For Henry, this was simply the result of the imposition and demarcation of reservation enclaves of native culture. Additionally, out of the same land seized from native peoples, other borders were drawn to delineate the political national territories of the United States and Canada to the North, and Mexico to the South. It is precisely these conditions that lead Appiah to highlight the arguments of contemporary thinkers who maintain that "the boundaries of nations are morally irrelevant—accidents of history with no rightful claim on our conscience" (xvi). Hence, despite the restrictions on freedom, movement, and opportunity they unmistakably inflict, such impositions alone are incapable of severing the spiritual connections or sense of global belonging the Anishinaabeg as citizens of an Anishinaabeg world, or any other native and indigenous peoples as citizens of their own respective worlds, maintain with the earth.

Colonial Encounters, Upheavals, and Resistance

In his revolutionizing work in native critical theory, Louis Owens sought to differentiate the world of creation from the context of postcolonial positionality through the adoption of Edward Said's idea of "strategic location" (208). For Owens, this conception aligns with Anne McClintock's critique of "postcolonialism" as a term that "reorients the globe once more around a single binary opposition: colonial-postcolonial" (10). Owens worked to articulate a distinctly native critique of colonial land in much of his critical work, conceived "as a kind of frontier zone, which I elsewhere have referred to as 'always unstable, multidirectional, hybridized, characterized by heteroglossia, and indeterminate'" (208). In a similar vein, Vizenor has sought to rectify the sustained exclusion of native people in postcolonial discourse by placing emphasis on the geographic claims and connections of native peoples beyond the limits of strategic locations bound to imposed and simulated reservation boundaries or liminal frontier zones invented by colonial knowledge. In an essay titled, "Literary Transmotion: Survivance and Totemic Motion in Native American Indian Art and Literature," Vizenor observes, "Native and indigenous cosmototemic artists created the first memorable scenes of presence, natural motion, and survivance on the slant of stone, and in the great shadows of monumental caves more than thirty thousand years ago on every continent" (20). For like the story of another trickster, the brother of *naanabozho*, who takes the elemental form of stone and appears in several of Vizenor's novels, as well as in Henry's *The Light People*, there is no place on earth without their presence.

Within the context of Western colonial discourse, native peoples have long been cast as brutal savages in the weaponized binaries which accrue meaning within the asynchronous and starkly linear context of European exploration and globalization. Vizenor cites the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia in *Native Liberty* (2009) as one significant moment in the concomitant establishment of geo-political "territorial borders, security, and state sovereignty" within this context (105). Conceived to bring to an end the Thirty Years War, this agreement also served as a mechanism by which the native, indigenous, and First Nations people of the Western Hemisphere were placed under the influence, surveillance, and purported authority of Western European ecclesiastical, monarchic, and military rulers (105). This exploitative state of relations was enabled, at least in part, by the systems of cultural classification and enforced criteria of normative appearance, behavior, and thought. One of the prime vehicles for the dissemination of

such knowledge as an expression of imperial authority and power was embedded in spurious representations of native and indigenous people in the Western art and literature. The perceptions propagated by these discourses were instrumental to frequent dissemination of fabricated information about native peoples. Vizenor directly addresses this problem vis-à-vis frontier narratives in his widely influential article, "Socioacupuncture: Mythic Reversals and Striptease in Four Scenes," describing it as "the structural opposition of savagism and civilization found in the cinema and in the literature of romantic captivities" (83). Literary texts and artistic images were central in circulating disparaging images and descriptions of native cultures and peoples throughout Europe and the Americas. Such representations anticipated and exacerbated the nature and intensity of the conflicts typifying European imperial interactions with the indigenous peoples they encountered in the Western Hemisphere, as well as in Asia, Africa, Australia, and all parts between. In the most widely reproduced examples used as synonyms for native culture, Vizenor continues, "plains tepees, and the signs of moccasins, canoes, feathers, leathers, arrowheads, numerous museum artifacts, conjure the cultural rituals of the traditional tribal past, but the pleasure of the tribal striptease is denied, data bound, stopped in emulsion, colonized in print to resolve the insecurities and inhibitions of the dominant culture" (83). Taken as a whole, colonial modes of representation contributed to systems of knowledge and action that neatly aligned with readymade conceptions of barbarism, primitiveness, and cultural stasis (83).

No doubt influenced by such developments, and in response to the wider geopolitical dynamics spawned from European conflict, Vizenor observes that native communities were "already under colonial siege and disease, decimated by the first fatal contact with the dominions of 'globalization'" (*Liberty* 105). More specifically, he makes readers keenly aware of the ongoing processes by which Anishinaabe and other native peoples of North America were oppressed and "denied a sense of presence" in a world defined and divided by the mechanisms of Western knowledge and campaigns of organized and state-sanctioned violence (105). The particulars of this repressive system of imperialism, described as being "delivered by the breath and blood of monotheism and civilization" (105), have not just led to social isolation, cultural erasure, and forced assimilation, but also to the denial of "cultural hybridity, hemispheric contact and liberty" (106). It was a world that was rapidly expanding and torn asunder by the speed of transportation, advances in technology, and warfare. And within this context the lands, forests, and lakes of the Anishinaabe became a flashpoint of imperial fortunes and subjugation with the

arrival of French explorers and missionaries, along with the massive transformation and growth of the fur trade.

As Ian K. Steele points out in *Warpaths: Invasions of North America* (1994), French efforts to monopolize the fur trade proceeded over a lengthy period of time starting with the expeditions of Jacques Cartier north of the Gulf of St. Lawrence in 1534, and later those of Pierre du Gua and Samuel de Champlain, resulting in the establishment of fur trading settlements at Ile Sainte-Croix in 1604 and Port Royal in 1605, culminating in the establishment of Québec in 1608 (59-64). As a consequence of these relentless colonial incursions, the Anishinaabe became entangled in the extractive activities that resulted. Vizenor details the impact of these events in an early contribution to indigenous autohistory,⁵ *The Everlasting Sky: New Voices from the People Named the Chippewa* (1972), stating that "in the seventeenth century the first voyagers and missionaries of the Old World established a fur-trading post on the island [Madeline Island] near the sacred community of the people" (6). In a follow-up text, *Tribal Scenes and Ceremonies* (1976), he returns again to this theme, stating, "the fur trade interposed the first anomalous economic burr on the traditional survival rhythms of woodland life and the equipoise of tribal spirits" (111).

In response to the destructive cultural and spiritual effects of the colonial fur trade, one character in *The Heirs of Columbus* cynically observes, "the fur trade determined the future of the tribes, fur for sale was worth more than a hide packed with bones, feathers, and superstitions" (47). The expansion of the fur trade and its associated effects, as we know, brought widespread environmental disruption and acute trauma to native communities in the larger context of extractive colonialism. Nonetheless, Vizenor also doesn't shy away from speaking directly to the responsibility and agency that arise from the distorted rationales of victimry and ecological romanticization, noting, "tribal people from the mountains, plains and waterways of the woodland, transcended or ignored their religious beliefs and family totems by killing millions of animals for peltry" (*Tribal Scenes* 111). Positioning the French fur trade within the larger context of colonial globalization, Scott Lyons draws a comparison between the fur trade and the difficult negotiations native people were brought into in addressing European languages, including the fraught questions surrounding translation. Following Vizenor, Lyons observes that even in a "subordinate" position, the Anishinaabe still "played a fairly extensive role in the fur trade" (159). Although Basile Hudon Beaulieu describes this era of Anishinaabe history, which was

also one of apocalypse, as "an eternal shame" in *Native Tributes* (2018), it is not one of limits or finality either. Instead, as he reminds readers, "the memory of totemic animals continued as a source of stories and images in native art and literature" (7).

Transnational Passages in War and Exile

The wide-ranging and long term results of these social, cultural, historical, and epistemological dislocations is that Anishinaabe and other native peoples were reduced by degrees to the status of exiles, as "the fugitives of frontier, imperial, [and] mercenary sovereignty" (*Liberty* 108). Turtle Mountain Ojibwe writer, Louise Erdrich, illustrates the stark nature and effects of subsequent colonial impositions in the opening of her novel, *Tracks*. The narrative commences in the tumultuous period following the fin de siècle closing of the frontier as heralded by Frederick Jackson Turner with a narrator who observes: "it was surprising there were so many of us left to die. For those who survived the spotted sickness from the south, our long fight west to Nadoussioux land where we signed the treaty, and then a wind from the east, bringing exile in a storm of government papers, what descended from the north in 1912 seemed impossible" (1). Speaking to many of these same forces and impacts, Vizenor addresses the transnational and transhistorical effects produced from this context in the opening chapter of *Blue Ravens*. Here, the lineages of the two characters through which the narrative is told, the brothers Aloysius Hudon Beaulieu and Basile Hudon Beaulieu, are traced back along multiple lines of rhizomatic kinship: "Honoré Hudon Beaulieu, our father, was born on the north shore of Bad Medicine Lake. He was known as Frenchy. Our mother was born on the south shore of the lake. These two families, descendants of natives and fur traders, shared the resources of the lake and pine forests" (5). The composition of such stories that address the complexity of these cultural interactions in ironic and empathetic ways, especially those that place native characters in international settings and contexts, carry the capacity to effectively challenge circumscribed notions of culture and identity and its relation to geographic belonging.

Apart from bearing witness to the complications of intercultural contact and the inextricable web of familial interrelations resulting from the encounters between Anishinaabe and European peoples, *Blue Ravens* explores the border-crossings of some of Vizenor's own ancestors. In fact, their experiences as soldiers and nurses during World War I, including those of Ignatius Vizenor, Augustus Hudon Beaulieu, Ellanora Beaulieu, John Clement Beaulieu, and

Lawrence Vizenor, are honored on the dedication page of the novel itself [5]. Such memorialization lends narrative substance to Jodi Byrd's observation that "to be in transit is to be active presence in a world of relational movements and countermovements," through the people, events, and landscapes Vizenor's fictional narrators see and experience in place of their real-life counterparts (xvi-xvii). "To be in transit," Byrd further emphasizes, "is to exist relationally, multiply" (xvii). An analogous sense of relationality is conveyed in the narrative trajectory of *Blue Ravens*, which provides readers a window into Anishinaabe experience emanating from the White Earth Reservation starting in the year 1907. The narration of the story itself is embedded in White Earth, before shifting to Europe and the horrors of World War I, which the narrator characterizes as an "empire demon more sinister than the ice monster" (109). Initiating a break from these parameters of residence, the story traces lines of flight to the reservation where the Beaulieu brothers experience a persistent sense of confinement and isolation, provoking a return to France where they would ironically "become expatriate native artists, a painter and a writer, in Paris" (109, 211). In the novel's sweeping exploration of the impacts that forms of "empire slavery" (278), and especially, its results bore on the Anishinaabeg of White Earth, Vizenor's characters utilize the potency of imagination to address the traumas of oppression, war, and inhumanity. Vizenor accomplishes this through the genre of historical fiction, building upon the broader transnational, postcolonial critique that extends throughout his discursive body of work.

Vizenor's concern for history and the way it bears on native individuals and societies highlights the truth that intercultural conflict and acts of war result in the massive displacement of native and indigenous peoples. Yet, the actual events of the war itself are not the focus of his narrative as the essential substance of *Blue Ravens* is primarily focused on the aftermath of World War I as told through the experiences of the Beaulieu brothers as expatriate artists, a writer and painter, who return to Paris to escape their ironic status as "political prisoners by the federal government in a civil war" (217). The thematic concerns this and Vizenor's other novels engender, which include a diverse array of characters including human, animal, and spirit beings, encourages readers to appreciate his sustained engagement with the multivalent sources, impacts, and legacies of colonization and empire building through the empathetic play and tease of humor and irony. Expressions, of course, that form the basis for his practice of trickster hermeneutics. The agile modes of discourse created with such elements allow the creative capacities of storytelling and art to be more effective in conveying the essence of survivance and native

sovereignty, which Vizenor defines as "that presence in remembrance, that trace of creation and natural reason in native stories" (*Fugitive* 15).

Connecting the inevitable legacy of violence that proceeded from global colonialism to more recent and contemporary historical experiences that attend this context, Vizenor creates a complementary array of stories by which to explore the resonances and impacts on Anishinaabe people. In so doing, Vizenor establishes linkages between *Blue Ravens* and his follow-up works, *Native Tributes* and the yet to be released *Satie on the Seine*, by tracing the narrative threads to World War II, and the experiences of the crossblood character, Ronin Ainoko Browne, in *Hiroshima Bugi*. Readers are introduced to Ronin, the orphan son of Orion Browne—an Anishinaabe soldier stationed in Japan—and a Tokyo *bugi* dancer, known only as Okichi, as living on without "parents to bear his stories, no memorable contours, creases, or manner of silence at night" (15). Left at an orphanage following his birth, the use of Ainoko as a middle name is reflective of his physical traits, signifying "a *hafu*, or halfbreed child" (17), while he is also given "the name of the actor, Mifune," from which Ronin is derived (21). As these accumulated names imply, despite his familial isolation, Ronin is heir to a rich tradition in Japanese culture, invoking the famous image of the wandering samurai widely depicted in art and literature and whom serve as the inspiration for the heroic wandering samurai characters played by Toshirô Mifune in numerous Akira Kurosawa films, including *Yojimbo*, *Sanjuro*, and *Seven Samurai*. Finally, the surname, Browne, connects the transnational circuit back to the Anishinaabe world of Vizenor's stories through intertextual association with other dislocated characters such as Almost Browne found in several of his stories and novels. As explained in the novel, *Hotline Healers* (1997), it is a name derived from an accident of circumstance in which the character was said to be born "on the shoulder of the road [...] almost on the White Earth Reservation" (10). For Jodi Bryd, the historical contexts of transnational interrelations, war, and the effects of displacement that play out in *Hiroshima Bugi* prompts a consideration of "American Indian participation in and disruptions of conviviality within the transits of empire" (189-190). As is the case in practically all of Vizenor's works, the impact of empire cuts across various spatial, temporal, ideological, and spiritual coordinates and realities.

Vizenor highlights lines of correspondence across indigenous worlds through a narrative structure that reveal the novel to be a book within the book formed by Ronin's journals and the unnamed narrator of the "Manidoo Envoy" chapters, which alternate between those focalized

through Ronin. Identified as a fellow Anishinaabe veteran from Leech Lake, and erstwhile roommate of Orion at the Hotel Manidoo in Nogales, Arizona, who Ronin bade "to provide notes, the necessary descriptive references, and background information on his father and others" (9). These textual details, which included accounts of Orion's experiences after surviving a war in which he was "exposed to nuclear radiation," are conveyed as story fragments in Ronin's narration. At the same time, they transport the reader back to a site that bears crucial significance in so many of Vizenor's works: "he retired from the army, nursed his nuclear wounds, and built a cabin at the headwaters of the Mississippi River near the White Earth Reservation in Minnesota" (18). Emphasizing the healing powers of this sacred place, the narrator later reveals that Orion "recovered by meditation, native medicine, and the annual stories of survivance at the headwaters" (18). In addition to creating connections between native worlds, *Hiroshima Bugi* also highlights transnational linkages between the knowledge and stories of the Anishinaabe and the indigenous people of Japan who are known as the Ainu. These are described as extending to "natural reason, their creation, animal totems, and survivance" (51), with an unnamed narrator further asserting, "Ainu culture is based upon a world view which presumes that everything in nature, be it tree, plant, animal, bird, stone, wind, or mountain has life of its own and can interact with humanity" (51-52). The radical break with Western epistemologies and ontologies that understandings of an animate world gives potency to a transcendent and unbounded conception of the earth in which national borders, private property, citizenship, and identity retain little meaning.

Vizenor reinforces such ideas by emphasizing the inherent sense of belonging that Anishinaabe people may feel anywhere in the world, the significance of sites including Ronin's "nuclear kabuki theater of the ruins" at the Atomic Bomb Dome in Hiroshima (3), and Orion's retirement home in the desert of southern Arizona, or in the Beaulieu brothers' escape from White Earth to the refuge of Paris. All of these settings are imbued with increased implication, perhaps, when considering the ways in which the stories they frame resist the "homing" pattern theme observed by literary critics such as William Bevis. While having significant force in classic native novels such as N. Scott Momaday's *House Made of Dawn*, James Welch's *Winter in the Blood*, and Leslie Marmon Silko's *Ceremony*, which tend to correlate healing and recovery with a return to reservation lands, it is important to note the narrow limits of such interpretive models as well. As Angelika Bammer writes on the concept of displacement, for instance, when

it comes to native and indigenous peoples, colonial and imperial policies resulted in the massive "expropriation of land that often left indigenous peoples with merely a small, and mostly poorer, portion of their [original] land" (xi). This situation notwithstanding, the exigencies of the homing pattern has not been without its critics. The Irish scholar Pádraig Kirwan, for instance, has asserted that the application of this mode of interpretation in some quarters has become "an automatic, enforced, and singular means to achieve relocation and deracination that results in Native literatures being disallowed sufficient room to develop a narrative schema that speaks of life in the urban centers or elsewhere" (3). Stephen Graham Jones is one native writer who has expressed skepticism for the efficacy of this determinist formulaic, stating in a publisher's interview promoting *The Fast Red Road: a Plainsong*, that the novel was written in part to challenge this determinist model.⁶

Legacies of Discovery and Empire

The broader philosophical and historical valences brought to the surface by these ideas have also been addressed in several of Vizenor's other works, and numerous offerings by other native writers from Leslie Marmon Silko's *Ceremony* and Stephen Graham Jones' *The Fast Red Road*, to Louise Erdrich's and Michael Dorris' co-written novel, *The Crown of Columbus*, as commencing with the arrival of the Italian navigator in 1492 to the Western Hemisphere. Far from being seen as an isolated moment in history, which eschews "the binary axis of *time*," which McClintock critiques as "an axis even less productive of political nuance because it does not distinguish between the beneficiaries of colonialism (the ex-colonizers) and the casualties of colonialism (the ex-colonized)" (11), these works connect Columbus' landing to ensuing waves of colonial violence that were unflinchingly documented by Spanish missionaries and conquistadores such as Bartolomé de Las Casas and Bernal Díaz del Castillo.

The catastrophic series of events resulting from the so-called discovery and conquest of the 'New World' is taken up in *The Heirs of Columbus* as the foundation for the mythologization of the Americas and the operant masternarratives of divine providence and exceptionalism that animates colonial historiography. Events commencing with the landing of Christopher Columbus also form the context for subsequent interactions that led to the abduction of Pocahontas, the daughter of Powhatan, by English settlers in what was to become Virginia; circumstances that culminated, of course, in her untimely death and internment at Gravesend in Kent, England⁷,

creating a situation that threatens to consign her to the status of a perpetual captive. It is useful to note that in addition to representing a decisive moment in native American history, the 500th anniversary of Columbus' arrival served as the occasion for the publication of *The Heirs of Columbus* itself.⁸ As Kimberly Blaeser remarks, however, in her critical study, *Gerald Vizenor: Writing in the Oral Tradition*, "Heirs distinguishes itself from the mass of Columbus materials that appeared at the time by the unusual twists it gives to the legacy of the Columbus myth, boldly imagining the genes of the explorer as a source of contemporary healing" (95). The novel serves, in this sense, as an informative example that reflects the ways in which traditional native storytelling and literature function to deconstruct the artificial disciplinary distinctions between discourses such as history and literature, fact from story.

Among the numerous ways Vizenor uses his work to address the effects of violence, dispossession, confinement, isolation, and loneliness that bear on the lives of native people in the wake of European colonialism is through acts of creative appropriation. In *Heirs* this occurs as Columbus is rendered as indigenous, transformed, as it were, into "a trickster healer in the stories told by his tribal heirs at the headwaters of the great river" (3). The provocative and deeply ironic nature of Vizenor's reinscription of Columbus' role in the remaking of North America is one that aligns with Hayden White's notion of historical explanation by "emplotment," which is taken to signify "the way by which a sequence of events fashioned into a story is gradually revealed to be a story of a particular kind" (7). The process of historical production shaped by narrative form is reflective of the essential uncertainty and instability evident in attempts to excavate the facts of the past, along with the human desire to make sense and create order out of the fragments presented by historians through sanctioned modes of documentation, but never through memories or stories, and much less, the dreams of native peoples. Vizenor deftly exploits the ambiguities and limitations that issue from such matters to challenge and subvert European claims to lands and resources of the Western Hemisphere founded upon notions of discovery and conquest, or colonial succession. Such is the case with the United States, Canada, and Mexico from their relationships with England, France, Spain, and Holland, formulated within a "culture of death" by papal and monarchic authorities, and then later by political and military force (10, 19).

Obscure Heirs

Columbus' own remote "Mayan" roots are attributed by Vizenor to his mother, Susanna di Fontanarossa, from whom it is said that he "inherited the signature of survivance and tribal stories in the blood" (9, 28). This provocative connection becomes possible in the story due to the obscurity that attends the tracing of matrilineal descent in Western patriarchal culture. The genealogical ties on which the novel's title hinges are made complete by the introduction of Columbus' purported indigenous partner, "a hand talker named Samana," who emerges into the story from between the lines and through the unstated implications of his journals (31). Prompted by the expected skepticism to this element of the story, perhaps, Vizenor shares his thoughts on the rhetorical and philosophical function of this wild circumstance in the "Epilogue" that follows the conclusion of the novel, stating, "Columbus arises in tribal stories that heal with humor the world he wounded; he is loathed, but he is not a separation in tribal consciousness. The Admiral of the Ocean Sea is a trickster overturned in his own stories five centuries later" (185). Thus, through his use of storytelling devices and narrative conventions that give cohesion to an alternate legacy for Columbus, Vizenor challenges the historical processes and constructs of knowledge that attend the deprivation of native people of their lands, natural resources, and culture.

The building of story around such "twists" is furthered through the creation of new reservations and native lands. The first of these is established "on the international border near Big Island in Lake of the Woods" (6), and founded by the evocatively named, Stone Columbus, an Anishinaabe crossblood identified as the "direct descendent of the trickster, stone, and Christopher Columbus" (9). As readers attuned to Vizenor's irreverent humor and comic irony may already suppose, this place will be no ordinary reservation as it consists mainly of "an enormous barge that had been decked for games of chance on the ocean seas of the woodland," and christened as *Santa María Casino* (6, italics in original). Vital to the understanding of Vizenor's critique of colonial history is that the casino is further described as a roving "trickster creation on an ocean sea in the new tribal world" (11). That the reservation/casino in this new tribal world is "anchored" beyond the contemporary boundaries of White Earth, as well as other Anishinaabe communities in the state and region, "straddling the international border between the United States and Canada," provides another opportunity for the deconstruction of

conventional notions of spatial territory and belonging (6). It seems important to note that the particular site of the White Earth Reservation had been legally retained by the Anishinaabe through a series of land cessions actuated by treaties between various Anishinaabe groups and the American government in what was to become the state of Minnesota from 1837 until 1863. These are facts that draw emphasis to the historical and political dimensions of territorial land claims throughout North America. Ones that were shaped by the dispossession and dramatic reduction of reservation territory, while promoting the legalized theft of tribal lands that continued beyond the treaty era and into the twentieth century through mechanisms such as allotment. As one might expect of a story offered as a means of challenging the facile and all-too-convenient assumptions about native peoples perpetuated in American literary and historical discourse, Vizenor offers forth an indigenized conception of land and sovereignty. Hence, the legality of Stone Columbus' reservation/casino is acknowledged through the ruling of a sympathetic federal judge who holds that "the essence of sovereignty is imaginative, an original tribal trope, communal and spiritual, an idea that is more than metes and bounds in treaties," thus providing a legal frame to the novel (7).

Another site that serves to extend conceptions of Anishinaabe land beyond reservation boundaries is "the stone tavern, that wondrous circle of warm trickster stones, [that] has been located for more than a hundred generations on a wild blue meadow near the headwaters of the Mississippi River" (4). The "trickster stones" referred to here are, of course, those linked to *naanabozho's* brother, and which "create a natural theater, an uncovered mount that is never touched by storms, curses, and disease; in the winter the stones near the headwaters are a haven for birds, animals, humans, and trickster stories of liberation" (5). Situated just outside this tavern one also finds "The House of Life," which is "the burial ground for the lost and lonesome bones that were liberated by the heirs from the museums" (5).

Binding these associations together is the Mississippi River, known to the Anishinaabe as "*gichiziibi*," a term Vizenor translates as "the cradleboard of civilization" (13). The connotation of this phrase teases at longstanding connections to the land, as well as its physical conception and epistemological significance conveyed in indigenous knowledge, recalling sacred associations that are stifled in the colonial processes of claiming and naming. Additionally, *gichiziibi* also reflects on Vizenor's broader concerns regarding the connections between native languages and place in which he states: "tribal languages were spoken in places for thousands

and thousands of years, and for that reason the place words are more dramatic connections to the earth. In tribal language and religion there are connections between vision, word, and place. And where people have visions, the vision was connected to the energies of the earth through words, a complex abstract connection" (Bowers 48). Clearly, the Mississippi River, understood through a metaphor that overturns Western binaries and Eurocentric thought, is one such place, while also appearing in the works of other Anisihinaabe writers such as in Gordon Henry's *The Light People* and Louise Erdrich's *The Antelope Wife*⁹ (1998).

Stone Columbus is joined in his efforts to decolonize the land and history of the Americas and assert a sense of native presence and belonging that moves beyond colonial borders by his wife, Felipa Flowers. Early in the story, as a means of introduction, she is characterized as "the trickster poacher who repatriates tribal remains and sacred pouches from museums" (8). She goes to New York City on a mission in service to such ends "to repatriate sacred medicine pouches [...] the bear paw and otter pouches that had been stolen by Henry Rowe Schoolcraft" (45). The tactics Flowers uses in her efforts provoke questions centering on the fraught meanings of the terms "discovery" and "theft," and are undertaken "to atone for" what she calls "the moral corruption of missionaries, anthropologists, archaeo-necromancers, their heirs, and the robber barons of sacred tribal sites" (50). In order to secure the sacred items stolen by Schoolcraft, Flowers arranges a meeting with Doric Michéd, who is identified at first as an "obscure crossblood," and soon after as a "cannibal" (46, 54). Vizenor uses these ambiguous and conflicted associations as another means of challenging the shallow narratives of victimry and tragedy that have so often been used to deprive native people of agency and presence. Indeed, Vizenor's stories are set in a richly textured world in which cultural binaries, especially those that merely reverse the positions of civil and savage, are rejected. In addition to Michéd's "remote" ties to an indigenous community (48), he is also revealed as a member of a sinister organization known as the Brotherhood of American Explorers. This shadowy group meets in the so-called "Conquistador Club," whose motto is to "explore new worlds, discover with impunities, represent with manners, but never retreat from the ownership of land and language" (50). While representing numerous and conflicting identities, within the context of this organization, Michéd is portrayed as "a distinguished explorer and gentleman heir of the first Indian Agents in the territory of Michigan" (54). This is a distinction that further emphasizes

the complexity of intercultural relations and ever-shifting concepts of land and territory in the colonial period.

Michéd's conception of a world mapped, classified, and commoditized through colonial knowledge is placed in direct contrast to Flowers' understanding that "the world was united in clever tribal stories, imagination, memories" (46). Flowers manages to successfully recover the stolen items, but only with the help of "an eager tribal tent shaker" and reservation-less native named Transom (54). In fact, Transom is only able to liberate the bundles, along with a silver casket containing the remains of Columbus, from the museum vault where they were held by entering through a slipstream portal in the transmuted spiritual form of a "bear" (56). As such, this would be no conventional heist as the entry and escape were only made possible by a dimensional worm hole opened by "two black stones" that lead back again to the headwaters (56-57). When questioned by the detective in charge of the investigation into the disappearance of these items, Flowers challenges the colonial context of their very presence while asserting the spiritual claims of the Anishinaabeg in stating, "the liberation of our stories is no crime," before adding that she "would not reveal the location of the pouches" (60).

Although these narrative events give credence to the territorial primacy of the Anishinaabe within Minnesota, a more audacious understanding of the world Vizenor animates is posited through an attention to different conceptions of sense and understanding: "the New World is heard, the tribal world is dreamed and imagined. The Old World is seen, names and stories are stolen, constructed and published" (93). The impressions of these words, then, become the fading echo of Flowers next venture to retrieve "the remains of Pocahontas for proper burial by the Heirs of Columbus" (95). This mission, taking her across the Atlantic to England, sets the stage for the further deconstruction of the territorial restrictions imposed upon native and indigenous peoples. This plan is put into motion after Flowers is contacted by a collector of rare books by the name of Pellegrine Treves. He claims to possess Pocahontas' remains but asks for Flowers help in having them repatriated for a proper reburial in America (94). As it turns out, however, the information Flowers receives is part of a ruse concocted by Michéd who poses as Treves to regain possession of Columbus' remains. Reflecting the sheer brutality of colonialism and its agents, Flowers is abducted and killed while engaged in what she thought to be the rescue of "a tribal woman from the cruelties of more than three centuries of civilization" (115). In a dramatic replay of Pocahontas' death detailed in a detective inspector's report, Flowers' body is

found "at the base of the statue of Pocahontas at St. George's Parish Church in Gravesend," on which it is written that "Felipa Flowers, may have died from exposure or loneliness at Gravesend" (117).

Movement and Belonging

Flowers' murder and the trauma it bears upon her family forms the impetus for another journey by Stone Columbus, who travels to the Pacific Northwest and "declared a sovereign nation on October 12, 1992" at Point Assinka (119). Established five hundred years to the day after the landing of Christopher Columbus at Hispaniola, Stone reinscribes the date with an ironic sense of native liberty. Significantly, Stone's new nation sits at the intersection of international boundaries "between Semiahmoo, Washington, and Vancouver Island, Canada," in a reclamation of lands and waterways remade into "the wild estate of tribal memories and the genes of survivance in the New World" (119). The establishment of this new sovereign native nation by the heirs of Columbus occurs through the claiming of lands in a similar manner as Columbus and other European explorers. But their act of claiming is not one predicated on power and force, but done simply "in the name of our genes and the wild tricksters of liberty," further underscoring the sense of unbounded transmotion that Vizenor champions in so many of his works. These acts of transition and movement, but also liberty, culminate in the transportation of "the stone tavern, one stone at a time," by which "the earth was warm and healed at the point" (121). The broader significance of these interlinked occurrences and actions demonstrate the capacity for native liberty to operate beyond the limiting parameters of colonial borders, while offering another reminder of the boundlessness of stone.

In reverence of this principle and in honor of his deceased wife, Stone establishes the "Felipa Flowers Casino [...] on the international border between Canada and Point Assinika," in which "there were no inspections at the tribal border; indeed, the heirs honored tribal identities but no political boundaries on the earth" (131). Through the creation of this new nation, Vizenor provides a means for the "liberation of the mind" from common notions of the world as divided into counties, reservations, states, and nations founded on little more than social and political constructs and that act to sever native peoples' most fundamental connections to the land and the relationships that would be a natural result (155). In the place of such strictures, through Stone's efforts to "make the world tribal" through the acceptance of those with a "dedication to heal

rather than steal tribal cultures" (162), Vizenor offers his readers "native memories, stories of totemic creation, shamanic visions, burial markers, medicine pictures, the hunt, love, war and songs," which form "the transmotion of virtual cartography" (*Fugitive* 170). Within this same section of *Fugitive Poses*, he elaborates further on the theme of geographic meanings, stating that "tricky creation stories, totemic pictures, and mental mappery are the embodiment of native transmotion and sovereignty. Native mappers are storiers and visionaries" (170). The subtle associations and ironic turns that are apparent between Anishinaabe creation and trickster stories, and the transnational narratives that make up Vizenor's novels that act to "overturn civilization with humor" (*Heirs* 165), offer numerous sites of entry into a world and cosmos where a different kind of indigenous cartography has been drawn. A universe, a world, and "a place of the stones," of elements and substance that cannot be contained or circumscribed within the confining limits of colonial ideology and Western knowledge (170). And never will be as long as the stories of the people continue to be remembered and told.

Notes

¹ In accordance with Vizenor's conventions on the use of capitalization in reference to the terms *indian* and *native*, but more importantly what this intervention signifies in terms of colonial representation and simulation, "native" and "indigenous" are rendered in lowercase throughout this essay.

² The second installment, *Native Tributes*, covering the period of the great depression and the infamous Bonus March, was published last year by Wesleyan University Press (2018). The third, and final, installment, *Satie on the Seine: Letters to the Heirs of the Fur Trade* will be published by Wesleyan in 2020.

³ See "Towards a Heteroholistic Approach to Native American Literature," in *Weber: The Contemporary West* 29:2 (2013) and "Reading Through Peoplehood: Towards a Culturally Responsive Approach to Native American Literature and Oral Tradition," in *Twenty-First Century Perspectives on Indigenous Studies: Native North America in (Trans)motion*, 2015.

⁴ Johnson's usage, Kitchi-Manitou, is an alternate derived from an older and Canadian-located Anishinaabe orthography.

⁵ This phrase was coined by the Wendat Huron scholar, Georges E. Sioui, in *For an Amerindian Autohistory*, to challenge what he calls the "Americanization of the world" (xxii). As a form of decolonial praxis, the intent is "to show how modern American societies could benefit from demythologizing their socio-political discourse and becoming aware of their 'Americity.' That is, on this continent where they have just come ashore, they should see spirit, order, and thought, instead of a mass of lands and peoples to be removed, displaced, or rearranged" (xxiii).

⁶ See also my essay, "For He Needed No Horse: Stephen Graham Jones's Reterritorialization of the American West in *The Fast Red Road*," in *The Fictions of Stephen Graham Jones: A Critical Companion*, Ed. Billy J. Stratton, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2016), (85).

⁷ Perhaps, as an indication of a shift towards a more accurate depiction of this chapter of American history in mainstream American media, the popular account was the subject of criticism on an episode of TruTV's *Adam Ruins Everything* titled "The First Facts-giving," which originally aired on 27 March, 2018.

⁸ *The Heirs of Columbus* was written during the same time as several other works that took a critical view on "discovery" by the likes of Kirkpatrick Sale and Noam Chomsky, coinciding with the 500th anniversary of his landing at *Guanahani*. An event that Vizenor's narrator says was renamed by Columbus as "San Salvador in honor of our Blessed Lord" (36).

⁹ Erdrich subsequently revised this novel and republished it under the new title, *Antelope Woman* (2016).

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Gerald Vizenor's Transnational Aesthetics in *Blue Ravens*

DANNE JOBIN

More than any of Gerald Vizenor's previous work, *Blue Ravens* deploys a transnational aesthetic which playfully explores potential avenues for Native¹ sovereignty, a space of self-determination opened up by artistic production that juxtaposes an Anishinaabe sensibility onto French war scenes and the urban environment of Paris, thus imprinting Native presence onto the land. It enables like-minded individuals to find refuge and create a new order in which Native voices are heard and artistic influence is mutual as Indigenous artists participate in the thriving cultural scene of interwar France. Indeed, Vizenor's fiction explores mobile forms of citizenship, which do not attempt to regulate subjects but allow a celebration of communal as well as individual identities. The novel showcases a Native relationship to space transformed by Indigenous art into inventive, transnational forms of aesthetic citizenship. It also outlines dynamic maps of transnational networks that nevertheless retain their Indigenous, tribal-specific focus even as they open up the field for new exchanges with global spaces. The focus on Anishinaabe art and writing demonstrates that tribal national specificities, when entering transnational space, can adapt and evolve without compromising their integrity. As this article will show, instead of breaking its ties to White Earth, the protagonists' art transposes Anishinaabe aesthetics onto Parisian locales, thus exploring new forms of Indigenous sovereignty that transcends political borders.

In order to situate the critical contribution of *Blue Ravens* within transnational Indigenous studies, I will call on hemispheric and transnational theories to help articulate international and global intersections, and I will also explore questions regarding the sharing of Native space and the regulation of Indigenous identities. To begin with, the novel underscores Native American peoples' participation in transnational spaces by drawing from the experience of Anishinaabe World War One soldiers. *Blue Ravens* is one of two recent novels to retrace the history of Native North American participation in World War One, with Joseph Boyden's *The Three Day Road* providing a Canadian counterpart.² When Gerald Vizenor researched the engagement of his family members in the Great War, he discovered that two of his forebears were drafted to France, simultaneously coming across other names from the region and more specifically the White

Earth Anishinaabe Reservation in Minnesota. He then used these facts as a basis for his fictional narrative, which is partly biographical and thus offers insight into what the experience of fighting might have entailed for Indigenous soldiers. However, the scope of *Blue Ravens* is much wider than a war narrative or an account of the legacy borne by war veterans, and in this respect differs markedly from other Native novels focusing on combat or its aftermath. The narrator, Basile Hudon Beaulieu, is a storyteller—or to use Vizenor's term, a storier—who travels alongside his painter brother Aloysius and narrates their encounters as well as Aloysius's evolving portfolio. The narrative moves beyond a mere focus on mobility to illuminate art as a spatial practice that enables a dialogue between Indigeneity and spatial practices in a foreign land. Art is the center of focus, in the form of both Aloysius's visual production and Basile's writing, the novel itself. Once the war is over, the Beaulieus move to Paris where they meet prestigious artists and achieve recognition within the art scene themselves. All the while, their connection to White Earth is maintained through aesthetic transmotion, an assertive sense of movement tied to sovereignty through "native motion and an active presence," as Vizenor defines it in *Fugitive Poses*:

The connotations of transmotion are creation stories, totemic visions, reincarnation, and soverenance; transmotion, that sense of native motion and an active presence, is *sui generis* sovereignty. Native transmotion is survivance, a reciprocal use of nature, not a monotheistic, territorial sovereignty. Native stories of survivance are the creases of transmotion and sovereignty. (15, italics in the original)

Art, therefore, enables international connections and exchanges through unrestrained mobility as the brothers create art pieces based on Anishinaabe aesthetics in various spaces. These aesthetics refer back to White Earth as a central node, which shaped the Beaulieus' artistic sensibilities and goes on informing their artistic production. Thus, Vizenor imbues art with the potential to transmit and transform Native modes of creative expression in innovative ways that speak to transmotion and ensure survivance. Padraig Kirwan more specifically articulates the potential of art forms to assert relationships across and beyond boundaries as a way of reclaiming Native space outside the reservation through "aesthetic sovereignty," which he defines as a "spatially-informed aesthetics" (*Sovereign Stories*, 27). Kirwan reads Native American texts as "expressions of tribal sovereignty" (23) that bear an "aesthetic" which not only expresses but also produces tribal autonomy (23), and thus articulates a critique of tribal nationalism in relation to

the "artistic, political, and cultural sovereignty" (37) found in literary works. The sovereign aesthetic which emerges can link "rhetorical sovereignty" with the current "political and legal debates" taking place in Indian country (17) by providing "a deeper understanding of both the means by which political movements are supported by the discrete mobilization of spatialized metaphors in fiction as well as critical theory, and an appreciation of the ways in which Native American fictionists create multifarious narrative spaces" (17). This helps conceive of a model in which the Beaulieus are not merely transposing Native artists into a foreign environment but actually engaging with the new urban space as promoting their Indigenous sensibility through their artistic, imaginative engagement with particular locales. Paris becomes an Indigenised space as the Beaulieus develop their artistic vision of White Earth through their presence in the City of Light, in turn inspiring international artists through their own production. One morning in Paris, for instance, Aloysius paints "a throng of blue ravens at the entrance of Le Chemin du Montparnasse" with "abstract wings," "cubist beaks," and "baroque talons" in reference to Apollinaire, Picasso, and Vassilieff (163). He thus adds his own Indigenous art, with a touch of Japanese rouge, to the street where international artists have their ateliers, referencing some of the masters who inspired him.

As Pamela Wilson and Michelle Stewart point out in *Global Indigenous Media*, maintaining a "local cultural distinctiveness" while also establishing a "transnational affiliation" allows an artistic support network to develop on a global scale and produces "works that question dominant worldviews while at the same time promoting a strategic, internationally conceived Indigenism" (31). *Blue Ravens* provides a fictional example of the ways in which such a model might work. In a similar line, the first chapter of *Indigenous Cosmopolitans* by Maximilian C. Forte also asks what happens to indigenous culture and identity when being in the "original place" is no longer possible or even necessary, and whether displacement signifies a negation of Indigeneity. Forte wonders how being and becoming Indigenous is "experienced and practised along translocal pathways", and how philosophies and politics of identification are constructed in translocal settings (2). These productive questions are key to a transnational reading of *Blue Ravens* as a narrative that creates a space for Indigenous art in Europe and encourages mobility for Native subjects. Vizenor's novel offers imaginative answers by staging an Anishinaabe painter and a writer who employ aesthetic sovereignty to inscribe Indigenous meanings onto spaces situated beyond the reservation, thereby re-envisioning them as Native

spaces where new kinship networks between similarly-minded artists and war veterans become possible.

Vizenor has progressively been working towards transnational Anishinaabe characters who use artistic expression to apprehend new spaces. His previous novel, *Shrouds of White Earth* (2010), also features an Anishinaabe artist whose art is showcased not only in other states but in Europe as well, thus crossing international boundaries in addition to artistic ones. *Griever: An American Monkey King in China* (1987) already manifested Vizenor's international vision for Native transmotion by showing how a White Earth English teacher finds a place for himself as an Anishinaabe trickster within Chinese culture by embodying the mythological Monkey King. *Griever*, however, is based on the trickster tradition rather than the artistic, cosmoprimitivist angle increasingly developed in the author's recent work. In his article “Wanton and Sensuous in the Musée du Quai Branly,” James Mackay argues that, in *Shrouds of White Earth*, for instance, “Vizenor is primarily concerned with challenging the colonially inflected power balance assumptions inhering in the word ‘primitivism’” in order to move away from a simple idealisation of the primitive (171). Mackay explains that the main protagonist envisions a “new art theory, Native Visionary Cosmopolitan Primitivism, or Cosmoprimitivism” to redress the assumption that although ledger art emerged decades before Chagall came to be known, “the native artists are seen more as representative of ancient Plains traditions while Chagall alone is the innovator and colourist” (177). *Blue Ravens*, then, pursues this thread in its representation of a painter and a writer from White Earth who become active participants in the avant-garde movement. In this novel, Vizenor's cosmoprimitivism transforms Indigenous aesthetics into a form of political subversion that inscribes a sense of Native presence onto transnational locales as a way of side-stepping U.S. settler rule over restrictive reservation policies. Enabling more inclusive models of sovereignty to move beyond such containment, the novel gestures towards a mobile, even international, vision of Native space. As an illustration, when posted in France, Aloysius paints “one, three, four, and seven blue ravens [...] in the back of trucks on the rough roads to war, at meals, and even in the beam and roar of enemy bombardments” (126), thus inscribing a sense of Native presence onto locales and events. This aesthetic Anishinaabe space is constituted by the artist's relationship to a place as a form of self-definition re-enacted through art rather than a prescriptive model of enclosure within a static tradition. Cosmoprimitive Native art is both mobile and capable of asserting tribal sovereignty throughout the world while

conversing with other art springing from compatible perspectives. Indeed, Vizenor extends Native sovereignty far beyond the reservation through a literary aesthetics that showcases art as a vessel for Native transmotion, which envisions new forms of artistic citizenship—ways of belonging that are established through artistic practices rather than strict notions of membership. At a gathering of artists and writers in Montparnasse, Basile tells the stories of "native totems and animals, and the presence of animals and birds in art and literature," aiming to inspire others to reflect on "the visionary presence of animals," while Aloysius discusses mongrel healers in the spirit of the fur trade, invoking a common history of exchange in order to stimulate the imaginative potential of the listeners (164). By so doing, the brothers not only call Native presence into the Parisian setting but inform the vision of other artists and writers around them and create a community of influence. In his review, Jay Whitaker comments on the autobiographical background of the novel, which is dedicated "to the memory of Ignatius Vizenor, the author's own great-uncle" and is "reminiscent of Vizenor's early years, including the extended family and community contributions to his upbringing in the absence of a paternal figure, his military service, and his work as a newspaper writer" (228). Whitaker also emphasises the author's contribution to Indigenous politics through "transnational and transcultural interactions" that occur during the war when the brothers "meet and learn from Oneida warriors on the front line" before making a place for themselves in Paris:

[T]he brothers, in their role as veterans, acknowledge that France is the place for them to explore and create their identities because the French soil and the French people remember the specific local traumas of World War I battles; the United States and the White Earth Reservation are in many ways too disconnected, despite the disproportionate ratio of casualties many Native American communities endured during the war. France becomes the place where these brothers can best cultivate their Native cultural productions and, in so doing, continue to form their Anishinaabe identities even apart from their homeland. (229)

France facilitates a particular relationship to place, as the events of the war impress themselves upon the land, and thus enable the Beaulieus to bridge place and memory in accordance with "a naturally reasoned existence in relation to a specific surrounding" that is "inherently Native" (229). As Billy Stratton points out, this perspective shares similarities with "what N. Scott Momaday terms 'the remembered earth,'" a feature which Vizenor transposes from Minnesota to

other states and Europe as well as Japan and China (112). Thus, the setting of *Blue Ravens* allows its main protagonists to demonstrate "the active presence of Native people in urban spaces" while maintaining "their storied connection to the lands emanating from the White Earth Reservation" (112). The Parisian setting also provides a visual and imaginative freedom that contrasts with the federal stronghold established on the reservation (113), thereby envisioning a Native relationship to foreign lands that reasserts mobile Indigenous practices. Vizenor's "movement from hyperlocal to global sources of knowledge" is congruent with transmotion (Eils et. al. 214).

Furthermore, in Eils, Lederman and Uzendoski's interview article "You're Always More Famous When You Are Banished," Vizenor expands upon his vision of Native transmotion in relation to his entire corpus, as well as *Blue Ravens* more specifically, saying that more than being a geographical movement, transmotion allows a visionary, imaginative motion that participates in the "sentiment of continental liberty" for Native people (225):

You can live anywhere and have a story of presence on this continent, have a connection to the stories that created this continent—this hemisphere, actually—not just the metes and bounds and treaty borders and territorial boundaries. This is particularly critical for Natives—especially in border states, where in the past they could cross. Physically you had the motion to ignore territorial boundaries because your culture transcended it, but then with security problems, now you can't. My argument is straightforward: Native transmotion is visionary motion, and transmotion creates a sense of presence. (Eils et. al. 225-226)

He goes on to argue that new language is required to convey this notion, a language "that allows history to include theory and emotive possibilities for which there are no documents and that are critical in understanding a people" (227). This quote describes the *Blue Ravens* project very accurately. Through the Beaulieu brothers' artistry, Vizenor invents new literary possibilities that express transmotion as a way of piecing together the forgotten histories of war. For Indigenous peoples, that imaginative creativity is foundational to a way of interacting with the land as well. Vizenor extends this notion to sovereignty, stating: "I've only written about transmotion in the context of sovereignty—which is an abstract sovereignty—and literature," and explains that for pre-contact Native peoples, sovereignty must have resembled transmotion, in the sense of visionary presence, more closely than contemporary political sovereignty, which is territorial.

Native relationship to the land was made of "reciprocal relationships" (226) and did not acknowledge borders: "Natives had extensive, dynamic trade routes throughout the hemisphere: north to south, usually along rivers but also trails [...] There were extensive trade networks" (227). Therefore, although transmotion is not intrinsically territorial, but rather visionary, it also offers a lens through which to apprehend a Native relationship to space that manifests itself dynamically in the land, according to principles of reciprocity and presence instead of ownership. These elements are key to a transnational reading of *Blue Ravens* because they underscore movement as an intrinsic part of Native life across centuries. The novel maintains continuity with such mobile practices by foregrounding more recent developments such as the First World War, thus demonstrating that a narrative centred on the White Earth reservation can also be transnational in its scope.

The transnational elements of the novel serve to illuminate the common oversight of Native studies in American studies. For instance, in their introduction to *Hemispheric American Studies*, Caroline Levander and Robert Levine propose a radical shift from regarding the United States as a somewhat unified and concrete entity by "moving beyond the national frame to consider regions, areas, and diasporic affiliations that exist apart from or in conflicted relation to the nation" (2) in order to approach American locales as "products of overlapping, mutually inflecting fields—as complex webs of regional, national and hemispheric forces that can be approached from multiple locations and perspectives" (3). Indeed, just as America and the Western hemisphere are inventions –politically and ideologically strategic ones (4), it is possible to see borderlands not just as restricted to the Mexican-U.S. border but as moving throughout many locales in the U.S., Canada, and South America (15). This latter point seems fairly obvious from an Indigenous perspective that recognises that settler borders not only exist within the U.S. but also create arbitrary separations with Canada and Mexico that have direct implications for everyday life. However, while *Hemispheric American Studies* aims to "chart new literary and cultural geographies by decentering the U.S. nation" (3) and "contextualiz[ing] what can sometimes appear to be the artificially hardened borders and boundaries of the U.S. nation or for that matter, any nation of the American hemisphere" (2-3), the volume gives little attention to Native American viewpoints. Indigenous peoples are marginally addressed in some of the volume's chapters but the introduction tends to inscribe Native Americans within an

undifferentiated flow of discourses and movements. Thus, although the book redirects critical attention toward a hemispheric frame of analysis, it does little to correct the oversight of Indigenous perspectives pervasive to American Studies. Furthermore, as a counter-nationalist project, hemispheric studies also pose a threat to the Native effort to centre tribal perspectives as a critical methodology.

In order to disrupt and displace American Studies as a monolithic site that perpetuates a colonial outlook, another more radical proposal would be to recenter Indigenous perspectives instead, for instance by considering Lisa Brooks's questions in her introduction to *The Common Pot*. She asks, "What happens when the texts of Anglo-American history and literature are participants in Native space rather than the center of the story? What kind of map emerges?" (xxxv). In her response to the tribal nationalist project, Shari Huhndorf also attempts to correct this particular oversight in *Mapping the Americas* by inscribing Native studies within hemispheric and transnational perspectives. As she points out in her critique of literary nationalism, "Although nationalism is an essential anti-colonial strategy in indigenous settings, nationalist scholarship neglects the historical forces (such as imperialism) that increasingly draw indigenous communities into global contexts" (3). The challenge is therefore to consider global issues without decentering Indigenous Studies but instead to examine the questions that arise from the frictions of gender, culture, the nation state, and their geographical implications (4). This is why the nationalist project was followed by a transnational turn, prompted also by a new focus on urban Indians and global tribal relationships (12-13). Indeed, Robert Warrior's article "Native American Scholarship and the Transnational Turn" promotes an articulation of transnational theory that emphasises how "the effects of capitalism, which were once contained and constrained by the sovereignty of nations, now supersede and trump the power of states" with a reduced focus on the national boundaries of settler states (119), thus opening up the field of enquiry beyond boundaries: "At best, the transnational turn describes the reality of what we often seek in looking for ways to reach across borders and oceans in search of consonance and [...] perspective" (120). Warrior does not, however, decry Native Studies' rejection of transnational theory (120), although the contradiction between cultural studies' view of "nationalism as a pathology" and Native studies framing it as survival (Womack in Warrior 121) can seem disorienting. For Warrior, "a resistance to [or against] ideas like transnationality" is not only "intellectually defensible" but can provide "fruitful theoretical insight" (122). It is their very

refusal to engage with the terms of transnationalism that has enabled Native scholars to articulate a nationalism "born out of native transnationalism, the flow and exchange of ideas and politics across our respective nations' borders" (125). Although "the discourse on nationalism remains [...] the domestic and international language in which Native struggle is waged" and provides "a primary vehicle for fuelling Indigenous imagination," there is scope to develop the field "toward a sense that encompasses not just North America, but the Indigenous world more broadly" (126).

Huhndorf offers Silko's *Almanac of the Dead* as an example of a Native American novel in which global connections lay the basis for an anticolonial revolution in order to demonstrate how an Indigenous agenda might reclaim worldwide networks. Such shifts test parameters that are at the heart of contemporary American Studies, where "[I]ndigenous transnationalisms in particular have extended existing American Studies critiques of national identity and imperialism as they radically challenge the histories, geographies, and contemporary social relations that constitute America itself" (Huhndorf 19). In her insistence on the use of visual representation as a central factor in colonisation as well as a tool for resistance to it, Huhndorf includes maps as visual representations that can be subverted and recreated to support land claims and thus become the visual technologies of Native politics (22). Such maps extend far beyond reservation boundaries and surrounding mis-appropriated/occupied land to constitute highly dynamic maps of transnational Indigenous networks that extend across the continent and hemisphere and run throughout the globe. Just as tribal nations have always practiced movement and relationship, they continue to develop and recreate them in ways that mediate Indigeneity across the world by asserting a sense of Native presence in unexpected places. In *Blue Ravens*, a group of Native men meet at Café du Dôme, calling it their "commune of native stories" and stating that the stories they tell each other in Paris become "more memorable than at any other native commune" (240). This instance stresses not only the possibility of transnational Native spaces but their vitality—in this case mediated through oral literature and Basile's later recording of the encounter in writing. As a geographical extension of Brooks's "common pot"—a space where resources are shared (3)—these connections create commonalities based on Indigenous perspectives that maintain awareness of their roots in tribal traditions while opening dialogues with the inhabitants of markedly different spaces, from America to Europe. Brooks demonstrates that the frameworks developed by tribal nations were adapted to negotiations with the settler and still constitute a useful tool to redefine land use and sovereignty. Art is well suited to

communicate in such a dialogical space. Chadwick Allen remarks that Indigenous intellectual and artistic sovereignty is global in its scope (xviii), as is indeed the case in *Blue Ravens* where Anishinaabe art writes meaning onto transnational spaces. In *Trans-Indigenous*, Allen suggests that the prefix *trans* moves *beside, through* and *across* (6), thus representing movements susceptible to disrupt colonial order. Allen also insists that local work is of global importance not in opposition to but rather because of its relationship to a particular place (135-136). Although rooted in Indigenous locales and their specific histories, Indigenous art production speaks to global issues and enables the establishment of wider networks. However, he also remarks that there must remain a centre for art production to talk back to, even as other nodes emerge through exchange. Critics, therefore, need to postpone the urge to generalise from the local to theorise an aesthetic (141), instead adopting a more mobile framework that sees the local in movement through a range of spaces, just as when the Beaulieu brothers transpose Anishinaabe artistic imagination onto transnational spaces. There is a notable difference between the pan-Indian focus of Allen's *Trans-Indigenous*, which describes exchanges between Indigenous peoples across the globe, and the transnational scope of Vizenor's work, where Anishinaabe art is transposed onto non-Indigenous spaces. As mixedbloods, the protagonists of *Blue Ravens* attempt to rethink France as a place of origins as well as a site that bears the traces of colonialism.

The novel also tackles the question of belonging: leaving the reservation to establish themselves as artists in Paris, Anishinaabe characters suggest different networks of connection and kinship. Besides sharing stories about their experience of growing up on White Earth reservation, Basile and Aloysius do not refer to themselves as Native American. Instead, they rely on their art and storytelling to convey their particular outlook and sensibility as Anishinaabe subjects. This refusal to converge with the discourse of identity politics suggests alternatives for Native identities and relations. Mohawk scholar Audra Simpson argues that on the Kahnawà:ke reserve, people have recourse to their knowledge of a kinship network that enables them to recognise one another as tribal members regardless of official regulations regarding membership: "This archive of social and genealogical knowledge operates as an authorizing nexus of identification that also can and sometimes does refuse logics of the state" (15). The question of consent, of individuals and groups accepting the state citizenship offered to them, is at the forefront of conversations concerning membership (17). In effect, the granting of citizenship asserts the state's power (18), which tribal members can refuse to comply with "based upon the

validity and vitality of their own philosophical and governmental systems, systems that *predate* the advent of the settler state" (19). When it comes to overlapping claims to territory, Simpson argues that "[r]ecognition is the gentler form, perhaps, or the least corporeally violent way of managing Indians and their difference, a multicultural solution to the settlers' Indian problem. The desires and attendant practices of settlers get rerouted, or displaced, in liberal argumentation through the trick of toleration" (20). However, far from being benign, these tactics nevertheless conform to "settler logics of elimination" (12). In *Blue Ravens*, the Beaulieu brothers never identify as American, and in fact often behave in ways that challenge federal regulations regarding Native Americans; for instance, they routinely cross reservation boundaries without asking for the agent's permission. What is more, the freedom they find in Paris is positioned against restrictive reservation politics, suggesting that transnational practices correspond more closely to Anishinaabe identities than the negotiation of Indigeneity as limited to a reservation home base. The novel instead outlines a fluid relational network that starts by blurring the logic of blood relations as the only family model, history versus fiction and Indigeneity as tied to the reservation. The first chapter establishes partial genealogies and a brief history of the Vizenor and Beaulieu families—Gerald Vizenor's ancestors (9-10/134). The past is thereby reimagined in ways that create new possibilities for the present and future. In *Blue Ravens*, family is not restricted to direct descendancy and blood ties. The Beaulieu brothers, it turns out, are not real twins since Aloysius was adopted by Basile's parents, who raised them as "natural brothers" (3). Namesakes likewise share common characteristics, as though it constituted a kind of kinship (9). Basile describes their identities as "steadfast brothers on the road of lonesome warriors, a native artist and writer ready to transmute the desolation of war with blue ravens and poetic scenes of a scary civilization and native liberty" (8). There is a sense that artistic engagement provides a new type of family, created by the meeting of aesthetic sensibilities.

Geographical Movement

The novel stages a series of movements: out of the reservation, across the Atlantic Ocean, and in the brothers' art itself, increasingly demonstrating the importance of mobile aesthetics in engaging with the French capital. From the start, the novel explores connections between the White Earth Reservation and other places, showing characters' mobile practices on the American continent. Movement is at the forefront in *Blue Ravens*, not only in terms of aesthetics but also

more pragmatically as a form of geographical curiosity, which manifests in the brothers' refusal to be bound to White Earth exclusively. Early on, the Beaulieus are connected to the world outside the reservation by the railway that brings travellers from Winnipeg and Saint Paul, and takes the brothers from Ogema Station to Minneapolis as they hawk newspapers (15). Train rides enable the brothers to touch upon the essential quality of freedom, which motivates their art:

The slow and steady motion of the train created our private window scenes [...] We were eager captives in the motion and excitement of railroad time [...] We decided then that we would rather be in the motion of adventure, chance, and the future. (27)

The names and possibilities of other places stimulate their imagination and artistic sensibilities, seemingly offering alternatives to the constraints of life on the reservation. When the Great White Fleet leaves San Francisco in 1908, Aloysius paints blue ravens on the ship masts and renames it the Great Blue Peace Fleet in order to represent "a greater sense of peace than the voyage of dominance around the world by sixteen white battleships of the United States Navy" (22). Already, Aloysius's art expresses a sense of Native motion that counters federal attempts to establish dominance both on the reservation and internationally, while allowing the brothers to travel in imagination far beyond the boundaries of their known environment along with the painted ravens to "Australia, New Zealand, Philippine Islands, Brazil, Chile, Peru" (22) years before they are drafted to Europe for the war. From the beginning, a tight relationship between movement, art, and politics is cultivated. Art is created in motion and, in turn, motion is represented through art, shaping the movement of Aloysius's blue ravens. Manifesting the impression of movement onto art, Aloysius also uses the Stone Arch Bridge over the Mississippi as a setting for "a row of three blue ravens [...] with enormous wings raised to wave away the poison coal-fire smoke" raised by the train (28). Abstract art documents the artist's presence and is further reflected by Basile's ekphrasis as he describes the scenes, writing his brother's art on to the landscape. Movement prompts them to create and is then captured onto their creation, which remain mobile through their suggestive power. The brothers also visit Minneapolis (39) to enable Aloysius to meet other artists and show his own work.

The Beaulieus spend several formative years on the reservation before being drafted to France. Once they arrive in Europe, the narrative reimagines the stories of White Earth veterans to stage an active native presence in the war. Basile's narrative also shows a tendency to romanticise the French and stresses a particular sense of kinship due to the entanglements of

Anishinaabe and French fur trade histories. The brothers express reverence towards "our distant ancestors, the fur traders" (107), and Basile describes French officers as "courteous" but "firm," in contrast to the "arrogant poses and manners" of the British (101). The brothers paradoxically experience the approach of France by ship as a "magical return and at the same time a discovery" (107)—the magical return to the land of their French ancestors, and a Native discovery of a different continent.

Three transatlantic crossings suggest longtime connections between Europe and Native America. Jace Weaver's *The Red Atlantic* traces the history of crossings in the Atlantic, starting with Viking settlements. Weaver takes into account not just geographical journeys across the ocean but also traces the various ways in which these affected the wider Native American population through economic and cultural exchanges. He shows that trans-Atlantic relations are not limited to travels across the ocean but soon involved inland inhabitants via trade networks, forming a "multi-lane, two-way bridge across which traveled ideas and things that changed both Europeans and American indigenes" (30). Far from compromising authenticity, "the cosmopolitanism and hybridity of Indians" actually demonstrates that "Natives and their cultures had always been highly adaptive, appropriating and absorbing anything that seemed useful or powerful" (30). In short, "The Red Atlantic is part of a larger story of globalization and the worldwide movement Western Hemisphere indigenes and their technologies, ideas, and material goods" (32). Weaver exposes many of the biographies that have been obscured, forgotten, or mis-remembered, revealing the erasure of Indigenous political actors and especially women, and representing them as active agents. Recentring the map across the ocean reframes the narrative of *Blue Ravens* as a series of crossings: in and out of the reservation, across the ocean to France, back to Minnesota and to Paris again, while also emphasising the continuous history of such migrations as reflected in the histories of French trading ancestors and Indigenous movement and exchange throughout the hemisphere. Basile and Aloysius repeatedly affiliate themselves with their fur trader ancestors to designate France as a place of origin as much as a new land for them to explore, which playfully destabilises binary notions of settler discovery in opposition to Indigenous fixity.

War does not prevent the Beaulieus from practicing their arts but, rather, motivates them to develop in new directions. They re-imagine their direct environment through their artistic production, which provides a means to shape stories and heal people and place from the events

of the war, while also shaping their experience. Basile's war stories are published on the reservation, which prompts him to write and send his pieces regularly (97). Basile also reads a translation of Homer during training and service (103), inserting passages from *The Odyssey* into his wider narrative, thus establishing constant parallels between the epic and the brothers' lives as soldiers (108). Basile's book (and *Blue Ravens*), like *The Odyssey*, is written in twenty-four sections (90). By reading Homer in the trenches, he transposes another imagination onto the landscape, which provides another example of transnational exchanges, where an Indigenous American in France is inspired by Ancient Greece and, through literary aesthetics, weaves these elements together seamlessly. Reality is to be reinvented through art, storied imaginatively, in order to maintain a sense of presence and movement. Traumatic events are re-imagined through visual aesthetics to convey resilience, and scenes are often depicted as paintings themselves (116). Aloysius's use of woad blue, from a plant that was used to produce blue paint in Europe before indigo was imported, shows that his development, or adaptation, of Native knowledge in his new locale, creates connection between geographically separated forms of Indigenous knowledge. Its "elusive blues" produce "subtle hues, and the scenes created a sense of motion and ceremony" (126). The plant becomes part of the artist, whose blue tongue, acquired by mixing paint, earns him the nickname of Blueblood (126). It integrates history when he paints blue wing feathers on the cheeks of seven soldiers for combat (129). The scenes they witness turn into art themselves, albeit without being romanticised: "The war was surreal, faces, forests, and enemies" (130). Again, colours play a crucial role in Aloysius's rendering of war scenes, each of them possessing special significance. As mentioned above, his blue ravens are associated with memory and remembrance, whereas black has more macabre connotations. In Aloysius's palette, even "the night is blue" (2). During the war, the painter uses black in a painting for the first time to represent apartment buildings ravaged by German bombing (116-117). Used as war paint, charcoal also washes away faster than the blue paint (132), the latter leaving more durable and stable traces. The trace of rouge in the paintings, first suggested by the Japanese artist Baske, is reminiscent of "the red crown of the totemic sandhill crane" (120). War paint is also used on the reservation when a French Banquet is reproduced by John Leecy for war veterans (179), and later at the Parisian art gallery exhibition, when Aloysius paints a blue raven on his hand and another on Basile's face (276). Depictions of French war scenes both transpose reservation symbols and images onto the European landscape and act as signifiers of Indigeneity in the

Parisian artistic milieu where they come to stand as a symbol for the *mutilés de guerre*. Basile likewise travels in spirit through his descriptions: "I [...] imagined that the war was over and we had returned to the livery stables at the Hotel Leecy. The maple leaves had turned magical and radiant in the bright morning light that brisk autumn on the reservation. The sandhill cranes were on the wing, ravens bounced on the leafy roads, and the elusive cedar waxwings hovered in the bright red sumac" (135). This scene reveals similarities in the Beaulieu brothers' imagination, where the sense of aesthetics, colour, and vision is largely shared. Basile's depictions often look like paintings: "I might have become a painter instead of a creative writer [...] with a sense of color, tone, touch, style, and a choice of literary brushes" (205). The return to the reservation, inversely, brings the presence of French war scenes back to White Earth: "The First World War continues forever on the White Earth Reservations [sic] in the stories of veterans and survivors of combat. We were the native descendants of the fur trade who returned with new stories from France" (140). Continuity is thus maintained, even as the ocean is crossed for the second time, through the imaginative power of visual art and stories. Of course, the veterans suffer from the violence that their participation as soldiers has subjected them to: "The allied casualties sustained to recover these common country scenes have forever [...] haunted the memories and stories of war veterans on the reservation" (138). Although it ends abruptly, the war leaves tangible traces on both the soldiers' psyches and the land.

France, memory, and Freedom

Following the war, France becomes a place of connection while the brothers experience rupture with reservation experience. Even when warfare finally ceases, places are marked and will keep memories of the war, transforming human matter into life-sustaining food: "The native forests and field would bear forever the blood, brain, and cracked bones in every season of the fruit trees and cultivated sugar beets" (141); a sense of active remembering and processing is missing from their home in Minnesota, where it is replaced by the patriotism, the "hoax, theatrical and political revision" (169) promoted by post-war U.S. politics. Finding that their capacity to create has been affected by the war, they obtain furlough and leave for Paris to pursue the "vision of art and literature" (144), where they encounter disfigured soldiers wearing masks and Aloysius paints ravens with abstract masks (147) that counter the somewhat grotesque realism of the soldiers' prosthetics. He deems the hornbeam leg a soldier carved for himself "a work of art" (149),

emblematic of Aloysius's desire to create an "abstract work of art" rather than an "aesthetic disguise" (150). War provides a productive site to engage with remembrance in the face of the absences created by conflict and loss, in that respect not unlike the ongoing experience of colonisation on the reservation. The need to envision a different future thus creates a bridge between the Anishinaabe brothers and post-war French. Ravens are painted on diverse Quays and bridges, such as the Pont des Arts raven, which reveals "a native presence in our names, blue paint, and in my [Basile's] stories" (151). Thus, during their visit to Paris, the brothers establish their presence as Native artists through art, visiting the favourite meeting places of artists, such as Café du Dôme (152) and painting ravens in those locations (153) to act as "visual memories" (250). In Café de Flore one morning, the Beaulieus envision their possible future as artists in the City of Lights (153/154), and La Rotonde becomes one of the few "sovereign cafés" where artists meet and discuss politics (157), and argue somewhat extravagantly, manifesting similar behaviour to the "native conduct on the reservation" (159). Nathan Crémieux's³ gallery provides a space where Aloysius's art is admired and respected. Knowledgeable about Native art, Nathan is moved by the blue ravens (155) and deems the art avant-garde (162), offering to frame and sell some of the paintings in his gallery (163). Thus, he does not participate in "[t]he French romance of natives and nature [which] excluded the possibility of any cosmopolitan experiences in the world" (161). Similarly, the Musée d'Ethnographie is criticised for abandoning native arts and sanctioning the theft of sacred artefacts (166), without mentioning "the voices of native artists," the "cosmototemic voices," thus adding a second crime: "the abuse of precious cultural memories" (166). France provides a space in which Indigenous presence can take hold, provided it is tied to remembrance. There is a strong relationship between land and memory as the former carries indelible markers of the latter. For instance, by dying in combat, Ignatius's spirit "returned to the earth of his fur trade ancestors" (164); showing that to the Anishinaabe protagonists France is not an exile, but a return, a coming home of sorts. Scenes of war cling to them, making the return to White Earth difficult for the writer and artists: "Aloysius painted nothing on our return to the reservation. He could not paint the reversal of war" (169). In sharp contrast with the freedom found in avant-garde Paris after the war, their homeland is under strict supervision: "We returned to a federal occupation on the reservation [...] neither peace nor the end of the war" (170). The gap between "federal and church politics on the reservation [...] and the generous cosmopolitan world of art and literature revealed the wounds of my spirit" (170) is hard

to heal. Despite recovering a "basic native sense of survivance," near Bad Boy Lake, they know that there is no "truce of remembrance" or "reversal of war memories" (172) on the reservation, and long for the freedom found in France: "the anthem of fraternité, égalité, and liberté was necessary on the White Earth Reservation" (176). Published under the title *French Returns: The New Fur Trade* (177), Basile's latest stories focus on Native veterans, thus manifesting his will to bear the memory of France but also his hope to return to Paris in the near future. Considered the "best of the outsiders" on the reservation (183), they no longer fully belong to the community and cannot lose memories of the war (190) that generate fear and weaken stories (191). Just as Aloysius is determined to move to Minneapolis "to meet with other artists, and encounter a new world of chance" (196), Basile agrees that "for my brother and me, the reservation would never be enough to cope with the world or to envision the new and wild cosmopolitan world of exotic art, literature, music [...]" (197). The letter from Nathan Crémieux telling them he has sold most of the raven paintings at his gallery (208) reveals a receptivity to the brothers' art, unequaled outside of Paris, where their aesthetics of motion as Natives intrigues and moves people. Applying for passports (211), they embark on their "return voyage to France" (215), again framing it as a homecoming that recalls the "premier union" of French fur traders "with our ancestors the native Anishinaabe" (255). James Mackay has drawn attention to a tendency in Native American literature to represent Europe in a positive light, indicating that it serves the purpose of building an alliance against U.S. power by drawing on "the deep-rooted sense of tradition shared by indigenous and European peoples" (170). Referring to Vizenor's previous novel *Shrouds of White Earth*, he notes that "the novel's invocation of France must be understood as a subtle countervailing force to what might otherwise be a simplistic anti-colonial screed" (173). However, even as Vizenor aims to "overturn the negative associations that inhere in the word 'primitivism,'" he nevertheless "celebrates notions of shamanism and native visionary art" (177) that may end up "reifying the category" (171) and its colonial undertones. Thus, once the war is over, what Paris offers to the Beaulieus seems to conveniently side-step the reality of colonisation; in opposition to the occupied space of the reservation, the city is largely idealised despite the protagonists' critique of ethnographic practices.

Transnational Aesthetics

Finally, *Blue Ravens* suggests that an Anishinaabe artistic practice can establish strong ties with

Paris as well as create networks based on its aesthetic sensibility. Art provides and maintains connection with Paris by enabling an Indigenous relationship to the urban space. In Paris, Nathan provides a safe environment for the brothers, becoming their promoter and protector as he denounces "the primacy of the primitive" as a product of "fascist sentiments" (221), believing that "natives had always been modernists" (222). In an echo of the *Paris school* of art, Nathan calls their art *Ecole Indienne* (225). Rather than framing this patronage as problematic, the narrative describes the gallery as a dynamic space of openness that makes Aloysius's art available to like-minded people and enables connection with other artists. Writing in cafés and enjoying food provides another kind of home for the Beaulieus. Basile often writes in cafés, finding the freedom that was missing from White Earth and meets up weekly with other Natives at the Café du Dôme, the latter becoming a "new commune of native storiers that had started many centuries earlier on the Mississippi river" (240). They establish a "commune of river veterans" who tease the two artists, a "native sanctuary" (246). These many parallels with life on the reservation demonstrate that, far from a rupture from their Indigenous background, Paris represents a fuller realisation of their artistic sensibilities while they retain their particularities as Native artists. In some ways, the capital becomes an artistic reservation for the Beaulieus, whose aesthetic heritage is honoured. Audra Simpson describes how in tribal contexts, the definition of membership can become a point of contention as to what the "terms of recognition" are: memory, blood, participation (40), or simply claims of belonging (41). Simpson proposes the term of "feelings citizenships" as a means to describe the "alternative citizenships to the state that are structured in the present space of intracommunity recognition, affection, and care, outside of the logics of colonial and imperial rule" (109). Distinct from membership (171), they represent "the affective sense of being a Mohawk [...] in spite of the lack of recognition that some may unjustly experience" (173). Although not formally recognized by institutional structures, these living citizenships are narratively constructed, linked politically and socially to "the simultaneous topography of colonialism and Iroquoia," creating "a frame of collective experience" (175) that functions in more fluid ways than institutional regulations of tribal membership. Simpson's research speaks from the perspective of Kahnawà:ke, where Mohawks strongly resist Canadian citizenship as it constitutes a direct threat to their sovereignty. In *Blue Ravens*, the Beaulieus never identify themselves as American but, rather, as coming from White Earth specifically, implicitly claiming Anishinaabe citizenship as distinct from the settler state. What is more, they

use their connection to France and its avant-garde scene as a way of circumventing U.S. settler rule on the reservation in order to find free artistic expression. Thus, despite emerging from a very different tribal context, and being less place-bound, the narrative also reexamines notions of belonging that are tied to citizenship, in this case through aesthetics.

Formative of the brothers' capacity to create networks around them, chance associations also carry over into the artistic process. First painted on newspaper print, Aloysius's ravens are distinctively blue, a colour tied to memory and imagination. Basile describes the blue ravens as "traces of visions and original abstract totems, the chance associations of native memories in the natural world" (1). Whereas black "has no tease or sentiment," shades of blue "are ironic, the tease of natural light" (2). Aloysius's ravens also stand out due to the types of paint he uses, "only natural paint colors" which his mother "made with crushed plums, blue berries, or the roots of red cedars" and by "boil[ing] decomposed maple stumps and includ[ing] fine dust of various soft stones to concoct the rich darker hues of blue and purple" (7). Later in Paris, he mixes natural pigments and honey (267). While Aloysius experimented with his blue ravens, Marc Chagall was also creating "blue visionary creatures and communal scenes" (2). The same summer, Henri Matisse painted *Nu Bleu, Souvenir de Biskra* (1); and Aloysius shared avant-garde, impressionist and expressionist features with Pablo Picasso's *Demoiselles d'Avignon* (8) long before they met in Paris. Thus, the Anishinaabe painter's production is synchronistic with other innovative artists of the time, reflecting aspects of their genius even as it maintains local characteristics such as the paint he uses. While the Beaulieus grow up as Natives on an Anishinaabe reservation, their creativity lets them participate in another community with which they share certain aesthetic sensibilities simultaneously, and without any contradiction. Transmotion, it appears, can also entail that meeting of spirits across space.

Indeed, the brothers' claim to belonging to White Earth, although confirmed by blood and kinship, develops a rhetoric that asserts their attachment to the homeland but also encompasses a sense of Paris as a space compatible with their own Indigenous heritage. Indeed, the Beaulieu brothers are not alone in perceiving the world through an Anishinaabe lens: other non-Native characters are open to different points of view and understand the Beaulieus very well, perhaps fulfilling the notion that they have ancestors in common, a heritage to share—ties that are paradoxically stronger in France than in the U.S., where the reservation is described as politically corrupt, in contrast with "the liberty of France" (253). Aloysius creates many paintings of

memory in Parisian locales ("memorial bridges were portrayed in natural motion" (220)), as well as ironic re-presencing of Natives from stolen stories: painted totem scenes (270), counterpoints to Exposition Universelle—the International Exposition—and Delacroix's *Natchez*, thus indigenising the city as well as incorporating transnational influences. Among them, Basile calls Apollinaire his "poetic totem" (213) while Aloysius borrows from the Japanese floating world tradition (226), echoing Hokusai in his ravens merging with waves. This Japanese influence on Aloysius's painting was initiated years before, in Saint Paul, when the Japanese artist Yamada Baske (44) invited the brothers to his studio. Baske admired Aloysius's ravens and understood them as "native impressionism, an original style of abstract blue ravens" (46). Before parting, he gave "a tin of rouge watercolour paint" to the Anishinaabe artist, advising him to add "a tiny and faint hue of rouge" to the blue scenes (47). This "master teacher" is the first artist who directly intervenes in the painter's technique, evaluating it with sensitivity and helping Aloysius move forward with his art. The sense of movement manifested by Japanese art is shown as compatible with the aesthetic transmotion of the Anishinaabe painter, and reflects Vizenor's longstanding interest in Japanese art and literature. Indeed, while serving in the US military, the author was posted in Japan in 1953 and borrowed from the haiku tradition, which he described in "Envoy to Haiku" as "an overture to dream songs" (26), implying that certain aspects of Japanese culture are highly compatible with his own Anishinaabe background. The 2003 novel *Hiroshima Bugi* also bears testament to the enduring influence of Japan in the author's work. Such convergences manifest the transnational connections which artistic expression makes possible in Vizenor's work. In *Blue Ravens*, Basile's stories are likewise connected to Parisian locales (284), ascribing meaning to those locales and affirming the artists' ties to place, thus suggesting a sense of belonging that is akin to Simpson's "feelings citizenship" but no longer attached exclusively to a reservation community, an "aesthetic citizenship" which the brothers transpose through art onto transnational spaces that become indigenised. Basile's statement that "the stories never seemed to really end that night" reasserts the sense of memory established by this coming together of artists and veterans in a "secure sense of presence", "a natural sense of solace" (285). The novel ends with a quotation from the last book of *The Odyssey*: "never yet did any stranger come to me whom I liked better" (285) so that the scene ends in perfect transnational harmony, a meeting of souls around visual art and story.

Conclusion

Blue Ravens turns towards France to situate the White-Earth-based Beaulieu brothers as artists at the heart of the modernist movement in Paris. Gerald Vizenor's novel thus proposes a model for the creation of transnational network of aesthetic affiliations that refers back to a tribal centre even as it explores other places. This model creates cross-Atlantic pathways that in some ways reiterate, and in other ways reverse, the spatial practices of the protagonists' ancestors.

Juxtaposing Anishinaabe perspectives onto new territories through aesthetics and exchange as the brothers' art finds an appreciative audience in Paris, the novel envisions a kind of Indigenous space where artists and other art aficionados develop affinities with Aloysius's paintings and Basile's stories. Non-Native characters manage to eschew the trappings of authenticity and acknowledge the fluidity of blue raven paintings as participating in the avant-garde scene of Paris as well as emerging from White Earth in distinctive ways. The novel thus encourages readers and critics to rethink notions of Indigeneity as bounded in place and provides useful elements towards a more transnational model for Native Studies; a shift that could bear particular importance for the many registered tribal Nations without an official land base, as well as Indigenous individuals who live away from their traditional homelands and/or communities. *Blue Ravens* thus asks productive questions about the significance of calling oneself Anishinaabe when living in global spaces, arguing that the category holds meaning far beyond containment within reservation—or even continental—borders. Instead, aesthetic practices that convey transmotion enable Indigeneity to write itself upon transnational spaces and establish new networks of belonging.

Notes

¹ In this article, I use the terms "Native" and "Indigenous" interchangeably to avoid repetition. While "Native" always refers to North American Indians specifically, "Indigenous" can apply to global Indigenous subjects more broadly. For more precision, I prefer to employ the term "Anishinaabe" where relevant.

² Bearing in mind that there is now a serious controversy regarding Boyden's claims to Indigenous identity.

³ Nathan is a French gallerist who admires Aloysius's art and promotes his work by organising openings (where Basile also reads his writing) and selling his paintings. He becomes the brothers' protector and introduces them to other artists, thus helping to establish their reputation in the Parisian scene. While the narrative presents this relationship in a positive light, it nevertheless carries unsettling colonial undertones.

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Untranslatable Timescapes in James Welch's *Fools Crow* and the Deconstruction of Settler Time

DORO WIESE

What happens if alternative worldviews on time and temporality expressed in literature circulate on a global literary market? Many scholars like David Harvey, Frederic Jameson, Franco Moretti, or Immanuel Wallerstein have argued that, when literary works circulate beyond their culture of origin, culturally specific viewpoints are reduced in favor of Western hegemony. As Arjun Appadurai has pointed out, this analysis comes into being because global transactions are considered to go hand in hand with social and epistemological exclusions (2). Others, like Jodi Byrd, James Clifford, Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing have, however, challenged this position by emphasizing the unpredictable outcomes of globalization processes. This article on untranslatable timescapes in James Welch's *Fools Crow* enters into the debate to explore the ways in which the novel deconstructs the temporal foundation of Euro-Western modernity¹—"settler time," as Mark Rifkin has recently called it. In *Fools Crow*—written by world renowned writer James Welch, himself of Blackfeet and A'aninin origin and part of a literary tradition that has been called the Native American Renaissance (see Lincoln)—Pikuni protagonists are guided by dreams, visions, myths, and prophecies that cannot be integrated into a Euro-Western understanding of time that emerged when the nexus between coloniality, rationality and what has been called modernity was established during the European Renaissance in the sixteenth century c.t. (see Dunbar-Ortiz 32-45; Quijano 168-69). Dipesh Chakrabarty has pointed out in *Provincializing Europe* that the globally hegemonic Euro-Western notion of temporality—itsself part and parcel of an assemblage of power aimed to exploit and dominate non-Europeans on a global scale—constructs, enlivens, and enacts time as being disenchanted, secular, continuous, empty, homogeneous, and progressive.

In the following, the untranslatability of *Fools Crow*'s temporal notions will be seen as a marker of cultural difference, Indigenous cultural autonomy, and what Rifkin has called "temporal sovereignty." *Fools Crow*'s Pikuni temporalizations resist settler time and enact temporal notions in which past, present, and future are consistently shaping and shaped by interactions between spiritual, human, and animal entities. The novel thereby harbors a fundamental untranslatability in its heart: its forms of time cannot be integrated, assimilated, or appropriated for the settler-colonial temporalizations of "development, modernization, and

capitalism” (Chakrabarty 71). This is the case because the Euro-Western notion of time established with and alongside colonial modernity/rationality suggests a linear and forward-facing progression distinguished, as Bruno Latour has pointed out, from what is deemed “non-modern”; a “modern” understanding of temporality is of “time that passes as if it were really abolishing the past behind it” (Latour 68). In this version of temporality, progress becomes the motor of a moving history that pushes ever onward, a representation that relies on a spatialization of time. This representation is part of what links the coercive, colonial appropriation of land to concepts of historical, cultural, social, political progress, while such a practice is, on the contrary, violent, murderous, even (historically and contemporaneously) genocidal. Such notions of time, belonging to Euro-Western modernity and to capitalism’s attempt to coordinate and synchronize labor, production, and services globally (see Negri; Galison), cannot conceive of the past remaining or returning, or of enduring orders of time. Temporalities that construct time differently are seen as modernity’s excluded, irrational, othered counterpart. When Welch integrates Pikuni temporalizations into his rendering of Blackfeet history, he therefore challenges modern Euro-Western temporality and its mythical narrative of progress, which is crucial for the all-encompassing social formation called capitalism, too.

Rifkin points out that, in contrast to Euro-Western forms of temporalization that emerged with the paradigmatic epistemological shift called modernity, Indigenous narratives and sensations of time, such as those depicted in Welch’s *Fools Crow*, can include “the presence of ancestors,” “memories of prior dispossessions” and their “material legacies,” “knowledges arising from enduring occupancy in a particular homeland, including attunement to animal and climatic periodicities,” “knowledges arising from present or prior forms of mobility,” “generationally reiterated stories as a basis for engaging with people, places, and nonhuman entities,” “the setting of the significance of events within a much longer time-frame,” “ceremonial periodicities,” “influence and force of prophecy,” and a “palpable set of responsibilities to prior generations and future ones” (19). In the following interpretation, I read the untranslatable temporal notions displayed in *Fools Crow*—that cannot be integrated into Euro-Western understandings of time and are therefore unappropriable—to advance insights into the temporal economies and hegemonies of Euro-Western knowledge-production. I argue that the readerly encounter with notions that are untranslatable to Euro-Western frames of being and understanding—instigated by globally-circulating novels like *Fools Crow*—can eventually provoke important insights.

Untranslatability limns and contours Euro-Western knowledge, shows its limits, and dethrones it from its claims to being self-evident, naturally-given, and universal, instead of limited in scope and hegemonic. Such an encounter with untranslatability has the important effect of relativizing the importance of Euro-Western knowledge, and of bringing the unique achievements of, for instance, Indigenous peoples to the fore.

1. Resisting Erasure Through Untranslatability

James Welch's *Fools Crow* is simultaneously an impressive exercise in revisionist history-writing and an empowering act of decolonialization. Set around the mid-19th century in what is nowadays Montana in the USA, the novel interweaves different narrative genres with each other to establish a panoramic view on the Blackfeet nation's pre-contact way of life and its endangerment through the onslaught of Euro-American settlers and their life-styles. *Fools Crow* tells the story of a young Blackfeet called White Man's Dog (later renamed as Fools Crow) and his tribe, the Lone Eaters. Elements of the coming-of-age-story are brought together with world-views as established in Blackfeet traditions, while the larger narrative frame with its frequent references to historical customs and events qualifies *Fools Crow* as a historical novel, too. Welch's novel establishes an exclusively Indigenous-centered literary world that asks of Euro-Western readers to defer their expectations and to embark instead on a narrative journey told through Blackfeet eyes. Consequently, Euro-Western readers have to renounce their hegemonic understanding of the world, and are specifically challenged in their apprehension of what it means to be modern. The latter is the case because Euro-Western modernity, as Bruno Latour has argued in *We Have Never Been Modern*, relies on a notion of linear and progressive time that allows a distinction from what is deemed non-modern. The timescapes of *Fools Crow* dismantle and resist this epistemology, since the novel brings to the fore the idea that linear, progressive time and Blackfeet temporalizations do not cancel each other out. While the development of the character Fools Crow is told in a linear, progressive fashion, the wisdom that he acquires in his coming-of-age and that he integrates into his life concerns ancestral time. As I will show in the following, Welch's literary timescapes in *Fools Crow* are decolonizing thought, because they bring forms of time together that are mutually exclusive in the Euro-Western modern conception of time. In other words: Welch's timescapes constitute a specific untranslatability in his text that helps to limn and contour the limits of Euro-Western knowledge.

Since my essay centers heavily on a particular notion of untranslatability, I firstly want to delineate the twist I give to this concept, before I embark on a close-reading of the

different forms of time and temporalization displayed in Welch’s novel. In recent years, untranslatability has become a prominent concept in comparative literature and in translation studies. This is the case because untranslatables—words and concepts that often remain untranslated in other languages like the German “Bildung,” or the Nuu-chah-nulth “Potlatch”—highlight the fragility inherent in sense making. Untranslatables make it apparent that translations are risky and difficult since they are threatened by failure, namely to provide (the illusion of) equivalent meanings of linguistic utterances stemming from different cultural contexts. The possible failure and difficulty to make sense reminds listeners or readers of the heterogeneity of languages, textual traditions and practices, cultures, and discourses, and reveals translations to be translations. Therefore, untranslatability can bring about important insights into multiple linguistic and textual epistemologies. According to Lawrence Venuti, the highlighting of the difference interrupts established Euro-Western hegemonies, and is therefore a preferable practice when translating. Untranslatables are remainders of cultural difference that remain unappropriable, but present in target cultures. Readers, when confronted with untranslatables, have to accept the untranslatables’ independence of the target culture’s linguistic, textual, and epistemological values. It is the reader’s task to find sense-making approximations to untranslatables, while they are simultaneously confronted with the impossibility of finding a precise equivalent to the untranslatables’ original meaning. Time and its textual representation through temporalizations are important concepts for organizing individual, social and economic life. If concepts of time remain untranslatable to another culture, it means that important aspects of the source culture’s organization have remained independent of the target culture and can hint at cultural autonomy.

It is of great importance that Welch’s novel is situated in a time and a place that is linked to one of the founding narratives of the USA, the frontier narrative, that was forged in the second half of the nineteenth century during the colonialization of the American West. It is paramount to understand that the frontier narrative is a mythscape that bears little resemblance to historical reality. A mythscape is “a discursive realm, constituted by and through temporal and spatial dimensions, in which the myths of the nation are forged, transmitted, reconstructed and negotiated constantly” (Bell 75). The American West is such a mythscape, since it constructs, at the crossroads of geographic location and historical time, an invented national and whitened settler persona that supposedly is “restless, inventive, acquisitive, individualistic, egalitarian, democratic” (Ridge, “Turner” 692, qtd. in Moore 9), and whose “manifest destiny” consists in the taking of land whose Indigenous inhabitants are

seen as “savages” whose lives and forms of life have never existed and/or will perish. In this uttermost violent construction, “the frontier is the outer edge of the wave [of settlement], the meeting point between savagery and civilization” (Limerick, “Frontier” 255, qtd in Moore 10). As David L. Moore (4-13) has shown, “the frontier” erased the past, present and future of Indigenous peoples from its inception, an erasure best captured in the image of the “Vanishing Indian.” This violent ideological construct denies “the death of millions of tribal people from massacres, diseases, and the loneliness of reservations” (Vizenor 4) as well as their resilience and survivance. The violence of settler colonialism is not simply forgotten. Rather, a colonial aphasia takes place, which disconnects events and their discursive remembering; a colonial aphasia which generates “an occlusion of knowledge” (Stoler, no page). Therefore, many Native American writers and scholars, including Joanne Barker (Lenape), Vine Deloria, Jr. (Yankton Sioux) Linda Hogan (Chickasaw), Joy Harjo (Muscogee), Stephen Graham Jones (Blackfeet), Simon Ortiz (Acoma Pueblo), Louis Owens (Choctaw/Cherokee), Leslie Marmon Silko (Laguna Pueblo), James Welch (Blackfeet/A’aninin), Erika T. Wurth (Apache/Chickasaw/Cherokee) advance the circulation of alternative (hi)stories of the conquest and expansion to the American West. They breach against the aphasic rules of the cultural memory of the USA, and enforce a revision of historical events. The removal of Indigenous peoples from their land, treaty violations of the US government, violent warfare, transfer of epidemics, the enforced boarding schooling for Indian children to break the hold of tribal life—these histories are just some of the events that many Native American writers place squarely back on the map of national consciousness by making them central in the stories they tell.

In *Fools Crow*, Welch shows the livability and multiplicity of pre- and decolonial Indigenous ways of life and depicts the resilience and the survivance of the Pikuni in the face of settler encroachment, destruction of livelihoods, ecocide, epidemics, and massacres. Welch’s novel resists the erasure, captured in the image of the “Vanishing Indian,” that is inherent in the settler colonial master narrative of discovery and conquest, and recovers the past, present, and future of the Blackfeet peoples. Therefore, his novel has been lauded as “the most profound act of recovery in American literature” (Owens 166). Welch recovers a point of view that is independent from hegemonically dominant narratives, including their forms of temporalizations. It runs counter to established hierarchies, and recovers knowledges, realities and epistemologies that have been repressed and denied. In this way Welch refutes the master narrative of discovery and conquest that gives the introduction of

new customs, along with their social, political, and cultural instruments, a sense of inevitable temporal direction. Instead, Welch frames events by depicting Indigenous perceptions, experiences, and interpretations of happenings. Furthermore, as Christopher Nelson has pointed out, Welch shows “the multiplicity and uncertainty within a specific Pikuni community and individual” (32) when confronted with changes caused by settler encroachment. These changes, whose consequences are depicted in the novel, include infectious diseases like smallpox, for which traditional Indigenous medicine knows no cure (Indigenous people had never before been exposed to these viruses prior to contact with European settlers). Throughout the novel, different stances and directives on how to deal with encroachment are discussed and enacted. Some Pikuni believe that it is futile to resist, as the white settlers outnumber them; others want to fight them to maintain traditional forms of life. Welch is “opting [...] to explore ethical values and ethical strategies of Natives themselves [...] whose themes assert survivance, renewal, hope, egalitarianism, autonomy, and engagement” (Rader 2). And while Welch does not omit any of the life-threatening characteristics of settler colonialism, he nevertheless ends his novel with the timeless, prophetic image of Indigenous children playing and laughing. The novel’s main character, Fools Crow, watches them during a vision quest at this closing and comes at the very end to the conclusion that “though he was [...] burdened with the knowledge of his people, their lives and the lives of their children, he knew they would survive, for they were the chosen ones” (390).

2. Visions, Myths, and Prophetic Time

Before delving into the particular form of futurity that Welch offers at the end of his novel *Fools Crow*, I want to demonstrate through a close-reading of its fourteenth chapter how the novel’s forms of temporalization remain untranslatable to a hegemonic Euro-Western understanding of time. In Chapter 14, the main protagonist Fools Crow and his wife Red Paint are on a getaway from daily life in the Lone Eaters’ camp. They have retreated into “the backbone” of the world (Rocky Mountains) to clean the mind and renew the spirit (Welch 159). After a hunting excursion, Fools Crow falls asleep and is visited in his dream by Raven, a creature that had earlier on helped him to find his bearings in the world by calling on him in his sleep and sharing secret wisdom with him. In this particular dream, Raven approaches him because there is a Napikwan (white person) living in the backbone’s forest who is wastefully killing animals, shooting them and then leaving them to rot. Raven urges Fools

Crow to stop the slaughter by killing the man, since he threatens the existence of Fools Crow's animal brothers. While initially afraid of the consequences that could arise for killing a white man, Fools Crow ultimately agrees with Raven's argument that he has been chosen for the murderous task by Sun Chief himself, who is, in the Pikuni belief system represented in the novel, the creator of the world. At night, Raven whispers an insinuating dream into the Napikwan's ear. The next day Fools Crow executes the plan, but nearly gets himself and Red Paint killed because he underestimates the wickedness of his adversary.

What does this episode tell us about Blackfeet ways to understand the world, and how does this understanding challenge Euro-Western epistemologies? First of all, it needs to be stressed that, by integrating the trickster Raven into a dreamlike story, Welch refutes notions of linear development and progression. When talking to Fools Crow, Raven frequently points to events that took place a long time ago, his stories span several generations and seem to transport timeless truths. This qualifies Raven's stories as myths. While mythical stories, like other narratives, certainly have a plot, they are often read as transferring timeless transcendent meanings. In the definition of Levi-Strauss, a myth "always refers to events alleged to have taken place long ago. But what gives the myth an operational value is that the specific pattern described is timeless; it explains the past as well as the future" (205, qtd. in Barry 3). The social and individual value of myths resides precisely in their ability to guide understandings of the world, to provide cues for the interpretation of events and phenomena, and to give guidance for the ethical conduct in relation to other beings and the world at large. The timelessness of mythical stories is constituted because myths are, among other things, metanarratives. As metanarratives, myths thus do not belong to an order of time. This quality of myths clashes, however, with Euro-Western understandings of time emerging with modernity/coloniality that reflect irreversibility, forward movement, and progress. Latour argues that temporality encompasses numerous interpretations of the passage of time, especially through the persistence of objects and ideas. In the modern Euro-Western conception of time, there is, as already mentioned, a complete break from the past (Latour 69).

When Welch integrates traditional myths into his rendering of Blackfeet history, he thereby challenges Euro-Western modern temporality, since it is a time immemorial that informs present decisions and actions. Sioux, Laguna, and Lebanese scholar Paula Gunn Allen reads Welch's novels, including *Fools Crow*, as dream/vision rituals that are "structured along the lines of the vision rather than on the chronological lines of mundane or

organizational life, and the structure of the works holds the major clue to the nature of the novels as primarily tribal documents” (93, qtd in Barry 10). Furthermore, time is, in Welch’s account, not the homogeneous, empty, objective time of Euro-Western industrialization as diagnosed by Walter Benjamin (252), nor the world-wide synchronized clock time introduced globally in the nineteenth century to facilitate shipping and global trade (West-Pavlov 14/15). Time is dynamic and performative, it inheres in processes of becoming and is derived from close observation of natural processes. *Fools Crow*, for instance, perceives the passage of time in the following manner:

They had been in the mountains for eighteen sleeps, and now the moon was approaching the time of the first frost on the plains. In the mountains, the quaking-leaf-trees were already turning a faint yellow. Cold Maker would soon be stirring in the Always Winter Land. (160)

In this description, the approach of the winter, personified by Cold Maker, is predicted with the help of a moon calendar, and through the perceiving and reading of variable signs like the foliage. Furthermore, the existence of a divine Cold Maker gives a dynamic aspect to a season. A time with a certain quality—winter—can directly interfere in the lives of humans and animals alike. The unpredictability of Time Maker’s actions influences how time is perceived, namely as performative and interactive, as it is paramount to attune one’s actions to him. This is a time that one inhabits, that is part of the fabric of one’s life, while it also exceeds the human scale. This local, interactive, participatory, performative, embodied and personified time is very different to the “coordinated universal time” of Euro-Western modernity: The latter “tends to suppress local differences as it draws the entire globe into a single unitary temporal system” that serves capitalism’s global trade (West-Pavlov 22). Ultimately, the instruments available for representing the “coordinated universal time” exist because they support a smooth workflow on a global scale, while human beings are cogs in a much bigger capitalist production machine. The notion of time displayed in Welch’s *Fools Crow* is inimical and untranslatable to the rigid, objectified, disembodied clock-time of Euro-Western modernity.

Last, but not least, Chapter 14 attests to a strong connectedness between humans, animals, and spiritual beings, which are all part of creation. This depiction is very different from Judeo-Christian understandings of human beings’ place in creation that have developed since the European Renaissance. One of the most striking passages in the Judeo-Christian

creation story is the Creation Mandate that invites the first human beings to fill the Earth, and to master it and to rule over everything that is alive:

Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth. (King James Bible, Genesis I, 28)

In *Green Exegesis and Theology*, Richard Bauckham argues that a careful exegesis of this passage demonstrates that it could and should be read in the light of the responsibility of human beings towards creation, the role of humanity's stewardship, ordered by divine will, towards the plenitude of life on this planet. However, contemporary global warming, large-scale livestock farming, and the imminent Sixth Extinction highlight, in contrast to human stewardship, the language of global capitalism's necropolitical exploitation of life. It would be shortsighted to see religious beliefs alone as responsible for the ecological catastrophe that human beings have brought upon this planet; this is much more the outcome of "the modern ideology of progress [...] modern individualism and materialism, industrialization and consumerization, the money economy and globalization—in short the whole network of factors that characterize modernity" (Bauckham 19). However, as Bauckham also points out, Christianity has been complicit in an hierarchical, anthropocentric view on life that evinces domination and that is thoroughly enmeshed in the idea of modern time as irreversible progress. "[I]t remains significant," he writes, "that much Christian thought in the modern period went along with major aspects of these developments in modernity and itself gave them a Christian justification" (Bauckham 19). This cannot be said about Indigenous belief-systems that have historically been, and continue to be, employed to defend the environment.² When Welch shows the interconnectedness of spiritual, animal, and human actors, he ties them in with long-existent traditions of Indigenous thought and belief-systems that Sioux and Laguna writer and scholar Paula Gunn Allen has described as "a place in creation that is dynamic, creative, and responsive" (83). Building up on this observation, it is also striking to notice that Fools Crow sees the killing of the white hunter as justifiable on the grounds that the latter threatens to extinguish different animal species when he kills them, out of bloodlust and without any need. Killing the white hunter means to live in accordance with a divine order, testified by Raven and Fools Crow's belief that this action is the wish of the divine Sun Chief. The story by the Lone Eaters' council supports the position that Fools Crow has acted in the right way. After some deliberation, the council agrees that Fools Crow has done "a brave and good thing, for surely this Napikwan was possessed of evil spirits," and they state,

“As Sun Chief honors you, so do your people” (177). In the interpretation of Nora Barry, the description of the white man as an evil presence, alongside the fact Fools Crow kills him out of spiritual, not political reasons, attests to the novel’s status as a “survival myth” (3), since “Fools Crow’s actions are closer to those of a mythic culture hero’s killing of a monster than to a Blackfeet warrior’s killing of an enemy” (10). The whole dreamlike quality of the story told in Chapter 14 supports this analysis.

In general, Chapter 14 shows that the shared ecosystem, in Welch’s depiction of the Pikunis’ belief system, is of as much importance as an individual life. Its protection is paramount for all species’ survival, since it guarantees ecological equilibrium, maintains biodiversity, and ensures lasting food security, as the Lone Eaters’ council observes, too. “To most of them it was a good and just act,” Welch writes, “for the white man had been killing off all the animals, thus depriving the Pikunis of their food and skins” (176). This larger context comprises the spiritual world, personified by the Sun Chief and the biosphere on which human beings depend as much as plants or animals. Ancestors and ancestral knowledge are as much a part of this assemblage as considerations of the future, for Raven, as he talks to Fools Crow, also shares his reminiscences of the dreamer’s grandfather and argues that he needs to think about his unborn child too. Raven’s argument places Fools Crow within a dense network in which past and future actors and actresses take part. When the Lone Eaters hold council, it is of great importance for everyone to draw conclusions from past events and insights as well.

This, however, is very different from hegemonic, anthropocentric and future-oriented understandings of life in the Euro-Western history of ideas. According to Bauckham, the early European humanist movement that instigated the Renaissance, influenced by Greek and Roman philosophical traditions, and the coeval changes in scientific and religious understanding are crucial for the idea that “human dominion becomes an historical task, to be progressively accomplished” (49). Historians like Thomas Kuhn, who researched the transition to modernity in the sciences that took place during the European Renaissance, corroborate this position. Kuhn describes the Copernican Revolution as a paradigm shift in scientific practice, in which individual observations suddenly became central, superseding the idea of godly creation whose immensity cannot be adequately understood. Bruno Latour’s research critiques modern temporality as a construction that wants to abandon the past as much as nature (nature being seen as belonging to the past that humans need to leave behind) (Latour 71). Reinhart Koselleck analyzes how the concept of history as the German epoch

“Neuzeit” [literarily “new time,” i.e. modernity] was coined in the 19th century to signify a specific understanding of time and history, in which time becomes “an agent in its own right” (Lim 80): “Time is no longer simply the medium in which all histories take place,” he writes. “History no longer occurs in, but through, time” (Koselleck 235). This means that by the 19th century, the Euro-Western idea of time consists of a one-directional line that runs from the past, to the present, into the future. It is a line in which history and nature belong irrevocably to a past that needs to be abandoned. As Bliss Cua Lim has pointed out in *Translating Time*, the “socially objectivated” (10) Euro-Western notion of time cannot be reconciled with temporalities that conceive of duration—that is of being in time, in which remembrances of the past, the lived present and the anticipated future are constantly interchanging with each other. While modern “homogenous time translates noncoinciding temporalities into its own secular code” (12), this translation can be incomplete and has been met with social, political, cultural, and temporal opposition. Welch’s insistence on reconstructing, portraying, and fleshing out a Pikuni form of time is an example of such a resistance which points to the existence of temporal understandings prior to, during, after and independent of Euro-Western epistemologies in modernity/coloniality. His employment of timeless, mythical characters like Raven, his engagement with Blackfeet spiritual understandings about the interconnectedness of all living beings escape empty, homogeneous, progressive time.

One must stress, however, that the resistance displayed in Welch’s *Fools Crow* is not one that antagonizes its readers. As the German translator of *Fools Crow*, Andrea Opitz, has pointed out, the novel sets up a dominant precolonial Indigenous space to which Euro-Western readers need to adapt by revising preconceived and hegemonic ideas about Indigenous peoples (137). The novel can achieve this when Euro-Western readers are willing to endure epistemologies that are different to their own, of which Blackfeet understandings of time constitute just one example. Andrea Opitz names the book’s specific use of descriptive names for animals, seasons, and characters, specific forms of spatialization, and untranslatable cultural notions that readers themselves might bring to the text. For Opitz, who grew up in Germany, these are ideas she acquired by reading Karl May’s novels about an entirely invented 19th Century American West and by watching their film adaptations. By establishing an intradiegetic world solely based on Indigenous perceptions, *Fools Crow* asks Euro-Western readers to become foreigners to the depicted space, which cannot be owned or appropriated by them because knowledge about it belongs to those native peoples who have lived there all along.

3. Concluding with a Vision of Hope

Before the character Fools Crow comes to the conclusion that the Pikuni will survive, he returns from a vision quest that reveals events in the future of his Pikuni nation to him. By good fortune in this vision quest, he stumbles upon the entrance to the land of eternal summer, in which the mythical ancestor of his tribe Feather Woman lives. On a hide whose paintings come to life when he takes a closer look, she reveals what will become of his people. There and then, he sees how his people lose their land, their customs, their religion, their health, their language, are forced into boarding schools, are put into strange clothes, are coerced to become Christians, but nevertheless survive. “As he sat in his hopeless resignation, he heard the sound of children laughing and he recognized the sound he had heard since entering this world” (Welch 357). The hide also reveals that the buffalo will vanish. “It was as if the earth had swallowed up the animals,” Welch writes. “Where once there were rivers of dark blackhorns [buffalos], now there were none” (356). However, the last sentences of the novel render a vision in which the buffalo return:

Far from the fires of the camps, out on the rain dark prairies, in the swales and washes, on the rolling hills, the rivers of the great animals moved. Their backs were dark with rain and the rain gathered and trickled down their shaggy heads. Some grazed, some slept. Some had begun to molt. Their dark horns glistened in the rain as they stood guard over the sleeping calves. The blackhorns had returned and, all around, it was as it should be. (Welch 392)

This vision concludes the novel on a note of great hope and image of survivance, for here the means of livelihood on which all Indigenous nations of North America’s plains and Great Basin depend have returned, accompanied by an ethical affirmation that this outcome is desirable. The return of the buffalo indicate ways for Indigenous traditions and culture to return once the conditions that made traditional customs possible are restored, while the ethical judgment points to the survivance of the Pikuni protagonist’s life ethics. It is also noteworthy that Welch, by employing the image of the returning buffalo, alludes to a powerful Indigenous prophesy by the Lakota leader and healer Black Elk, who said that when the buffalo return the “Sacred Hoop” will be mended and the Indigenous nations will regain strength (Neihardt). In the interpretation of Paula Gunn Allen, the Sacred Hoop represents, in the belief system of Plain Indians, the harmonious interconnectedness of all things that exist

in the world and the universe at large. In this vision, the buffalo is much more than a consumable creature; it is a relative to human beings that cannot be owned and has its own proper place in creation that must be respected and cherished. The return of the buffalo in the ultimate vision of Welch's *Fools Crow* has therefore a deeper sense than biological restoration of a species that nearly became extinct because of large-scale commercial hunting, which decimated its numbers from an estimated 25-30 million to less than one hundred by the 20th century (see Taylor). It is the restoration of a world in which the connections between the sun, the rain, earth, animals, and humans are reestablished; these elements are again in harmony with each other, "as it should be" (Welch 392), while it demonstrates that ethical consciousness passing this judgement will endure.

It is noteworthy that the ultimate vision in *Fools Crow* differs from foresights that the novel's main protagonist Fools Crow received during a vision quest when he had seen revelations about the future of his tribe on Feather Woman's hide. The leather tapestry did not show a world "as it should be" (Welch 392), but rather a world deprived of direction and dignity; however, Feather Woman teaches Fools Crow another lesson when he visits her, and this teaching is crucial for the novel's ending. Feather Woman has endured harsh punishment for a transgression against divine rules: the supreme powers expelled her from the house of the Sun, the Moon, and her husband Morning Star, and separated from her son Star Boy, who also goes by the name Poia. Her exile has caused her great grief, and at every new dawn, she begs her husband Morning Star to take her back. But when the protagonist Fools Crow asks why she still beseeches Morning Star to allow her passage across the sky so she can reunite with her son and him, Feather Woman tells him that, "One day I will rejoin my husband and son. I will return with them to their lodge and we will be happy again—and your people will suffer no more" (352). And while nothing in the story suggests that Feather Woman has reason to believe she will finally be united with her family, she does not give up hope. It is this hope that keeps her going, a hope that even makes "her eyes bright again, the eyes of a young one" (352). I would like to suggest that the novel's ending performs this sustaining hope too. For hope brings a radical futurity into being. It is a force to be reckoned with, a power that rallies against all odds, that helps the body and soul to endure, that buoys the spirit and makes way for the impossible to happen. José Esteban Muñoz has eloquently described this kind of hope when chronicling the political striving and will of LGBTTIQ people, a longing and a desire that "allows us to see and feel beyond the quagmire of the present. The

here and now is a prison house,” he writes. “We must strive, in the face of the here and now’s totalizing rendering of reality, to think and feel a *then and there*” (Muñoz 1).

Muñoz’s *Cruising Utopia* captures the possibilities inherent in hope and the longing for a future that is not yet in the present, which cannot be deduced from the signs of the past and present conditions in which one is trapped. This futurity requires a collective, capable of feeling and thinking beyond existing restrictions, for it to be realized. A certain discontent with the present, a belief that possibilities inherent within the present are not yet exhausted, must exist to propel this collective Utopian longing forward. The limitations imposed on people with non-heteronormative sexualities and nonconformist genders can lead to this longing for a different future, for which no blueprint exists. It might also entail the longing for different forms of sociality and economies as well, since neither gender nor sexuality can be separated from socio-economic reality. As Joanne Barker has pointed out, Euro-Western ideas about sexuality and gender became hegemonic through imperialism and colonialism and affect Indigenous peoples strongly since they require “Indigenous peoples to fit within heteronormative archetypes [...] culturally and legally vacated” (3). In the case of Indigenous peoples, the cultural, political, and economic processes led to a dispossession of their land; the destruction of livelihood, ecocide, epidemics, and massacres effected genocide in the Americas. Indigenous (and) LGBTTIQ people, have been the target of colonial forms of oppression and imaginaries “that justify hierarchies of subjectivity, economical and political as well as epistemic orders associated with these subjectivities” (Schiwy 272). As an alternative to oppression, a desire for a different organization of personal, social, political, economic life to the current settler colonial and capitalist one are evoked, for whose invention the ideas and traditions of Indigenous peoples remain crucial. As Kahnawá:ke activist and scholar Taiaiake Alfred puts it when arguing for the need to recover “indigenous culture, spirituality, and government” (4):

In fact, it is one of the strongest themes within Native American cultures that the modern colonial state could not only build a framework for coexistence but cure many of its own ills by understanding and respecting traditional Native teachings. Pre-contact indigenous societies developed regimes of conscience and justice that promoted harmonious coexistence of humans and nature for hundreds of generations. As we move into a post-imperial age, the values central to those traditional cultures are the indigenous contribution to the reconstruction of a just and harmonious world. (6)

As I have shown, Welch establishes a narrative world in his novel *Fools Crow* that effectively disrupts the master narrative of discovery and conquest, with its innate assumptions of temporalization best captured in the irreversible progress narrative that underlies contemporary capitalism. By offering alternative visions of the future in which Indigenous people are crucial for restoring justice and harmony, he counters the violence of settler times and points towards Indigenous principles of persistence and resistance that have been there all along.

As I have pointed out elsewhere, disruptive narrative elements in novels of the Native American Renaissance serve the important function of reminding Euro-Western readers “of the survivance of American Indian nations in general and of their distinct storytelling traditions in particular” (Wiese 88). Euro-Western readers confronted with novels written by Indigenous authors, as these traverse the globe through translations and by electronic availability, have to acknowledge their “undeniable presence within what is considered the center and the periphery,” as well as the importance of Indigenous knowledge present in society, which testifies to “indigenous persistence, resilience and creativity” (Wiese 88). Literary discourse is therefore a powerful tool to re-signify indigeneity and to overcome what the Anishinaabe writer and scholar Gerard Vizenor has called “the static reduction of native identities” (142). In textbooks and in popular culture, the depiction of Indigenous people as backward and primitive continues, a form of representation that constitutes violence because it prevents the carving out of temporal spaces in which the multi-layeredness of physical, natural, social, historical, and individual time can emerge. In this regard, Mark Rifkin’s recent research into settler time brings a long-neglected question to the fore: how can Indigenous peoples claim temporal sovereignty if common representations construct them as vanishing, and therefore as belonging to the past? How can they claim to be present within historical and contemporary state formations if the cultural hegemony of the modern, nationalist, capitalist narrative denies them contemporaneity and futurity? Settler time fiercely excludes traditions and visions that undermine Euro-Western modernity’s foundation, yet Euro-Western modernity’s exclusions, inhibitions, and definitions are not all-encompassing. Indigenous cultural autonomy and resistance has been there all along and makes itself felt in the temporalities shaped, enacted, incorporated, made sensual and constructed in James Welch’s novel *Fools Crow*. When Welch shows Indigenous change, continuity, and survivance alongside an ongoing settler colonialism, when he demonstrates that the present cannot be separated from the past, he does more than posit an alternative

model of time. By employing Indigenous peoples’ notions of time and temporalizations, he inserts untranslatable elements into his novel. These untranslatable elements, while being present in the texts, cannot be transposed into Euro-Western temporal epistemologies that rely on the idea that the present is severed from nature as well as from the past. He thereby demonstrates that Euro-Western understandings of time are historical, not eternal or naturally-given, that they are possibly globally hegemonic, but not universal and all-encompassing. By undermining settler time, Welch undermines and resists the very foundations of Euro-Western modernity, pointing towards an Indigenous cultural autonomy and being-in-time that have been there all along.

Notes

¹ I use the term Euro-Western instead of Euro-American to acknowledge that the assemblage called modernity is nowadays, through its nexus with capitalism and (neo-)colonialism, a global force. Furthermore, as Cherokee scholar Daniel Heath Justice has argued, the term Euro-American is “another appropriation by the colonizers of Indigenous presence” (xvi) that I would like to avoid, specifically because the novel I deal with takes place in North America, but circulates on other continents, too, through its translations into languages like French and German.

² The United Nation Division for Social Policy and Development of Indigenous Peoples (DESA) has pointed out on their website (<https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/>) that, according to Front Line Defenders, “281 human rights defenders were killed in 25 countries in 2016 [...] Most of the cases were related to land, indigenous and environmental rights.” Because Indigenous peoples often live on land that is rich in natural resources, their lives, cultures, and belief systems are threatened by corrupt state and non-state actors alike looking to profit through “land grabbing, natural resource extraction, mega projects and deforestation activities on their land and territories.” <https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/wp-content/uploads/sites/19/2016/08/Indigenous-Human-Rights-Defenders.pdf> (last visit: March 21, 2018).

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Red Paint: The Defacing of Colonial Structures as Decolonization

JEREMIAH GARSHA

“Peace and Freedom. Welcome. Home of the Free Indian Land.” Or perhaps it can be read as “Welcome Peace and Freedom [This is the] Home of Free Indian Land.” With an absence of punctuation, this message, handwritten in red paint on Alcatraz’s water tower, invites rereading and repositioning. Originally painted in 1969, the writing can still be seen today. The tower sits on the northwest side of the island, coming into view too as ferries bring 1.7 million annual tourists to Alcatraz from San Francisco’s waterfront. The former prison facilities became a national park in 1973, maintained and operated by the United States Federal Government’s National Park Service. The red painted message, inscribed on a towering federal structure, is a lingering reminder of the occupations of the island by Indigenous activists between 1964 and 1971.¹

This article opens with an exploration of the Alcatraz occupation and an unpacking of the messages painted onto the closed prison as they frame the further case studies below. Not only were the 1960s protest movements and specifically the occupation of the island a watershed moment of long building constructions of broader Indigenous identity formation as it coalesced under national connections, but this moment of protest can be seen as solidifying a foundation on which a global Indigenous decolonization movement is being built and painted in red.

The inscription on the tower declaring and claiming the island “Free Indian Land” creates an enduring text. It recolors the white tower in red paint. It subverts the towering structure from a state controlled panoptic tool of surveillance into a new text that highlights, in red, a bloodstained past of violence and disenfranchisement.² It is this rewriting of narratives that makes the water tower on Alcatraz a text of decolonizing literature playing out in public spaces.

The water tower’s inscription, in fact, is a literal palimpsest. After decades of exposure to high ocean winds and salt-water corrosion, the painted message had faded and chipped away to be illegible. The water tower itself had rusted and become unstable. In 2012, after spending \$1.5 million and nearly a year on the construction, the water tower was rebuilt. The National Park Service took the unprecedented step of replicating the message, perhaps the only time the “federal government [was] in the business of preserving graffiti” according to National Park

Service spokeswoman Alexandra Picavet (qtd in Wollan). While Indigenous activists and artists were the ones who traced over the original letters, the fresh paint transformed the faded reddish terra-cotta that matched the nearby Golden Gate Bridge into a bolder and brighter red paint. It was reported that in the first month after the new tower was unveiled, “park service employees noticed a significant rise in the number of tourists who then asked questions” about the painted message and the history of the occupation during guided tours (Ibid).

The occupation of Alcatraz is seen through an inter/national perspective, both from a contemporary perspective and from the beginning.³ The activists were American Indians⁴ from many nations, coming from across the United States and Canada. Yet during the occupation they self-identified as “Indians of All Tribes.” While activists occupying the island identified individually as Sioux, Santee-Dakota, Seneca, Mohawk, Shoshone, Hoocąągra, Cherokee, Inuit, and Blackfoot, as well as mixed heritage, on Alcatraz the activists came together under a supra-tribal organization, making for what this article calls transnational-indigeneity.⁵ Their use of red paint while “holding the Rock” was evocative of the burgeoning “Red Power” movement, one of many protest movements throughout the globe during the 1960s. Red paint was also, as will be shown, a pragmatic choice of a decolonizing tool, creating echoes in subsequent defacements across the world.

The case studies in this article, spanning over a half century and existing in the United States, Namibia, and Australia, are explored as visual texts under critical theory and literary analysis.⁶ This paper explores the intertextuality of red paint thrown on colonial structures as a form of decolonization by challenging and subverting the narrative of the former installations. Painting these texts is part of a broader toolkit of actions taken by Indigenous authorial activists that can be read transnationally. Red paint has a specific symbolic nature when cast onto established colonial structures.⁷ With its ease of access and bright eye-catching hue, red paint as a form of protest writing is ubiquitous. Yet, when used by Indigenous people on structures installed by or deemed to represent colonial powers, it becomes a shared act of reclamation and connects to a deeper connected meaning, subverting both the structure and the narrative it produces in its defacement. Deconstructing these colonial “relics” with the use of red paint repurposes them as a decolonizing instrument and a source of Indigenous reclamation.

The occupation of Alcatraz, in this article, is the archetypal example of using red paint in such a fashion. Acts of “vandalism” of colonial structures predate the 1964-71 occupation, and

indeed were by no means invented by or limited to North American Indigenous protests. At Alcatraz, however, and under the focus of national media attention and brightly painted onto federal structures, the defacement of the iconic prison structure helped solidify using red paint as a tactic to give voice to the burgeoning Red Power struggle. The occupation, lasting for many years, provided a testing ground which led to a convergence of activism, branded in red. When red paint was subsequently deployed on colonial structures globally, it alluded, textually, to the occupation of Alcatraz and to the protest tactics used by North American Indigenous activists.

In this article, three case studies are employed to trace the evolving use of red inscription on colonial structures and how this can be seen as illustrating shades of transnational-indigenous decolonizing practices. I begin with an exploration of the occupation of Alcatraz. Much of the historiography on twentieth century American Indigenous activism focuses on the occupation as the watershed moment for the organization and protest by American Indians.⁸ Overlooked in this scholarship is the specific use of red paint and its powerful use for rewriting, often literally, historical and hieratical texts to include an Indigenous presence.

This article is methodologically structured interdisciplinarily, in order to read the cultural and political significance behind the use of red paint on material objects in the public view as texts. Red paint is used to highlight injustices for a public gaze, and thus is often undertaken within the milieu of an international audience through media attention. Therefore, the targets of red paint augmentation are the overt ones—towering buildings, imposing monuments, and one-sided narrative plaques. In all the case studies examined herein, the painted structures are federally or municipally owned, which makes such inscriptions protests against colonial states and their inheritors. They are also all structures that are intended for tourists.⁹ Therefore, I use a visual analysis of the painted material objects, contextualizing them historically and culturally, while also attempting to connect the movements behind the defacement into an entangled web of transnational Indigenous activism. The paint creates a new signifier, and this article puts the old structures in conversation with their “red de/faced” counterpart. Legal history, the culture of criminology, sociology, critical theory, and political science combine with subaltern and literary studies in order to produce a polyphonic and global narrative of Indigenous protest and reclamation through material culture.¹⁰ I have grounded my argument in not only what the object becomes after it has been painted, but in the way it is to be viewed as decentering colonial master-narratives.

This article is organized chronologically, in order to showcase the connections between the use of red paint by Indigenous activists and viewing episodes of defacement as intertextual forms of reclamation. I move from the occupation of Alcatraz by “Indians of All Tribes” to the protest events by the American Indian Movement (AIM), specifically its 1970 Thanksgiving Day painting of Plymouth Rock in Massachusetts, disrupting the 350th anniversary ceremony of the landing of the Pilgrims. Included in this Plymouth case study is also AIM activist Russell Means’s pouring of red paint on the statue of Columbus in Denver, Colorado during the same year. Means was present at the Plymouth Rock protest and thus directly bridges these two examples into a linked protest movement. Thanksgiving Day ceremonies also connect back to Alcatraz, as the United States National Park Service now formally recognizes the occupation of Alcatraz every year with “The Indigenous People’s Sunrise Gathering.” While the park facilities are closed for the Thanksgiving Day holiday, the National Park Service allows visitors on the island to observe “Unthanksgiving Day,” a bonfire ceremony, with dances and speeches from members of the Indians of All Tribes. More than 5000 people attended the 2018 event.¹¹

I then move to more contemporary moments that evoked the same methods of red paint on problematic colonial structures. The 2004 “vandalism” in Risdon Cove, Tasmania, connects to Plymouth Rock in the sense that it was the site of the first landing of English settlers on the Australian continent. It is also simultaneously the site of the first genocide against the Palawa people.¹² In this section I explore the use of red paint on the Bowen monument after the 1995 handover of Risdon Cove from the Australian government to Aboriginal authorities. This is an attempt to show how the Red Power movement created modern methodological tools of protest, of which red paint is one, as well as an example of reclamation through defacement that has influenced Indigenous activism across the globe. The third main case study ends with the 2016 vandalism of the *Marinedenkmal* in Swakopmund, Namibia. Once again, here Indigenous activists poured red paint over a Namibian inherited celebration of colonialism. By coloring the *Marinedenkmal* in a leitmotif evoking blood, the hegemonic statue is decentered to include an often-silenced Indigenous presence.

America, Australia, and Namibia are united in a history of colonial genocide. While the historical circumstances differed in each, all three countries have yet to fully come to terms with their settler complicity and oppression of native peoples. Red paint defacement stands as one of many practices aimed at decolonizing public spaces. The allusions to the Red Power movement

of the 1960s are elucidated when Indigenous actors use red paint to interrupt the colonial enshrinement of these settler societies' national narratives.

“Vandalism” presents a problematic approach for academic analysis.¹³ Due to its illegality and the monetary punishments and criminal adjudication attached to the action, vandalism often takes place under a clandestine cloak of anonymity. The actions are often left to speak for themselves (literally so in the case of graffiti messages). In my case studies the individuals responsible for the use of red paint are largely unknown, even in instances where an individual or group may have taken credit for the act of vandalism. I have thus chosen to use the term “defacement,” as red paint is used to subvert the narrative and create an Indigenous memorial out of a former colonial monument. The illegality of pouring red paint on these structures is part of its non-violent civil disobedience underpinnings within a spatial practice. Moreover, vandalism and defacement are often marked, in the words of Nic Sammond and Anna Creadick, by ephemeral qualities of “extreme and explicit temporary-ness [...] in both its creation and its consumption” (139). The paint is quickly cleaned off and the artifact restored.¹⁴ The capture of it by the media or in other forms of documentary evidence, or else active preservation of the defacement, creates permanence and a shareable presence.

In his landmark study on graffiti, criminologist Jeff Ferrell pointed out that “research into [...] forms of graffiti writing can expose not only the dynamics of crime and culture, but the lived inequities within which both evolve” (5). Examining the red paint and its message is thus interconnected with the material object on which it is cast. Ferrell also notes that graffiti writers are engaged in a “shared aesthetics of [...] subculture” both localized in its specificity of message and canvas, but also connected to “individual and collective innovations [...] which continue to expand, both historically and geographically beyond [...] into a larger world” (11). While Ferrell’s study centers on American urban youth as “taggers,” the position of this “interweaving of broader cultural processes” when taken as one of the instruments in the toolbox of the disposed,¹⁵ graffiti and painting colonial structures are used to highlight “injustice and inequality [...] the domination of social, [historical], and cultural life [...] and] the aggressive [and continuing] disenfranchisement” of minorities by the “institutionalized intolerance” of “political and economic authority” (11-16; Farrell: 1999, 414). Graffiti, which the use of red paint discussed in this article, in part, falls under, has a cultural export function when applied to resistance against colonialism more generally.¹⁶ As Ferrell and his sociologist coeditor Clinton

Sanders showed in *Cultural Criminology*, the political use of painting on government owned structures has gained a sense of public acceptance, specifically when applied as a form of resistance to imperialism. While domestic in practice, with red paint defacement being hyper-localized to a particular site and unique historical narration, as a tool of decolonization, its exportation internationally highlights the transnational-Indigeneity of shared resistance and reclamation.

Red paint is used to ruin colonial ruins. It is a suggestive and symbolic act, and the splashing of red paint onto material structures uniquely leaves these colonial reminders physically intact, yet recolors the historical narratives these constructs attempt to celebrate. The act of graffiti and defacement is not unique to Indigenous causes. Nor, of course, is the color red. Yet, when employed by Indigenous activists, red takes on a layered meaning. Red can stand in for “redness,” part of reclaiming of the derogatory terms “red man” and “redskins” that so colored American settler perspectives of Native peoples and continue to proliferate popular culture in a myriad of ways.¹⁷ In her detailed study on “red” as signifier for American Indians, Nancy Shoemaker focused on the iconography of red and white colors in Southeastern Indian culture as well as Indigenous creation narratives and the ceremonial practice of red paint. The colors red and white “articulated a dualism between war and peace,” wrote Shoemaker, where “the ‘red’ or ‘bloody’ path meant war” as war chiefs painted themselves red to show their political authority in leading at times of battle, compared to the white-dressed civil chiefs (632). Focusing on the Cherokee nation, Shoemaker explained that the use of red-brown face paint was a means of evoking the “blood-red natural powers of the body” (638). Raymond Fogelson gendered this reading when he argued that the connection between red and death in combat lined up with its red twin of menstrual blood and women’s ability to create new life (173-75). Both interpretations hold true when Indigenous actors use red paint defacement. It stands in as a declaration of war against the colonial construct, a path toward bloodiness. Indeed, as we shall see, red paint is often splattered on these objects in order to resemble blood—invoking the bloodstained history that is often silenced by imperial celebrations. Yet this paint also bleeds new menstrual life into the object, creating a new structure from the old, and with it a more accurate narrative of the past.

Red also carries an Indigenous connotation when looked at internationally. In the Namibian and Australian contexts, the color red is directly linked to native people in the official

national flags.¹⁸ The Namibian national flag features a band of red, which represents “the Namibian people, their heroism and their determination to build a future of equal opportunity for all (“National Symbols”).¹⁹ The Aboriginal Flag of Australia consists of black and red bars, with a yellow circle in the center. While the flag’s creator, Aboriginal artist Harold Thomas, maintained that black represented the aboriginal people, the color red rooted the aboriginals as autochthonous, representing the red ochre painted on their bodies to spiritually connect with the land.

Coincidentally, the occupation of Alcatraz took place during the creation of each of those flags. The flag that would later become the national Namibian flag was created in 1966, two years after the first attempted occupation of Alcatraz. The Aboriginal flag of Australia debuted in 1971, the very same year the final Alcatraz occupiers were forcefully removed. When the Aboriginal flag was flown over the “Aboriginal Tent Embassy” in Canberra, it laid claim to an occupied point on the lawn facing the Old Parliament House, creating an inter/national nexus point for Indigenous occupation. Aboriginal Australians from across the nation had come together under a makeshift assembly of tents to advocate for land rights in the very same year the “Indians of All Tribes” occupiers were removed from Alcatraz. Both of these flags, with the prominent display of red, were created in fights over belonging, ownership, occupation, and how history would be displayed.

When the second wave of Alcatraz occupiers waded ashore on November 20, 1969, the color red was symbolically used in their request to buy back Alcatraz from the US government for the “fair and reasonable” terms in which they were originally paid: “twenty-four dollars in glass beads and *red* clothe” (qtd in Kelly, 2; emphasis mine). Further subverting the colonial constructs used to dispossess American Indians, this group of activists claimed the island “by right of discovery [...] in the name of all American Indians.” From its inception, the occupation of Alcatraz was an inclusive site for all American Indians, rather than reclamation in the name of the Ohlone people, to which the area was traditional homeland. In his history of the occupation, Troy Johnson wrote “the movement was to promote no one individual or one tribe [...] but rather Native Americans from all tribes across the United States” (53). Thus the activists titled themselves “Indians of All Tribes” using inter/national connection. Occupier Richard Oakes recalled that the name was chosen because of the diverse network of activists at play:

we represented five different tribes, so we claimed [the island] in the name of the Indians

of all tribes, not just one tribe. [November 9, 1969] was the first time we used the name which would become our name on the island. (qtd in Johnson, 58-59)

Occupier Peter Blue Cloud stressed the collapsing of rural and urban divides that had separated groups. He recalled that “never before had the dream of Indian unity been put into reality in such a sudden way as at Alcatraz,” where people “from reservations and urban settlements, government boarding schools, street gangs or giant cities, plains, and desert, horse people, sheep herders, fisherman of the coastal rivers, hunters of the frozen north” had come together and found that “we had come home. Our mother earth wanted us here, for we are the land” (qtd in Johnson, 117).

The inter/national occupiers quickly transformed the face of the island, pragmatically repurposing stores of red paint housed in the former prison buildings and used to maintain the nearby Golden Gate Bridge. Using this paint, slogans were written as a way to “broadcast messages for those who would look upon the island during the occupation” (Johnson, 67). In a statement to the press, the Indians of All Tribes weaponized historical narration, stating: “we now have a more powerful weapon. The people of this country know a little of the real history and tragedy of the Indian people today. What they do not know is the tragic story of the Indian people today. We intend to tell them that story” (qtd in Burling, 55). The occupation of Alcatraz was itself an attempt to create a more accurate and more visible narrative of American Indian history. Red paint assisted in spreading the message of Red Power, with the slogan “Red Power” appearing as graffiti across former prison buildings, along with messages that confront historical narratives, such as “Custer had it coming.” When *Time Magazine* reported on the Red Power movement in a 1970 cover story, the story acknowledged “Indians suffer as harshly [as blacks] from biased history books,” noting that textbooks used in schools at the time wrote of the salvation the Pilgrims brought to the mentally “deadened” American Indians (“The Angry American Indian”).

The Red Power movement shared similar tactics and terminology with the Civil Rights movement led by black activists. Just as African American protesters carried out sit-ins to bring attention to and fight against systems of segregation in the American south, American Indian activists waged “fish-ins” to protest against the stripping away of their water and wildlife rights in the Pacific Northwest (Fixico, 183). The Red Power movement, moreover, came into being in the early 1960s within a relationship to the other protest movements by minority groups: women,

students, anti-Vietnam war protests, and a more overt connection to the rise of Black Power militant nationalism (Leahy and Wilson, 141; Red Power Media). The occupiers of Alcatraz used the tactics of non-Native activism in order to bring national and international focus to the special concerns of American Indians (Smith, 85).

Occupiers at Alcatraz painted, in red, a clenched fist on the former warden's quarters, aligning with the African-American symbol of solidarity and power, as well as the symbol of a raised fist made iconographic by South African activists in the African National Congress (ANC). The sign "Warning keep off. Federal Property" was crossed out to read simply "Indian Property," with the "keep off" prohibition conspicuously absent in a way that invited conversation, viewing, and peaceful visitation to the island. Other red slogans appeared on walls reading "You are on Indian Land" (underline in original), as a welcoming to other Indigenous North Americans, irrespective of tribal affiliation, to join the protesters on the island. Signs close to the shore originally installed by the federal government to keep visitors away from the closed penitentiary now signaled the takeover of land ownership, shifting "Warning Keep Off *U.S.* Property" into a red banner of "Warning Keep off *Indian* Property" (Fortunate Eagle, 114; emphasis mine).

Media coverage of Indian occupation spread a localized event into national news. In his analysis of press coverage at Alcatraz, David Milner showed the shifting tonal responses to the occupation, beginning with "uncharacteristically sympathetic and even-handed coverage" during the early occupation stage, before transitioning to "images of warlike, violent Indians reminiscent of earlier colonial reporting" as federal agents prepared to raid the island in 1971 (Milner, 74). While many news agencies followed the occupation, notably the *New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, it was the local *San Francisco Chronicle* that remained deeply embedded. In fact, as Milner underscored, *Chronicle* reporters collaborated with the occupiers; having received advance notice of planned protests by the occupiers, and having been asked "not to break the story prematurely" (qtd in Milner, 76).

The images of graffiti and painted slogans, easily if not intentionally visible to press photographers using boats and onshore visitations to report on the occupation, provided visual texts to capture what occupier Adam Fortunate Eagle called the "international importance [of] a defiant act of Indigenous people" (120).²⁰ It is important to note that both newspaper and television reporting were done in black and white during this period. Therefore, the color of the

painted messages was absent to national and international readers not present at Alcatraz. At this stage in the protest, the color red, while used, was chosen more due to its availability, as barrels were found already on the island. In this way, the defacement of the structures was done using written words, rather than evoking the spilling of blood. As a text, Alcatraz's recoloring was done through graffiti, palimpsest, and the raising of flags and banners. It was the messages themselves, rather than the color of the paint that rewrote Alcatraz during the nascent period of the Red Power movement. That red paint was still the medium used, allows the occupation of Alcatraz to simultaneously launch other reddened texts, and, many years after the occupation, become a self-referential text, as it is the red-painted messages, now preserved by the National Parks Service, that captivate visitors into becoming readers of these narratives.

The occupation was originally, as one activist noted, “a stunt [...] to publicize a cause [...] which was intended to put its message on a bigger stage via the media” (qtd in Smith, 85-86). Memoirs from the occupiers show that much of the graffiti was done in the early days of the occupation. Efforts were made to create “a more serious sign [...] something that suggested more than mere vandals were” present on Alcatraz (Fortunate Eagle, 152). Beyond the large banner on the water tower depicted at the opening of this article, as well as handmade flags flown from guard towers, coordinated efforts at creating a larger visual image, such as a list of demands that could be read from afar, never materialized. Media attention, too, waned, as the occupation stretched to nineteen months and nine days. When armed federal marshals raided the island on June 11, 1971, they did so tellingly outside of the media gaze, where the lingering cameras covering the occupation were blocked by a Coast Guard perimeter. With the occupiers arrested and the island back in federal control, authorities allowed a press tour of the formally occupied zones days later. A *Chronicle* reporter captured the final image of red graffiti painted on a wall amongst the rubble. The article the following day concluded with: “Another sign, sad and pathetic [...] looks yearningly out to the Bay Bridge: ‘Where’s our Chief?,’ it asks” (qtd in Fortunate Eagle, 201).

Veterans of the occupation, joined by new protesters, continued waves of decolonizing protests on deemed colonial sites both during and after the events at Alcatraz. On Thanksgiving Day, 1970, occupier John Trudell, along with Russell Means and Dennis Banks, joined with the newly created American Indian Movement to stage a more visceral provocation. AIM was a more radical political organization than the Indians of All Tribes movement, gaining support of

“America’s New Left and politically oriented counterculture,” as well as mainstream attention (Smith, 144). While the Indians of All Tribes movement stayed fixed on the Alcatraz occupation, AIM used the public attention to push for a series of national protest movements across the US (Johnson: 2008, 220). Alcatraz’s antecedal roots both inspired and legitimized its protest channels. When Trudell, Means, and Banks, along with members of twenty-five Indian tribes, arrived in Plymouth, Massachusetts, they cited the Alcatraz occupation as “a symbol of a newly awakened desire of the Indians for unity and authority in a white world” (Johnson: 2008, 240). Adopting a more confrontational approach, AIM activists then disrupted the town’s Thanksgiving Day commemoration. 1970 marked the 350th anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth Rock. As a tourist event, the town had commissioned the reconstruction of a ship, named *Mayflower II*, tethering it to Plymouth Rock.

The ship facsimile and its direct connection to the stone created the stage for a national protest. AIM activists led the Thanksgiving Day protest by congregating around Plymouth Rock, spitting and dumping waste on the rock (“Taking Back Plymouth Rock”). Led by Russell Means, AIM members also boarded and occupied the *Mayflower II*, allegedly draping themselves in torn down flags. The original plan had been to burn the ship; however, Means instead chose to bury Plymouth Rock under layers of sand (Smith, 151), in a more symbolic, less destructive, and temporally impermanent form of protest. The *Mayflower II* was a newly created item specifically for this ceremony, whereas Plymouth Rock was deemed as a more authentic and therefore more appropriate target. The protest and occupation of the *Mayflower II* did not lead to any arrests and surprisingly little media attention.²¹ That evening, however, AIM leader John Trudell, himself a veteran of the Alcatraz occupation, returned to Plymouth Rock and painted it in red, a replication of the tactics used on Alcatraz. The red paint on Plymouth Rock made national news and the media coverage has been credited as “catapulting AIM into the national consciousness” (“Taking Back Plymouth Rock”).

While the red messages at Alcatraz could be reported in black and white, at Plymouth it was the color choice by Trudell that made for such a visceral rewriting on the rock. Much like the occupation of Alcatraz, the settler significance of the Rock(s)²², and their stand-in for the brutal treatment of American Indians provide daises for protest, both of which were painted red. The timing of both events, lining up with the more radical protest era of the 1970s as well as specifically occurring around the Thanksgiving national holiday, are notable features in a mosaic

of protest. The US government’s attack on AIM activists at Wounded Knee in 1973 historically and publically buries the smaller protest movements such as the painting of Plymouth Rock, replacing the images of red with the more militarized photos of American Indians holding firearms.

It is striking that none of the AIM activists were arrested at the 1970 Plymouth protest. The effect was a sense of legitimacy in using symbolic forms of protest to draw attention to Indigenous grievances and historic injustices, showcasing inklings of broader public support. Russell Means’s activism continued under banners of red paint, as in 1989 when he was arrested for pouring buckets of red liquid on a statue of Christopher Columbus. The charges were dropped, however, when the Denver court concluded that his defacement of the statue was protected under the first amendment.²³ In 1992, the Denver Columbus day parade was canceled until 2000, due to concerns regarding clashes between protesters and marchers (Banda). When the annual Columbus Day parade returned, AIM activists, including Means, also returned to the streets to perform civil disobedience, fulfilling their earlier vow to enact “an active militant campaign” in their demands that federal and local government “remove anti-Indian icons.”²⁴ While centered in the American context, AIM’s anti-Columbus movement featured an international call to decolonize national narratives, through education of accurate history and its public display:

We encourage others [...] in every community in the land, to educate themselves and to take responsibility for the removal of anti-Indian vestiges [...] there is no better time for the re-examination of the past, and a rectification of the historical record for future generations, than the 500th anniversary of Columbus’ arrival. There is no better place for this re-examination to begin than in Colorado, the birthplace of the Columbus Day holiday. (Morris and Means)

Inspired by Means, during the 1992 traveling exhibition to mark the quincentenary of Columbus’ voyage, AIM activist Vernon Bellecourt threw a pint of his own blood onto the sails of a replicated version of one of Columbus’ ships.²⁵ The Science Museum of Minnesota, hosting the exhibition, chose to “leave the sail blood-stained throughout the remainder of the show” (Cooper, 330). Pouring red paint fundamentally links to the connection of blood and the experience of bleeding. The colonial experience is one of bleeding, and red liquid, either as a stand-in for blood or as blood itself, is a leitmotif of a blood stained past. American Indian

activists, in following from the occupation of Alcatraz and the makeshift use of stored red paint, had created an accessible but meaningful tool of protest which could recolor historical narratives and highlight the violence and continued aggression against Indigenous peoples beyond American borders.

Alcatraz is a site of stagnation and a symbol of state controlled violence. It has a history of interning American Indians in the nineteenth century prior to the construction of formal prison buildings as it became a federal penitentiary. It can therefore be read as an imperial monument. The occupiers' use of red paint to create graffiti messages, images, and re-appropriated signs of ownership was pragmatically driven, due to the limited supplies occupiers could bring and the storehouse of red paint already on site. Yet it was an appropriate tool to employ against the material object itself, using the tools of the state against itself. With Alcatraz creating an anchor point, AIM's use of red paint as an expression of spilled blood, painted a resistance to settler-based national history. Painting Plymouth Rock in blood red struck at the origins of the American foundation mythos, targeting the very site of the landing of the Pilgrims, and targeting celebrations of Columbus. Here, the monument of Plymouth Rock and statues of Columbus are objects to be shown as "bloodied," signaling the genocide of American Indians under colonialism, further triggered by the 1973 murder of Indigenous activists at the same site as the 1890 Wounded Knee massacre. Red paint as blood became an effective shorthand to reference historical and ongoing violence against Indigenous people.²⁶ Grounded in the protest movements of American Indians, it is this use of red paint that has been picked up by Indigenous activists internationally.

The monument stone at Risdon Cove, Tasmania marks the site of the first landing of colonists on the island. It too has become locative marker for protest to more fully incorporate Indigenous history into Tasmanian historical narratives. Located just outside the capital city Hobart, Risdon Cove was the 1803 landing site where Lieutenant John Bowen established the formal colonial center of Van Diemen's Land (modern-day Tasmania). Intended to be the first settlement by British agents, on May 3, 1804, the soldiers encountered a group of around 300 Palawa hunting kangaroo. The British soldiers opened fire using heavy cannon, "killing a great many of them" according to the convict Edward White, who gave testimony in 1830. The massacre at the very landing site of the colonists links the first episode of genocide against the Palawa with the settlement of the island.

Marking both the site of white settlement and the ultra violence that accompanied it, a monument to Bowen was erected during the 1904 centenary. Using locally sourced stone, an obelisk was created with the brief inscription “This Memorial erected to commemorate the Centenary of the landing at this spot of Lieut. Bowen. R.N., on September 1803, was unveiled by His Excellency, the Governor, Sir A.E. Havelock [...] 22nd February 1904.” The narrative of historical violence is notably absent from the obelisk itself, in much the same way that Plymouth Rock merely displays the etched on date “1620”. The colonial master narrative is the only one on display. Yet just as when AIM painted the rock red, so too can the Bowen monument represent simultaneously the twins of settlement and violence. In 1995, Risdon Cove was returned to the Palawa community as part of a countrywide land reform act. Managed by the Tasmanian Aboriginal Corporation (TAC), shortly after the handover, a poll was conducted amongst the Palawa to determine the fate of the Bowen Monument. Responses ranged from removing the obelisk entirely, to recentering its narrative with the creation of new plaques, which told a more accurate account of the site and island’s history, inclusive of Palawa experiences.²⁷ While the land itself is managed by TAC, the monument sits on a site of shared access, where it is open to the public during daylight hours. While the poll was open, activists defaced the obelisk, covering it in red paint to signify the blood spilled by the massacred Palawa on this site. According to Reg Watson, a revisionist settler descendant and self-appointed caretaker of the monument, red paint was also splashed onto the monument on December 11, 1995, the same day as the official return of the land to the aboriginal community (Watson).

As a decolonizing tactic, using red paint to deface the Bowen obelisk links to a global network of protest against one-sided historical narratives under transnational-indigeneity. Poll respondents did not mention the defacement of either the obelisk or American Indian traditions of using red paint to alter the narratives. Yet, as settler societies working through decolonization movements, both Tasmania and America are rooted in a colonial past littered with imperial celebrations. Red paint defacement as a protest against the physical narrative structures subverts statues and deconstructs them to instead stand in as markers of violence. As argued above, red paint in this context, poured and splattered on these objects, creates a visceral image of blood. Indeed, bleeding and forced blood loss through violent acts embodies much of the physical colonial experience worldwide. Red paint, with its malleability and plasticity can therefore be used to give new and potent meaning to these objects and thus deconstruct the colonial narratives

with decolonizing historical accuracy. It is this reminder and memorialization of blood and violent experiences, used for Indigenous causes, that links red paint defacements as a pattern within shared transnational decolonization movements under projects of reclamation.

While the Palawa poll respondents did not address the defacement of the Bowen monument, they did show awareness of the problematic one-sidedness of the historical narrative that is put forth to tourists. One informative response looked toward the international community, stating that:

[F]or the last 193 years, white Tasmanians have lied not only to their children, but to the rest of the world about their arrival, and the invasion of Tasmania. To remove the monument may satisfy our immediate desire to emphasise our control over our own land, but it is not enough compensation for the years of denial that our ancestors have had to contend with. (Interim Aboriginal Land Council of Tasmania Branch Meeting, February 20, 1996)

This respondent wanted both the old monument to exist, while creating a new structure that subverts the former and:

Tells the truth about the murder of our people Present day white Tasmanians, overseas and mainland visitors to Risdon Cove should be able to compare the lies of the present monument to the truth about the massacre of innocent men, women and children [...we cannot] deny these visitors the right to compare the truth with the lies [...] we must enable people to compare and decide for themselves, not control what they should view and read. This has been the way of White Tasmanians not the way of our old ones. (Ibid)

In this article, I have argued that painting monuments in red blood accomplishes this desire. It leaves the old structure but repurposes it, visually subverting the hierarchy of the settler narrative in order to bring forward the narrative that settled land is itself a monument that, unchallenged, continues colonialism. By making these sites bleed again, through red paint, the narration shifts from imperial celebration to a display of memorialization for the murdered Indigenous groups.

Indeed, the Bowen monument has been painted red, and in this way it has been reclaimed. Watson stated the monument had been “vandalized” on at least four occasions. While American Indian activists like Means and other AIM members called for a national and global removal of all anti-Indigenous celebrations of conquest, some white Tasmanians, personified

here by Reg Watson, call for the “repair, protection, and promotion of monument[s]” (Watson).

In 2004, as a lead up to the bicentenary, the Tasmanian newspaper *The Mercury* recounted the history of Risdon Cove in weekly featurettes. Owing, in part, to the recent defacement of the monument, attention to the monument itself and the past history of genocide took center stage. Just one day prior to the bicentennial, actor Richard Davey presented a 90 minute free public reading of Edward White’s testimony, taking the form of a staged play of reenacting “*The Report of the 1830 Committee of Inquiry into the Causes of the Conflict between Settlers and Aborigines.*” During the May 4, 2004 ceremony, hundreds of Palawa converged at Risdon Cove. A traditional dance was performed and a message was read in Palawa kani to the ancestors, showing, as TAC secretary Trudy Maluga pointed out, that European colonizers “killed us off in this place [...] stole our land, took away our people and imposed their religions on us [...] But our presence here today shows they have not destroyed us” (Briggs, 3).²⁸ For the bicentenary, the Palawa covered the Bowen monument in a white sheet splattered with red paint, showing, in the words of attending Senator Bob Brown, that “We need to face the awful truth: our history is written in blood” (Briggs, 3).

In a connection to transnational-indigeneity, the covering of the Bowen monument in red paint challenges the still standing colonial monuments and the power structures they exert. Palawa grievances of unrecognized violence, land theft, loss of language, religion, and culture, align with those of North American Indians and First Nation people, and it is fitting that all of these communities have used red paint to bring attention to these issues and recreate the old monuments as inclusive versions of this history. This now globalized approach unites these groups in bringing attention to a history of settler inflected violence as well as decentering these narratives in order to create a visually prominent protest movement.

The use of a white sheet over the Bowen monument presents an interesting example of protest aimed at inclusion. Just as some respondents of the 1996 poll regarding the future of the monument suggest that it should be left intact, but repurposed, so too can the sheet be viewed as a form of inclusion. The sheet covered the offensive obelisk, silencing its inaccurate transcription of historical events. Yet the sheet also protected the monument. It protected the monument from the symbolic painting of blood as well as protecting it during the ceremony, should mob mentality have caused a further desire to destroy the monument in that moment, like the AIM activists’ calls to burn the *Mayflower II*. The sheet acted as a dual defense, protecting activists

from the monument and protecting the monument from the activists. The sheet was removed after the bicentennial and the monument returned to its position of being hidden in plain sight. In 2011 TAC created three plaques, facing and surrounding the monument. Each in one color of the aboriginal flag, the plaques are wordless, using photos and images to add in a permanent presence of Indigenous surveillance to a site that sits empty most days. In this way the red paint has been transformed into red, black, and yellow painted signs that subvert the message of the monument to include the experiences of Indigenous people.

While Alcatraz's layered history displayed for millions of tourists each year, and the transformed Risdon Cove have undergone public consultations, the Namibian coastal town Swakopmund remains steeped in colonial nostalgia. Buildings have angled Bavarian-style roofs to repel the snow that will never fall in this beachside resort town. German is the most widely spoken language, and the sandy beaches and beer gardens are the main tourist pull. With a large German-Namibian community and unmarked concentration camps, the historical past of the 1904-1908 genocide is largely absent, save for Memorial Park cemetery, an enduring symbol of reconciliation and a laudable example of inclusion where the bodies of genocide perpetrators are interned in the same walled-in cemetery as their victims (Barnard). The town's prominent monument is the *Marinedenkmal*, a statue of two German marines on a large rock near the town's municipal center. Erected in 1908 to celebrate the suppression of Ovaherero and Nama colonial resistance, the statue has sat untouched for nearly 120 years.

On April 2, 2016, during the annual Reparation Walk through the town, where Indigenous Ovaherero and Ovambanderu march to bring attention to the unacknowledged German-inflected genocide and its refusal to pay restitution, participants covered the statue in red paint. In many ways it is surprising this had not occurred earlier, and that it was the Swakopmund statue and not the much more visual *Reiterdenkmal*, unveiled in 1912 in the colonial capital of Windhoek, to become Namibia's first defaced monument. The activists who "vandalized" the *Marinedenkmal* did so, in the words of political scientist Elke Zuern, in order to "tie the presence of the [statue] to unaddressed colonial crimes." While the defacement was over a century in the making, it occurred in 2016 during the protracted but publically expected official recognition of genocide by the German government.²⁹ The prolonged legal and political deliberation between the German and Namibian governments provided the context for the act of red paint on the *Marinedenkmal* as an attempt to remind the international community, as well as

Swakopmund’s German-speaking settler inheritors, of the unhealed colonial wounds, still bleeding.

Interestingly, some prominent Namibian activists have condemned the act of red paint defacement. Ovaherero chief Vekuii Rukoro stated that “as a chief I do not support vandalism in any shape or form” (qtd in Shiku). While the Chief felt that after 26 years of independence, the time had come for the statue to be removed, echoing the 2009 words of Namibian President Pohamba regarding the removal of the *Reiterdenkmal*, where both men have stated that Namibians “need our own monuments,” the Ovaherero chief wanted to see the statue removed in “orderly fashion [...] and it does not mean it must be vandalized.”

The red paint on the *Marinedenkmal* created two important ramifications. The first is that it reopened attention on colonial wounds within an international context, as media outlets as large as the *New York Times* picked up and ran features on the defacement of the statue in a town of under 50,000 inhabitants and located deep in southwestern Africa. The second is that it has disrupted the community-based celebrations of colonialism. The red paint highlights and renews calls for the removal of the statue. As Zuern postulated, the threat to remove the monument showcases the German-speaking community’s fear of their own impermanence in the relatively recent independent nation. “The thing that worries the German speakers in Swakopmund” Zuern surmised, “is that this is a site where they have annual commemorations [...] It’s not just this monument with all the symbolism that entails, but actually a site they use to commemorate the deaths of the marine troops and to rally the community” (qtd in Onishi). Like Reg Watson in Tasmania, the red paint is aimed at the small but vocal white minority and the revisionist narration they wish to defend. In clinging to this false version of history, settler-descended communities engage in genocide denial. Red paint overtly challenges these narratives, forcing, at the very least, dialogue and discussion toward a more inclusive and more accurate construction of events.

Red paint on monuments, in its loaded meaning and with its ease of deployment, is a powerful and effective form of protest. In analyzing the ways settler societies like America, Australia, and Namibia have enshrined and glorified their colonial past in monuments, and the ways these have been challenged by transnational-indigeneity, it becomes clear that the structure to which the paint is applied is just as telling, if ephemeral, as the paint itself. The narration of these stone structures is not only subverted, but is in fact reappropriated with splashes of red

paint. As this article has shown, the strength of red paint defacement comes from the global spread of its use against colonial history and by bringing attention to continuing colonial policies. Red is a highlighter, capturing media publicity, albeit temporarily, in order to decolonize the hegemony of colonially imposed history. Red paint highlights disenfranchisement, and as a non-violent protest tool, it can create alliances between international Indigenous groups as well as, importantly, recruit non-native people to these causes. In his book *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*, Glen Coulthard, drawing on Frantz Fanon, argues that Indigenous recognition projects often take the form of litigation and “delegation of land, capital, and political power,” and as such are in danger of reproducing the very form of colonialism “demands for recognition historically sought to transcend” (3). Red paint, therefore, is a bottom-up approach to decolonizing without becoming entangled in colonial systems, aligning itself with what Coulthard sees as a resurgence of Indigenous cultural practices outside of state controlled discourses. The Tasmanian case study above showcased that beyond the red paint, traditional dances and the reading of praise to Palawa ancestors in a critically endangered language reinforces a localized recognition movement.³⁰

Red paint also creates transnational connections of solidarity. As an artistic medium of blood, it punctuates a shared colonial history. It challenges one-sided settler narratives not by the removal of former physical structures, but by leaving these relics intact yet powerless and silent. The celebration of imperial legacies instead becomes a memorial to violence, and the imposing statue now speaks to Indigenous causes. It transforms these structures into a new version that brings public attention to often-unacknowledged events and existing power dynamics that still need to be altered. Red paint is a testament to the spirit of the transnational Red Power decolonizing movements, serving as link to globally entangled defacements of colonialism, now colored red.

Notes

1 The occupation dates are interrupted and not fixed. The occupation began with a one day “sit-in” in 1964, then returned in force on November 20, 1969, and lasted until June 11, 1971, when the final 11 protesters were forcefully removed by federal marshals. See, “Alcatraz, Occupation of”, in Todd Leahy and Raymond Wilson’s *Historical Dictionary of Native American Movements* (Plymouth, UK: The Scarecrow Press, 2008), 4.

² With the exception of the lighthouse, built higher up on the island’s topography, the water tower is the tallest freestanding structure on Alcatraz.

³ I have borrowed this term from Steven Salaita’s book *Inter/Nationalism: Decolonizing Native America and Palestine* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2016). Salaita uses “inter/nationalism” as an umbrella term of amalgamation, standing in for “solidarity, transnationalism, inter-sectionality, kinship, [and/or] intercommunalism” [ix]. The case studies presented in this article span over 60 years and reach outside of North America to encompass Namibia and Australia. In order to fully showcase the more recent globalized context of Indigenous actors linked above geographic barriers, I have used my own term “transnational-indigeneity,” which exists pluralistically with other forms of self-identification. This is not to say that all activists identify with these terms, nor is it to suggest a truncation of identity under a lens of pan-indigeneity.

⁴ In reflecting on the *longue durée* history of Indigenous groups in the American West, with specific focus on its disruption by colonial settlement and waves of violence, Benjamin Madley points out that “dislocation and tribal fluidly characterized [...] Indian life. Forced removal to small, distant reservations shared by multiple tribes” was common, and as “[r]efugees [...] fled into the new areas” they intermarried and often “permanently relocated.” As such, Madley concludes that it is “not always possible to precisely identify California Indians by tribe.” When the sources do not precisely identify the nations of Indigenous individuals or groups in question, Madley follows “the twenty-first century California Indian practice of using the term *Indian* or *California Indian*” (15). This chapter follows the practice employed by Madley by referring to regroupings of Native Peoples with the terms “Native,” “Indian,” and “Indigenous” interchangeably. Where individuals and groups have chosen to identify with a tribal or national affiliation, I indicate this. However, as this article is focused on the plasticity of the term “Indigenous” in a globally connected expanse using blanketed terminology is often the very point. This is done in order to showcase the global links of Native Peoples. See Benjamin Madley’s *An American Genocide: the United States and the California Indian Catastrophe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 15.

⁵ I have employed this term to show instances where Indigenous cultures and practices have linked together to form a transnational movement and constructed identity. Individual tribal affiliation exists heterogeneously within transnational-indigeneity. I deploy the term in order to stretch these connections across continents, reading transnational-indigeneity as the joining of distinct groups while still providing a space for complex and pluralistic identities, rooted in “inter/nationalism.” I use this term in order to focus on the shared anti-colonial resistance tactic of writing in red paint on colonial structures, a practice through which indigenous groups across the world create commonalities and thus engage in a form of dialogue with one another.

⁶ There are many ways this article could have been written. I have eschewed writing this as a historical paper, and rather read the structures painted red as visual texts under literary analysis. They are narratives and counter narratives as much as sites of protest under affect theory. This is not to lessen the risks indigenous actors have taken to reconstruct their history in a public form but rather to read the narratives they have created under post-structural critical theory, where the historical and cultural contexts situate the visual texts, but where the narratives these texts create can be analyzed as artwork and connected globally under intertextuality. Thomas R. Lindlof and Bryan C. Taylor, *Qualitative Communication Research Methods*, 4th ed. (London: Sage, 2018), 75-76.

⁷ I am guided by Eric Cheyfitz's chapter 'The (Post)Colonial construction of Indian Country: U.S American Indian Literatures and Federal Indian Law', in *The Columbia Guide to American Indian Literatures of the United States Since 1945*, ed. Eric Cheyfitz, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 1-124. Cheyfitz argues that decolonization processes have yet to reach the postcolonial stage in the United States, because American Indians are still colonized citizens under federal laws. I extend this notion to the settler states of Namibia and Australia.

⁸ Examples range from inclusion in Howard Zinn's *A People's History of the United States: 1492-Present* (Essex: Pearson Education Limited, 2003), pp. 524-529 to the accounts of activists such as Adam Fortunate Eagle and Tim Findley's *Heart of the Rock: The Indian Invasion of Alcatraz* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), to full monographs such as Troy R. Johnson's *The Occupation of Alcatraz Island: Indian Self-Determination and the Rise of Indian Activism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996) and Sherry L. Smith's *Hippies, Indians, and the Fight for Red Power* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

⁹ The exception being the messages originally painted on Alcatraz, as the island had yet to become a tourist mecca. Yet these messages are now firmly part of the island's narrative and are even part of a National Park Service guided walking tour.

¹⁰ As the acts of "vandalism" studied in this article all came into being long after the formal end of colonialism and episodes of genocide, I am guided by Marianne Hirsch's work on postmemory, the inherited "personal, collective, and cultural trauma" in subsequent generations of survivors and the cultural and political interventions, visually inspired, that become a "form of repair" (5; 22). See Marianne Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture After the Holocaust* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012).

¹¹ In keeping with a theme of protest inclusion, the 2017 ceremony featured Colin Kaepernick, the famed NFL player and former San Francisco 49er who first took a knee during the singing of the national anthem to protest the treatment of minorities in America. This past year the history of Alcatraz occupation was celebrated with more globalized issues such as calls to fight climate change and migration issues. See Jose Feroso "A Thanksgiving bonfire at dawn: celebrating Native American resistance on Alcatraz", *The Guardian*. 22 Nov 2018. Accessed 28 Nov 2018. <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/nov/22/thanksgiving-native-american-sunrise-ceremony-alcatraz-occupation-protest>

¹² Palawa is the term many Tasmanian Aboriginal people identify as, linking to the name of the first man created from the kangaroo by the Creator. As such, I use this term to refer to Tasmanian Aboriginal people throughout this article.

¹³ The term "vandalism" is used in quotation marks to distinguish it as being more than the destruction of property. The examples in this article are ones of political protest, resistance, and narrative reclamation. Furthermore, as shown below, the use of red paint on these structures does not destroy the physical object but rather re-centers it as a challenged and altered site.

¹⁴ Unless the protest movement itself is deemed worthy of preservation, in which case the challenged, painted objects becomes the dominant narrative in the hierarchy of remembering. The painted messages and images at Alcatraz has remained, the painted Mayflower II and colonial statues in Tasmania and Namibia have returned to their "status quo."

¹⁵ These tools include the "day to day" and often less visual means of protests against establishments as most prominently highlighted in James Scott's *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

¹⁶ The use of red paint is simultaneously graffiti, a mural, and a new physical structure.

¹⁷ See, for example, the 1953 Disney film *Peter Pan* and its now controversial song “What Made the Red Man Red?” which was only a decade old when the Alcatraz occupation officially began. In her article “How Indians Got to be Red”, Nancy Shoemaker argues that American Indians of the Southeast self-identified as “red” when encountering the othering effects of occupied categories like “white” and “black”, with “red”, in its opposition to “white” being a metaphoric category of position, which Shoemaker likens to school colors, rather than “racial categories rooted in biological difference” (637). Indians became red, Shoemaker concludes, “as a consequence of trying to define “whiteness” (641).

¹⁸ Lulie Nall, of the Penobscot nation, created what she hoped would become the national American Indian flag in 1968, which flew from one of the guard towers during the Alcatraz occupation. She wrote that the color red “represents the American Indian who shares his tepee with fifty state governments. Yellow, Black and Brown people are represented in the fields they help toil and join” while “the gap in the tepee represents the last gap of discrimination”, in Delfin Vigil, “Disputed Alcatraz invasion flag on block”, *SF Gate*, 24 January 2008. Accessed 2 January 2019. <https://www.sfgate.com/bayarea/article/Disputed-Alcatraz-invasion-flag-on-block-3231419.php#photo-2374087>

¹⁹ While the flag was officially adopted as the national flag for Namibia in 1990 after the nation gained independence from South Africa, the flag’s colors are adopted from the party flag of the South West African People’s Organization (SWAPO), the militarized liberation organization that fought a 24 year long war with South Africa. As such, while the red today is hailed as representing all Namibians, at the time of SWAPO’s founding, the red stood in for the indigenous groups fighting against white rule under apartheid. In an odd aside, the creation of the flag has been claimed by Plymouth, England born Roy Allen, who claims the red was “the blood that was shed in the war” for independence. In both cases, red connects to the similar Native American trope of blood and battle. See “Allen From Plymouth... The man who designed the Namibian flag” *The Namibian*, 23 Oct 2015. Accessed 22 Nov 2018. (<https://www.namibian.com.na/index.php?page=archive-read&id=143453>).

²⁰ Fortunate Eagle also recounted the hyperlocalized social transformations taking place on the island itself during the occupation, with a group of children subverting the game of “Cowboys and Indians” to be “Federal Agents and Indians” played amongst the occupied cell block lawns (120).

²¹ Of the media coverage that emerged, György Tóth has argued that it was sympathetic toward AIM, in that Means cast as descendant of Massasoit in photographic compositions, and through headlines such as “Russell Means Raises a Fist for Indian Power at Plymouth” and “While the Nation Feasted [...] Indians Bury ‘That Rock’ at Plymouth” appearing in the *New York Times*. See György Tóth “Performing ‘the Spirit of ’76’: U.S. Historical Memory and Counter-Commemorations for American Indian Sovereignty,” in Amanda Gilroy and Marietta Messmer, (eds.) *America: Justice, Conflict, War*. (Heidelberg, Germany: Winter University Press, 2016), 138-140.

²² The nickname of Alcatraz Island is “The Rock.”

²³ This was a fake blood substance, rather than the more destructive use of paint. It is possible that had Means used paint, he would have been charged with vandalism, whereas the fake blood was more temporary and therefore a protected form of free speech.

²⁴ The long-standing opposition to Columbus Day in the United States remains a focal point of protest. For an analysis on the microhistorical conflict between memory and counter-memory

within patriotic and nationalist narratives surrounding Denver's Columbus Day events, see Sam Hitchmough's "'It's Not Your Country Any More': Contested National Narratives and the Columbus Day Parade Protests in Denver." *European Journal of American Culture*, Volume 32 Issue 3. (September 2013), 263-283.

²⁵ Means had also used bodily fluids as a form of protest, such as in 1970 when he stood atop Mount Rushmore and urinated on the carving of George Washington's head. See Russell Means and Marvin J. Wolf, *Where White Men Fear to Tread* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), 170.

²⁶ I have previously researched the preserved desecration of massacre site plaques in California. See Jeremiah Garsha, "'Reclamation Road': A Microhistory of Massacre Memory in Clear Lake, California," in *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal*. Volume 9: Issue 2, 69.

²⁷ The Hobart office of the Tasmanian Aboriginal Centre holds a file on Risdon Cove. Within are newspaper clippings relating to the protests at the Bowen monument as well as surveys and collected letters from the Palawa community. During my fieldwork in August 2013, I was given special permission by TAC to consult these records. I am grateful to the TAC and the Palawa community in Hobart for allowing me access to these responses and for their permission to quote from these files for my research.

²⁸ Indeed, when I personally met with TAC officials in Hobart on August 11-12, 2013, they repeatedly stressed that one of the main reclamation projects at Risdon Cove would center on creating an education center for the teaching of Palawa kani.

²⁹ As of the time of this publication, recognition and an official apology from the German government have yet to materialize.

³⁰ The Tasmanian example created a space for this, as the red paint was applied to a cloth wrapping the monument, and thus had not criminally "vandalized" the monument. Similar to this is the "UnThanksgiving Day" ceremonies at Alcatraz, now organized in cooperation with National Parks agents.

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Indigenous Activism, Community Sustainability, and the Constraints of CANZUS Settler Nationhood

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Settler nationhood, by necessity, positions Indigenous Peoples as oppositional—to both settlement and nationhood. Historically, this opposition was viewed, from the settler perspective of process, as something to be overcome, either through eradication or assimilation. Contemporarily, settlerism is often framed as the process having been completed, under which the eradication and erasure of Indigenous Peoples is a foregone, or assumed, conclusion. Indigenous sovereignties and communities are deemed obsolete, or temporary nuisance situations that will ultimately disappear through assimilation. This is true even in those settler states that declare allegiance to nation-to-nation relationships with the Indigenous Peoples within their borders. This essay explores ongoing and contemporary methods of Indigenous opposition to settler nationhood and the settler-colonial processes of upholding that nationhood. Through activism and community sustainability, Indigenous Peoples successfully, albeit painfully and often with great sacrifice, constrain the process of absolute settlement in the four CANZUS nations—Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States—that initially rejected the United Nations’ Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). Despite historic and continuing expressions of colonial violence from these states, each has since partially accepted UNDRIP as an “aspirational document,” although they maintain that the document is irreconcilable with settler-national legal systems (Canada, *Statement of Support*).

What is often ignored, or unknown, about the United Nations’ statement is that it was itself the result of processes of particular strands of Indigenous resistance to settler-nationhood that began in the 1970s. In the decades preceding and including the 1960s, Indigenous Rights groups most commonly sought restitution to land within the boundaries of the settler-nation states that surrounded them and formal recognition of their cultural, political, and territorial sovereignty, fighting domestic assimilationist policies designed to absorb them completely into the dominant settler cultures. There were exceptions to the trajectory, however. In 1927, Deskaheh brought Haudenosaunee issues before the League of Nations and formally requested membership status for the Iroquois Confederacy. His actions also inspired the US/Canada

border-crossing protests led by Tuscarora Chief Clinton Rickard, which resulted in the United States formally agreeing to abide by Article 3 of the 1794 Jay Treaty, which recognized Indigenous rights to freedom of travel and trade across the imposed boundary. In the 1950s, the National Congress of American Indians sought collaborations of collective Indigenous self-determination with Central American Indigenous communities and used international diplomatic rhetoric in their campaigns against US assimilation policies. It was in the 1970s, however, that these groups and others influenced by them, began reaching out in earnest across settler international boundaries, seeking collaboration among global Indigenous communities, and asserting their rights before the United Nations Human Rights Councils.

In 1974, the newly formed International Indian Treaty Council (IITC) issued a Declaration of Continuing Independence at a gathering of 97 Indigenous Nations at Standing Rock, North Dakota. The IITC included amongst its members several veterans of the violent state siege a year earlier at Wounded Knee on the nearby Pine Ridge reservation. Immediately after issuing the Declaration, the IITC opened an office directly opposite the United Nations Headquarters in New York City. Three years later, the group received consultative status from the UN as a Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) (International Indian Treaty Council). During this three-year period, the National Indian Brotherhood of Canada (NIB) was awarded consultative status in 1975, before the UN conferred the slightly less authoritative observer status to the World Council of Indigenous Peoples (WCIP). At this moment in time, both the NIB and the WCIP were under the leadership of George Manuel (Lightfoot 7).

The December 2007 UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples was the result of 40 years' worth of campaigning and consultation with these and many other Indigenous Rights Organizations. This is a movement that Sheryl Lightfoot (Lake Superior Band of Ojibwe) categorizes as a “subtle revolution” within global Indigenous politics (Lightfoot 12).¹ The process was long, often fraught with delays, and progressed in small, incremental steps. In 1982, a Working Group on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples was established, finally producing a draft for “internal consideration” a full decade later in 1993. The next step was the allocation of 1995-2004 as the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People, before UNDRIP was finally constituted in December 2007. The final vote among UN members was 143 nations in favor, 11 abstentions, and the 4 refusals (Engle 143).

The UN was not the sole avenue for the assertion of international Indigenous rights

during this time period, however. In “International Human Rights and Indigenous Peoples: The Move Toward the Multicultural State,” S. James Anaya (Apache and Purépecha) discussed the need for Indigenous Peoples to continue to live within settler states with their cultures intact, including “rights to land and natural resources, [which] are embodied in Indigenous customary law and institutions that regulate Indigenous societies” (Anaya 15). Anaya showcased the ways that, prior to the UN Declaration, the Organization of American States in 1988 and the International Labor Organization Convention 169 (ILO 169) in 1989 proposed and ratified guidelines by which these rights should be embedded into settler and international law. Within these frameworks, he argued, the participation and consultation mandated by ILO 169 and the later (then draft) UNDRIP placed “a burden on a government to justify, in terms consistent with the full range of applicable norms concerning Indigenous Peoples, any decision that is contrary to the expressed preferences of the affected Indigenous group” (Anaya 56). This burden, while supportive of Indigenous refusals to accept settlerism as absolute, is antithetical to settler refusals to acknowledge the full sovereignty of Indigenous Peoples within their constructed borders. This is the conflict at the heart of each of the four case studies that follow.²

Each of the four refusing settler states argued that UNDRIP threatened their national sovereignties, even though UNDRIP ultimately protects these sovereignties by formally recognizing their status as the dominant societies and nation-states within which concessions should be made internally to domestic Indigenous communities. It is a binary, oppositional relationship that is the dominant narrative of Indigenous Affairs within the settler nations, a narrative which frames the simple fact of Indigenous existence as resistance, or as Audra Simpson (Kahnawake) describes it in *Mohawk Interruptus*, as politics of refusal—refusal to be dominated, defined, assimilated, or eradicated (Simpson 11). For Simpson, the politics of refusal reject the politics of recognition, in which the settler states determine the extent and effectiveness of formal recognition of Indigenous Peoples. Instead, refusal requires the acknowledgement and upholding of Indigenous sovereignties on their terms.

The settler nations in question are unwilling to admit that their assertions of national sovereignty are the very constructs that continue to attempt to dominate, define, assimilate, and eradicate Indigenous sovereignties. They prefer, instead, to argue that these impulses of erasure are historical artefacts, and that they now practice nation-to-nation relationships of equality with Indigenous communities. Leanne Betasamosake Simpson (Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg) counters

this in *As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom Through Radical Resistance* and argues that “colonialism as a structure is not changing. It is shifting to further consolidate its power, to neutralize our resistance, to ultimately fuel extractivism” (Simpson L. 46). According to Sheryl Lightfoot, this process of shifting often takes the form of “over-compliance,” wherein a state will “go beyond its legal or normative commitments, [but] it still falls short of Indigenous demands and the expectations of the broader Indigenous rights consensus” (Lightfoot 123). It is within this framework of shifting, over-compliant expressions of settler-colonialism—such as the CANZUS states practise—that the politics of refusal, as defined by Audra Simpson, is essential. It is a refusal to accept the assertion of absolute settlement and the contingent eradication of Indigenous Peoples, politically, legally, and culturally, that this assertion entails within the settler-national borders.

Oppositional Indigenous resistance, or refusal, is thus often confusing to the settler communities simply because they see nationhood as complete, due to their mythic narratives of settlement and the rejection of their own self-styled subjugated status as colonial subjects of the British Empire: in Canada, with confederation in 1867, national citizenship in 1947, and then the Constitution Act of 1982; in Australia through independence in 1901 and the Australia Acts of 1986; in New Zealand, with the 1947 Constitutional Amendment and the 1987 Constitution Act; and in the US, with revolution in 1776. The completion of nationhood was often sealed with the rejection of colonial oversight in these settler narratives, except for the United States, where it occurred with the official closure of the frontier in 1890, a year that also arbitrarily marked the euphemistically argued “end of the Indian wars.” As stated earlier, this is also a key indicator of settler nationhood—the removal of the Indigenous obstacle. Each of these processes of statehood, or nationhood, were positioned as assertions of independent sovereignty, either from direct British rule or, in later years, freedom from the softer administrative strictures of Crown veto over national laws. The obvious exception is the United States, which chose the violent rupture of revolution to assert domestic national sovereignty.

This settler confusion is often compounded by an equal lack of understanding of settler-colonialism from within. This confusion, or colonial unknowing, is deeply embedded within the Anglosphere. Having furnished the mythology of their origins as having been the innocent victims of, and ultimately successfully resistant to, colonial oversight themselves, these settler nations are loath to admit to their own colonial processes. They cannot, or will not, see that

rather than continue to maintain the separate legal and diplomatic relationships with distinct Indigenous Peoples, they internalized the colonial process and used it to administer and control Indigenous people as a homogenized domestic minority population. Or, that the very processes of their settlement were not innocent, but explicitly aimed at the eradication of the incumbent occupiers of the land they coveted. This is despite these same mythologies framing those Indigenous Peoples in historical opposition to western settlement and nationhood, and legal precedents in each settler nation directly connecting their legal relationships with Indigenous Peoples to their prior colonial-settler status.³

In the US, Chief Justice John Marshall's argument of inherited rights of discovery in the Supreme Court decision that rendered Indigenous communities as "domestic dependent nations" still stands (*Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*). In 2013, Walter Echo Hawk (Pawnee) argued that it is this "legacy of conquest" that makes UNDRIP a necessity as an attempt to "repair the persistent denial of Indigenous rights by entrenched forces implanted by the legacy of colonialism" (Echo Hawk 2013, 100).⁴ In Canada, the Royal Proclamation of 1763 is the template for all federal relationships with Indigenous nations. In Australia, the English concept of *Terra Nullius* still defines the state relationship with Indigenous Peoples, while in New Zealand, all roads lead back to the Treaty of Waitangi and the alleged willing cession of sovereignty to the Crown.

At each point of the settler processes of nationhood, Indigenous Peoples have become more explicitly "othered," often equally romanticized, infantilized, demonized, and homogenized, in the minds of the settler communities at large. Most of these processes have shifted, or at least attempted to shift, all blame for social injustice in Indigenous communities to their own doors, rather than accept responsibility for creating systems that facilitated these injustices. As such, resistance is never seen as a form of community sustainability, but as an affront to progress, and is often met with excessively violent state suppression. Meanwhile, cultural motifs, such as the Plains warrior in the US and even Indigenous nations' names, have been appropriated and co-opted as settler "honoring"—through military terminology, a trope that is brilliant dissected by Winona LaDuke in *The Militarization of Indian Country*, sports mascots, and commercial brand names—in a manner which ultimately results in further social, economic, and cultural eradication of Indigenous Peoples and exacerbates systemic exclusion from the dominant settler society.

At the same time, settlers often attempt to deny, redefine, or even claim, Indigeneity to sate their own needs for authentic heritage and belonging in a yearning for validation of identity as something other than settler. This issue can be seen in depressingly repetitive controversies across the CANZUS states. In 2017, the Canadian Governor General described the Indigenous population as immigrants, while there was a deliberately placed “Appropriation Prize” in the May edition of *Write Magazine*, and Indigenous rejections of bestselling-author Joseph Boyden’s ever-morphing claims to Indigeneity were vehemently attacked within settler society. In the United States, such false claims as Boyden’s are propagated by Ward Churchill, Andrea Smith, Susan Taffe Reid, and Rachel Dolezal, who, in addition to her faked African American identity, claimed she was raised Blackfoot in a tipi and was a skilled bow hunter by the age of two (Last Real Indians). Each one of these is a person who inhabited a position of responsibility and trust towards Indigenous or other people of color. In Australia, Indigenous leaders have called for DNA testing as one route to weed out fake claims of Indigeneity, although this itself is a route fraught with complicated issues of asserting DNA over culture as the precursor for identity acceptance. In Aotearoa/New Zealand, Ani Mikaere’s 2004 essay, “Are We All New Zealanders Now? A Māori Response to the Pākehā Quest for Indigeneity,” addresses issues of Pākehā claims to Indigeneity and discusses the extent that settler processes would need to be unraveled for these claims to be taken seriously.⁵

In her essay, Mikaere argues that for the Pākehā, or settlers, to even begin to claim Indigeneity and truly reconcile themselves to the Māori, then Māori social justice must prevail across all of Aotearoa. Rather than expect Māori to reconcile past differences under Pākehā (or New Zealand) law, the Pākehā must submit to the tangata whenua, or Māori law and knowledge, as the law of the land. Here, the politics of Māori sustainability is very clearly wrapped up in the dismantling of the settler state or, at the very least, a refusal to allow settler determination “to forget or disguise the past beyond recognition” (Mikaerea 8).

Mikaerea’s essay could speak to Indigenous Peoples and settler relationships across the world, especially reflecting the same settler practices and Indigenous concerns and resonating deeply with many of the themes and issues within many other Indigenous intellectual frameworks across Anglo-settler nations. As with New Zealand’s reconciliation process with the Indigenous Peoples of Aotearoa, we can also see trauma in the settler-colonial relationship with Indigenous Peoples in the other CANZUS states: in Canada, as discussed by Glen Coulthard in

Red Skins, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition; in Australia, as discussed by Elizabeth Povinelli in *The Cunning of Recognition: Indigenous Alterities and the Making of Australian Multiculturalism*; and in the United States/Canada “borderlands” in Audra Simpson’s *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States*.⁶

A question then, is how, within this framework of misconception and opposition, can we see Indigenous community sustainability and activism as constraining absolute settlement and nationhood in these states, as Simpson so eloquently argues in *Mohawk Interruptus*? If we begin in Canada, with recent issues and events at Muskrat Falls, which is just one flashpoint out of many, one can argue that the simple fact of forcing the government to engage and interact with Indigenous objections is an admission that the project of settler nationhood, so dependent upon Indigenous erasure, is thereby incomplete. Muskrat Falls is in a region that is home to Inuit and Innu communities whose water and homes are under threat from a hydroelectric dam in the Mista-Shipu, or the Lower Churchill River. In a somewhat tragic irony, the dam in the Mista-Shipu—which threatens to unleash methylmercury levels into Lake Melville, a local source for food for many Inuit people, at 200% of Health Canada safety levels—was part of the New Dawn Agreement meant to accommodate Innu land claims that arose out of the creation of an earlier hydroelectric dam in the Upper Churchill in the early 1970s (Office of Public Engagement). While the New Dawn Agreement was made after consultation with Innu communities (and not all were in favor of the project), Inuit communities pointed to the lack of prior informed consent on their behalf, as mandated by Article 32.2 of UNDRIP, before the project began. Here, we see the unfortunate imbalance of settler-Indigenous relations, as the accommodation of one group leads to the dispossession of another. Thus, the cycle of settlerism that was used to divide and remove Indigenous presences from favored land in the 18th and 19th centuries is being repeated in the 21st to continue advancing the economic and commercial wealth of the settler state. Undercutting this revisited removal is the settler-state refusal to acknowledge or acquiesce to equal Indigenous sovereignty and self-determination. But, we are also seeing, in this process of forced accommodation of Indigenous resistance, a recognition that Indigenous presences were not entirely successfully removed, and they therefore continue to hinder the completion of the process of absolute settlement.

The dam project is under construction by Nalcor, a Crown corporation of the Newfoundland and Labrador government, partially funded by deferral loans, and is being

championed as a renewable energy project to provide electricity and to transition away from oil and gas dependence. According to local Inuit leaders and other opponents, however, there is a serious danger of communities being flooded, that most of the energy will be exported out of the region, and that the dam will seriously damage Inuit and Innu health, cultures, and basic human rights in the process (Mortillaro). Each of these outcomes is in direct violation of UNDRIP, especially in regard to Article 1, which states that “Indigenous Peoples have the right to the full enjoyment, as a collective or as individuals, of all human rights and fundamental freedoms” (UNDRIP Article 1), as well as Article 2, under which states are directed to provide mechanisms for the “prevention of...any action which has the aim or effect of dispossessing them of their lands, territories, or resources” (UNDRIP Article 2 (c)).

Protests by Indigenous residents and non-Indigenous allies included the Make Muskrat Right Campaign and the Labrador Land Protectors, both of whom sought to shut the project down in order to protect and preserve community sustainability in the region. In October 2016, there was a two-week hunger strike, started by local Inuk artist Billy Gauthier and later joined by Delilah Saunders and Jerry Kohlmeister, until the provincial government agreed to Indigenous communities reviewing the environmental impact reports. The hunger strikes, which can be read as literal and symbolic representations of the effects that the dam will have on local Indigenous communities, raised awareness beyond the local level, as news outlets across Canada gradually began to take notice of the environmental and logistical repercussions of completing the project. While the hunger strike ended, the protests did not, with blockades and encampments attempting to stop the project being completed. In May 2017, 50 residents of the Mud Lake village in Labrador were evacuated after flooding put their community underwater. This flooding reignited fears about a section of the dam called the North Spur, which residents argue will buckle and cause an even greater flood in the near future, especially after a landslide in the same region occurred in February 2018 (“Power to Mud Lake Cut Off”; “Landslide at North Spur”).

The most prominent lawsuit of the protest, that of Inuk grandmother Beatrice Hunter, resulted in her being sent to a male-only prison, due to lack of space in the local female prison, simply because she refused to stay away from the land. After multiple protests by supporters and allies, and a ten-day internment, the Newfoundland and Labrador Supreme Court amended her injunction to recognize Hunter’s right to be on the land as long as she did not blockade anybody else from entering the site. The federal and provincial governments were determined to continue

with the project, despite these objections. By spring 2019, the project was almost 90% complete. It was, however, behind schedule and over cost. An ongoing provincial inquiry into the rising costs, freedom from oversight, and associated risks of the Muskrat Falls Project lists the Innu Nation, the Nunatsiavut government, the Nunatukavut Community Council, and the Labrador Land Protectors as parties with “Limited Standing” in the inquiry. The results of the investigation are expected at the end of 2019 (“Muskrat Falls Inquiry Website”).

This inquiry, partially launched due to the rising costs caused by Indigenous objections, shows that the prior, informed consent from Indigenous communities, as demanded by UNDRIP, is not so much an aspiration as a moral and economic necessity for settler states and corporate entities. Ethically practiced prior, informed consent creates a space for dialogue to occur and grievances to be aired before unilateral action creates more grievances that elicit protest and obstruction. The enforcement of settler laws to protect corporate projects, in defiance of Indigenous sovereignties and disruptive to Indigenous communities, creates financial burdens upon the state and heightens the rift of distrust and refusal within Indigenous communities, the cost of which is more than merely financial. The Newfoundland and Labrador Supreme Court’s acquiescence to Hunter’s right to be on the land, while it does not repair the damage done by her incarceration, is an implicit admission that the territorial rights of Indigenous Peoples to exist as distinct cultural communities are still a viable weapon in the fight against settler intrusion and absolute settlement. It also exposes a fundamental flaw in settler-nation charges of trespass against Indigenous Peoples within their own territories. At the same time, however, the constraints placed upon Hunter by the Supreme Court exemplify settler-nation refusal to acknowledge inherent Indigenous sovereignty to the land.

Settler intrusion manifests itself in several ways here. Besides the actual creation of the dam and the ecological and economic impact it will have upon Indigenous communities, a CBC news story from 1 February 2018 exposed the presence of Canadian military support for police officers involved in shutting down the protests camps the previous year. According to the report, documents from the \$10million operation, titled “Project Beltway,” showed that “the Canadian Armed Forces provided lodging and food at 5 Wing Goose Bay but stopped well short of giving operational support” (Roberts). Perhaps mindful of the still-reverberating repercussions of military force used at Kanesatake in 1990, Rear Admiral John Newton sent a letter on March 31st, 2017 to Newfoundland and Labrador Justice and Public Safety Minister Andrew Parsons

stating that the lack of operational support “includes any manner of forcible control of the civilian population by CAF personnel, use of CAF facilities or equipment to detain any individual placed under arrest, and providing transportation to and from operational policing activities” (Roberts). While surreptitious in nature, the shelter and housing signify the tacit support and approval of federal agencies and the armed forces towards the measures taken by the RCMP in Labrador to shut down the protests. It highlights the extent to which the Canadian settler state will pursue the interests of contemporary neo-liberal capitalist ventures at the expense of Indigenous communities, despite promises to negotiate and inform. It is also a clear violation of Article 30 of UNDRIP which states that “military activities shall not take place in the lands or territories of Indigenous Peoples, unless justified by a relevant public interest or otherwise freely agreed with or requested by the Indigenous Peoples concerned” (UNDRIP Article 30.1). While the phrasing of “relevant public interest” and “military activity” are open to semantic interpretation by the settler state, this issue has clearly not yet been settled because of the perceived necessity to hold the aforementioned public inquiry. The fight, though, does not end for the Indigenous communities of the region, who are proving to provincial and federal settler governments that engagement and acknowledgement of Indigenous Peoples and concerns is not a one-sided, top-down conversation and cannot be controlled or dismissed by either overt or covert actions from the settler state (Roberts). The politics of Indigenous refusal are ensuring that community sustainability in the region will continue beyond the dam’s completion.

In Australia, the effects and repercussions of Indigenous politics of refusal are also slowly dawning on state and federal governments. As with Indigenous Peoples in the other CANZUS states, Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders represent a fraction of the national population, registering 2.8% in the 2016 census, and are viewed as a political afterthought while being over-represented in national poverty, health, and incarceration statistics (Australia, “2016 Census”). In recent years, however, Indigenous protests against Australia Day celebrations have led to serious conversations within the dominant society over possibly changing the date or cancelling the holiday altogether. Currently though, this idea has been dismissed by prominent government members, such as then-deputy Prime Minister Barnaby Joyce who, in January 2017, described Indigenous protesters of Australia Day as “just miserable. I wish they’d crawl under a rock and hide for a little bit” (Kelly).

In a direct rejection of Australia’s celebration of settlement, a celebration that dates back

at least to 1818 when Governor Lachlan Macquarie marked Sydney's thirty-year colonial anniversary with a 30-gun salute and which was formally introduced as a holiday in 1940, Indigenous Peoples have long labelled the anniversary Invasion Day. The label is a clear indication of the infringement of Indigenous sovereignty that settlement represents. This expression of regular formal protest began in Sydney in 1938 when "over 100 Aborigines gathered at the Australia Hall for an Aborigines Conference to mark the 'Day of Mourning and Protest'" (Darian-Smith). Rather than a national celebration of the "first fleet" bringing its cargo of criminals, the day was marked as a testament to the subjugation and genocide of the Indigenous nations of the island. As John Maynard noted in *Fight for Liberty and Freedom: The Origins of Australian Aboriginal Activism*, this protest—led by William Cooper, Bill Ferguson, Pearl Gibbs, and Jack Patten—"was the only option by which they could ensure the survival of Aboriginal Peoples and histories, all of which were under attack from government assimilation policies" (Maynard 4).⁷ In contemporary times, the Aboriginal Flag—in which the red represents the earth, the black represents the Indigenous Peoples, and the yellow represents the sun—flies in protests across the country ("The Australian Aboriginal Flag"). This flag was itself borne of an earlier, but related, Indigenous protest movement. Created by Harold Thomas in 1971 and adopted as a national Aboriginal and Torres Islander symbol of protest, the flag was adopted as a symbol of Indigenous unity after being flown at the 1972 Tent Embassy encampment outside Australia's parliament building.

The Aboriginal Tent Embassy was created outside Parliament House in Canberra by Michael Anderson, Billie Craigie, Bert Williams, and Tony Coorey. Staged as a protest against then-Prime Minister William McMahon's stated commitment to assimilation of the Indigenous Peoples within the nation, and subsequent rejection of Aboriginal land claims, the Tent Embassy sprang from civil rights action that began with activists such as Gary Foley in Sydney's Redfern District. Originally a makeshift structure consisting of a tent canvas and a beach umbrella, the embassy was formally and permanently established in 1992 as part of the continued/ing struggle for Indigenous rights and sovereignty (Foley, Schaap, and Howell 34). The politics of Indigenous refusal were articulated through the insistence that formal recognition of land rights and self-determination was needed, rather than accepting the continued assault of assimilation. Claiming the land opposite the seat of Parliament was never meant to just be a symbolic moment but was intended as a catalyst for change.

Here, Indigenous voices were expected to have long fallen silent through the assimilation policies so entrenched in Australian political and social structures. Both the celebration of settler nationhood through a national holiday as well as the perpetuation of settler-nationhood by refusing to sign treaties with the original occupants of the land are being disputed by those Indigenous voices. The Australia Day action is reflected in similar protests and conversations over the Treaty of Waitangi Day in New Zealand. Protests against settler-nation “birthdays” also have a long history in Canada, where Canada 150 saw a large tepee erected opposite the House of Commons, among other protests; and in the US, where Indigenous activists take over Plymouth Rock every Fourth of July.

What may seem like a minor dispute over a federal holiday is directly tied to continued expressions of state violence and cultural suppression in everyday federal policies designed to eradicate Indigenous communities. Such policies include poor health and education funding, entrenched institutional racism, and the deliberate closure of communities through policies of managed decline in order to force removal from land sitting on top of huge oil and gas reserves.⁸ As with Muskrat Falls, the policies of managed decline are a clear violation of Article 2(b) in UNDRIP which urges settler states to protect Indigenous Peoples from any acts which have “the aim of effect of dispossessing them of their lands” (UNDRIP Article 2(b)). The settler-colonial government has been forced to react to and acknowledge, at least rhetorically, Indigenous politics of refusal. Now, the Australian government is considering whether, or how, to revise or rethink its celebration of settler-nationhood. That this is happening in Australia, the only one of the four CANZUS states not to recognize formal treaty relationships with the land’s original occupants, makes it all the more remarkable.

Australia’s non-treaty status is now under consideration for change. In a country that was formed on the basis of *Terra Nullius* as an immediately “settled colony,” with a de facto rule of administrative flexibility regarding Indigenous Peoples, the subject of treaties is receiving serious consideration. The national and state governments have offered for several years to create constitutional amendments whereby Aborigines will receive Constitutional Recognition. Elders and leaders across the country have rejected these offers in the push for formal treaty processes to be entered into instead. At the beginning of 2018, several states were in serious negotiations to sign treaties with Indigenous collective groups inside their borders, rather than with individual nations, and by mid-June, the first treaty legislation was passed into law. On June 21st, 2018, the

Victorian Upper House passed the *Advancing the Treaty Process with Aboriginal Victorians Bill 2018* (hereafter the ATPVA Act 2018) (Australia, ATPAV Act 2018).

Here too, though, it can be argued that the state government is shifting settler-colonial dominance rather than fully reconciling the settler-Indigenous relationship. While the bill includes a state acknowledgement of “Victorian traditional owners as the first peoples” and claims that “Aboriginal Victorians are an intrinsic and valued part of Victoria’s past, present, and future,” there is language coded within the bill that ensures that the state remains the dominant partner in any treaty negotiation. Rather than treaties being signed with each individual nation within the boundaries of Victoria, the proposal is to negotiate with “a future Aboriginal Representative Body, as the voice chosen by Aboriginal Victorians” (ATPAV Act 2018). First though, this body must be declared valid by the Minister negotiating on behalf of the state, while the act contains warnings of repercussions of any misconduct within treaty negotiations. The misconduct language is aimed exclusively at the “conduct at a systemic level that brings the Aboriginal Representative Body into disrepute” and contains no such warning for any similar misconduct on behalf of the state (ATPAV Act 2018). Any “concessions” that can be seen in the desire to make a treaty must be viewed within the context of understanding that the treaty is a continuation of Indigenous homogenization from the settler state and will be conducted within parameters set and defined by the settler-state government. Even with those caveats, though, the hope is that the Indigenous individuals of Victoria will gain legally enshrined rights, even if their nations do not.

The national government, meanwhile, is mulling over the idea of taking the decision on treaty-making to the public, much as it did in 1967 when it pushed the decision to recognize the Indigenous communities as people, rather than flora and fauna, to a national referendum. Given that Australia is the perfect case study for settler-colonial completion, having never formally acknowledged the existence or rights of the Indigenous Peoples until the 1967 referendum, this is an unprecedented move. In the near future, Aboriginal sovereignty and self-determination could be free, at least partially, from colonial oversight for the first time since the arrival of the “first fleet,” although there is still a long journey ahead to ensure that negotiations are entered into fairly and with Indigenous territorial sovereignty being recognized as a legal right (Wahlquist). If the model is to sign treaties with Indigenous populations, rather than Peoples, however, the process will fall well short of UNDRIP’s recommendations, not least that “Indigenous Peoples,

in exercising their right to self-determination, have the right to autonomy or self-government in matters relating to their international and local affairs” (UNDRIP Article 4).

In Aotearoa, while many of the same tensions exist between the Māori and the settler government, there are also signs of Indigenous land relationships receiving some of the respect they are long overdue. After intense pressure on the federal government from Māori communities, and the Tūhoe in particular, in 2014, in a gesture of reconciliation to the iwi, the Aotearoa/New Zealand government partially submitted to Māori law. The Aotearoa/New Zealand government passed the Te Urewera Act granting personhood to the national park of the same name, in recognition of the relationship that the Māori have with water: “Ko au te awa, ko te awa ko au,” or “I am the river and the river is me” (Kennedy). This process of personhood required the government to formally relinquish assumed/asserted ownership of the land and water and, instead, to formally and legally recognize shared stewardship with the Māori. Ultimately though, this also raises questions of over-compliance of UNDRIP as shared stewardship still enables New Zealand to retain an interest and power dynamic in the relationship.

These actions show that success for Indigenous community sustainability and activism is often the result of a long, slow process. Just as the treaty conversations in Australia can be traced back to the Australian Aboriginal Progressive Association of the 1920s and the beginning of the Invasion Day protests, so too can the Aotearoa/New Zealand stewardship issue be traced back several decades. Arguably, these issues can be tracked back even further, to the original draft of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. The Māori land marches and protests of the 1960s and ‘70s resulted in the Treaty of Waitangi Act of 1975, creating the Waitangi Tribunal. The tribunal is a permanent commission that investigates Māori claims against Crown actions that betray the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. The treaty issue here is uniquely different than those in the US and Canada, in that it is the single binding treaty between the settler nation-state and the collected Indigenous communities rather than one of a collection of similar agreements (“The Treaty in Practice: Obtaining Land”).

The Treaty of Waitangi is New Zealand’s founding document, originally written in English and Māori. In the Māori version, Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the Crown recognized the rights of the chiefs to rangatiratanga—full control of their lands and waters for as long as they “wished to retain it”—while the Māori gave the Crown the right of governance to assure the continuation

of rangatiratanga. In the English language version of the treaty, this agreement to settler governance was translated as ceding “all the rights and powers of sovereignty” to the Crown (“Read the Treaty”). While the Māori version reflects the ideals set by UNDRIP almost two hundred years later, we can see in the English version the duplicity of settler-colonial treaty-making that has been a hallmark of negotiations and agreements since the first settlers arrived. The Māori agreement and expectation of shared governance through partnership, rather than subjugation, is embedded in their understanding of the intent of the Treaty of Waitangi. This is especially clear when one considers that, even in the English version of the treaty, the Māori were guaranteed “exclusive and undisturbed possession of their lands and estates, forests, fisheries and other properties” (“Read the Treaty”). History has long borne witness to the abrogation of this promise, as by 1865, on the South Island alone, Māori land holding had been reduced to 1% (“Māori Land Loss, 1860-2000”).

The recent agreements represent a settler nation being held to account for the promises it made at the very moment of foundation and acquiescing, at least in some small part, to Indigenous social justice. Land is no longer a resource to be owned, acquired, or bartered, or perhaps most pertinently, *no longer to be settled*, but is recognized as a living, breathing entity with the legal right to exist, persist, and regenerate, even if the settler state insists on retaining an interest. And yet, Section 64(1) of the act clearly asserts that the Crown retains ultimate control over the land, stating that “Despite anything in this Act, Te Urewera land is to be treated as if it were Crown land described in Schedule 4 of the Crown Minerals Act 1991” (see also s 56(b) where a mining activity authorised by the Crown Minerals Act “can be undertaken without authorization from the Board”) (Te Urewera Act). The Crown’s commitment to shared stewardship clearly has boundaries, which the Crown alone has authority to determine.

In other parts of the islands, water is being extracted in extraordinarily high volumes to feed the food conglomerates’ greed for profit at the same time as Aotearoa/New Zealand signed on to the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP). While most of Aotearoa’s water extraction has been drawn by Coca Cola from the Blue Spring in Putaruru, additional companies are now entering agreements as water supplies elsewhere become scarce from over-extraction or restricted through legislation. The purported acknowledgement of Indigenous relationality to water through recent legislations is clearly missing from the commercial resource extraction agreements with multi-national corporations. Displaying a clear disregard for the reciprocal relationships between

Māori, land, and water, Bruce Nesbit, managing director of Alpine Pure, argued in 2017 that concerns about removing water from the UNESCO World Heritage Sites of Lake Greaney and Lake Minim Mere were over-exaggerated, stating that “Pristine water has been falling on the Southern Alps for a million years, and it would usually be wasted by flowing directly out to sea. The amount we want to take is very small” (Roy).

Māori protests regarding the water extraction are supported by environmentalists and the Green Party, although their concerns are focused more closely on water degradation and the depletion of a finite resource. With the final decision-making power over the extraction agreement currently residing in local councils rather than the national government, the avowed determination to recognize Māori relationality to the water is not filtering down to local governments, although the federal government still bears ultimate responsibility for this, with a spokesman for the Ministry of the Environment admitting that, as of May 2016, “71 consents have been granted in New Zealand for ‘the taking of water for bottling’” (Roy). Consistency in affirming Indigenous territorial and environmental sovereignty is something yet to be achieved, despite the progress made in the Te Urewera Act. The fight over water is one that Indigenous communities face across the globe, with settler states accepting extremely low leasing fees from conglomerates without consideration of the harm it causes the affected communities.

Created in 2016, the TPP is now an eleven-nation, free-trade partnership. It originally included all four of the CANZUS settler-nation states, until President Trump withdrew the US from the process in 2018. The agreement is seen as a further threat to Māori rights as recognized and protected under the Treaty of Waitangi. Māori Party leaders argue that the TPP has created a system of administrative flexibility that will allow whichever New Zealand government is in power to interpret Māori treaty rights any way they see fit. Ironically, this is a legal framework that Australia is slowly moving away from in its domestic relationship with Aboriginal communities, although the same Indigenous concerns apply there as in the other signatory settler nation-states. Amid calls for a national Māori government to take the country back, the settler-national government negotiated clause 29.6 in the TPP that allows it to adopt measures giving “more favorable treatment to Māori” (Patterson).

The process, however, of inserting the clause to “placate” the Māori still does not adhere to the Treaty of Waitangi itself, or the UN’s stipulation for prior, informed consent. Māori Party co-leader Te Ururoa Flavell argued in a Māori Party media release that “It is for Māori to define

their interests and tell the Crown how they might be best protected. Māori are not just another interest group” (Māori Party). While the objections range from the prospect of greater social and economic inequality among Māori and Pākehā, two main points of contention stand out. The first is the lack of Māori consultation or representation in the domestic or international stages of TPP negotiations. A media release from January 7th, 2016 argued that “This complete lack of consultation also contravenes the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and this government has no right to sign this trade deal without our free, prior and informed consent.” (Te Wharepora Hou). The second is that the TPP contains a provision for investor-state dispute resolution which has the potential to over-ride Māori sovereignty and hand power over resource management to corporations rather than affected Indigenous communities. Given that Te Urewera is also still open to mining if the Crown so decides, this resolution clause has clear implications for the future safety of Tūhoe shared governance being honored. In this case, rather than submitting to tangata whenua, the New Zealand government is being rather disingenuous by paying lip service to the spirit and principles of the Treaty of Waitangi in order to create more wealth for the settler nation without redressing the imbalance that sees Māori “extensively over-represented in all negative indices” of economic and social measurement with Aotearoa/New Zealand (Te Wharepora Hou).

Ironically, while refusing to engage publicly with opponents of TPP, then-Prime Minister John Key argued that it was opponents of the deal, and those who argued that it violates the Treaty of Waitangi, who were being disingenuous, claiming adequate consultation with the Māori during the negotiations process. Contradicting his version was a collective statement of several Māori nations and activist groups arguing that “The New Zealand government has bypassed Indigenous involvement at every level. This complete lack of consultation also contravenes UNDRIP and the government has no right to sign this trade deal without our free, prior and informed consent” (Patterson). State violence here is not explicitly physical but exercised unilaterally via transnational collaboration and settler globalization. As with the long fight which resulted in the Te Urewera victory, this in turn has facilitated trans-national Indigenous collaborative resistance, or a refusal to acquiesce to this attempted expansion of settler state nationhood via the lack of consultation or consent.

Settler-state claims of adequate consultation are also a common occurrence in the United States, usually used as deflections from clear evidence of treaty abrogation. The reaction of the

United States to Indigenous activism and community sustainability is also the most blatantly violent of those settler nation-states under discussion. Here, we also have the biggest paradox of the four settler nations. Since the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975, Indigenous nations have accepted a formal recognition of the nation-to-nation relationship with the United States, based upon the principle of Indigenous self-determination and national sovereignty. And yet, settler-state reactions to Indigenous resistance is more overtly violent than in any of the other nations, aside from the sporadic similarities of Canadian pushback in places such as Kanesatake in 1990 and Unist’ot’en in 2018/19.⁹ Looking to recent events at Standing Rock, where peaceful protests were met with domestic paramilitary force, legitimized state violence was deployed so extremely that it dramatically overshadowed commonplace, often normalized, state violence such as police harassment, judicial thirst for Indigenous prisoners, and the intellectual and cultural violence of everyday racist interactions that is commonplace in all four of these settler nation-states.

As with the previous instances discussed, there is a long history of settler-state violence in the United States that cannot be ignored if the conflict is placed in its proper historical context. The land through which the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL) now runs is Oceti Sakowin territory which was not ceded in either the 1851 or 1868 Treaties of Fort Laramie. Therefore, it still legally stands as unceded Indigenous territory, as argued by numerous Indigenous lawyers and activists, both before and after the pipeline was diverted from its original path north of Bismarck, North Dakota to just outside the Standing Rock reservation (Estes). In the 1940s, the Army Corps of Engineers unilaterally appropriated 700 miles of tribal lands and created a series of dams along the Missouri river. The Pick-Sloan dam project forcibly displaced 1,000 Sioux families and created Lake Oahe, the reservoir under which the pipeline now carries oil. Permission for the dam and the removal of the families was granted by the Army Corps of Engineers, in a clear over-reach of its legal authority. In the process of creating the reservoir in 1948, the dam “destroyed more Indian land than any other public works project in America” (Lawson 50).

The settler nation’s reaction to the peaceful protests were stunning, with the inaction of the Obama Administration’s “watching brief” a stark contrast to the paramilitary violence meted out by state law enforcement. While the president promised to closely monitor the unfolding events, he essentially saw out the last days of his administration as a silent witness to human

rights abuses carried out by state law enforcement, including “borrowed” personnel from other states. These abuses included water cannons being fired at water protectors in below-freezing temperatures, sound cannons used to cause internal damage to water protectors, strip searches, protectors being locked in animal cages, social media blackouts and signal outages, and, in scenes reminiscent of the Wounded Knee siege of 1973, armed agitators infiltrated the protestors as a ruse for the justification of violent suppression of the blockades. The tragic paradox of the “rule of law” mantra the state used to justify its actions is that treaties between Indigenous nations and the US are constitutionally enshrined as the “Supreme Law of the Land,” which is what should have been enforced by the police who took so much violent delight in suppressing the Standing Rock Sioux’s treaty rights (*U.S. Constitution*).

While Obama exercised his “watching brief,” the state of North Dakota, with the complicit support of the United States, systemically violated Articles 7, 11, 18, 26, 29, 32, and 37 of UNDRIP, which collectively proclaim Indigenous rights to protection from violence, protection of historical sites, participation in “decision-making in matters affecting their rights,” protection of lands and territories, conservation and protection of the environment, “free and informed consent, and the observance of treaty rights” (UNDRIP).

The campaign rhetoric of both mainstream political party candidates to succeed Obama as president amounted to the same thing: further erasure of Indigenous Peoples and partial lip service to recognition of Indigenous sovereignty or self-determination. Hillary Clinton’s claim that she would act in a way “that serves the broadest public interest” was framed by further language which made it clear that the public interest she was referring to was the settler-national community and corporate interests. She offered no concessions to the Indigenous residents of Standing Rock, who were simply fighting to protect their water supply and original territorial sovereignty (Nieves). Donald Trump was more blatant in his disdain for Indigenous sovereignty and expressed support for the oil company he owned stock in and simply promised to sign the pipeline into law. This was a promise he kept very quickly after entering office in January 2017, just days after 200,000 liters of oil spilled from a similar pipeline in Saskatchewan, Canada (Benwell). The cross-border pipelines are yet another focus of transnational Indigenous collaboration to sustain communities through politics of refusal, through collaborations such as the Treaty Alliance Against Tar Sands Expansion, launched on September 22nd, 2016 (“Treaty Alliance”).

As with the protests and blockades at Muskrat Falls, multiple criminal prosecutions of protesters followed and worked their way through the settler court system. Several jail sentences followed for some individual water protectors, such as Red Fawn Fallis, while others saw charges of trespass or inciting a riot dropped. It is also a great irony that it is in these “Courts of the Conqueror,” as Walter Echo Hawk labelled them, that the permissions granted to DAPL by the Trump Administration in 2017 have been declared illegal (Echo Hawk 2012). While this has not yet resulted in the pipeline being shut down, closure is a potential outcome if proper environmental analysis is not now carried out by the Army Corps of Engineers. The same courts also found that treaty rights had been violated. The ruling judge declared that “to remedy those violations, the Corps will have to reconsider those sections of its environmental analysis upon remand by the Court” (Volcovici). The ruling sits as an example of the actual rule of law being applied in a way that “law enforcement” agencies suppressing the blockades failed to enact during the conflicts they instigated. In November 2018, the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe and Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe launched a fresh challenge against the Army Corps of Engineers and DAPL in regard to the process by which the Army Corps issued construction permits to DAPL. This case was opened in response to the Army Corps’ lack of compliance with a December 4th, 2017 court decision in which the Corps and DAPL were ordered to work with the Standing Rock Sioux on several key pipeline safety measures. At the time of writing, no decision has yet been rendered regarding the November 2018 lawsuit (“Updates”)

In each of the CANZUS states, Indigenous community sustainability requires activism to stop the onslaught of settler-colonial nationhood. The settler-colonial fictive kinship connections between the pre-nascent nations bound to the British Empire has evolved and matured into settler-colonial national networks bound by cooperative protection, trade, and mutual neo-liberal interests. While each of the four settler nations share collective cultural and socio-legal roots with the British Isles and comparative histories of rejecting Crown control, they still maintain close contemporary cultural, military, and political agreements with the United Kingdom. This is despite eschewing Crown control over their settler nation-states. Partnerships such as the Five Eyes intelligence alliance, the Technical Cooperation Program, and the Air and Space Interoperability Council all began after World War Two and maintain that link between the UK and the CANZUS states.

Historically, the respective “domestic” national policies concerning Indigenous erasure

was either dictated by London or, as in the US, mirrored UK legal strictures. This was especially so in the 19th and 20th centuries, where federal policies regarding land settlement, legalized settler sovereignty, and forced removal, schooling, and abuse of children were almost identical across the four nation-states. In Australia, the Aborigines Protection Board, which forced Indigenous children into boarding schools and allowed whites to take children from Indigenous homes and adopt them without permission, ran from 1883-1969. This policy, which created the Stolen Generations, mirrored that in the US of federal boarding schools which, championed by Col. Richard Henry Pratt, ran from 1879 to 1969. His mantra, to “kill the Indian and save the man,” was copied in Canada, where residential schools modelled on US boarding schools ran from the early 1880s until 1996 (Adams 6). In Aotearoa/New Zealand, Native schools dedicated to assimilating Māori children ran from 1867 until 1968. In all but the United States, the policies were initiated with Crown approval from London. In each case, it was resistance by Indigenous Peoples themselves that forced the governments to shut the schools, rather than any moral shift from the settler states themselves.

In almost all instances of settler-nation development, Indigenous communities were initially deemed to be irrelevant and insignificant obstacles. From then until now, each action of settler aggression, whether corporate, economic, or cultural, has necessitated a reaction of resistance and refusal from Indigenous communities, including internationally insisting that the settler-nation states sign on to UNDRIP. For example, the United States was the last of the four to reverse its veto, with President Obama agreeing to the Declaration only after pressure from Indigenous leaders across the country (Pulitano 258). The irony, as argued earlier, is that UNDRIP inadvertently upholds settler-colonial nationhood, even as it argues the case for wider decolonization because, as Cheyfitz argues, “it recognizes, without commenting on the fact, that the Indigenous Peoples for whom it speaks are located within the power of the nation-states from which they are seeking redress” (Cheyfitz 193). As monolithic as this settler-nationhood appears, however, it is not yet absolute, and the Indigenous nations within these settler-nation boundaries are the constant reminder that the processes of settlement have not yet fully succeeded.

Despite the necessity of the politics of refusal in the face of settler-colonial shifting and over-compliance with UNDRIP, Indigenous community sustainability itself is not reactive. It is a proactive form of cultural maintenance that requires multiple strategies and tools to self-perpetuate. Indigenous cultures, languages, environments, and identities all require legal

autonomy and territorial sovereignty to grow and evolve in a manner chosen by the communities rather than dictated by outsiders. As such, there is great strength in the politics of refusal, even if these politics require inordinate, and seemingly endless, sacrifice at the same time. Whether there is enough strength in numbers and resources for Indigenous nations to ultimately halt and even subvert settler-nationhood to levels where Indigenous Peoples are recognized as equals rather than inconvenient barriers is a question with no present answer. What is certain is that water, land, language, and culture protectors will keep fighting for such an eventuality.

That future, however, is currently being written by Indigenous youth across the CANZUS states who, supported by elders, are increasingly joining and even leading the choruses of refusal that are forcing the settler nation-states to hear their voices. It was the youth in Standing Rock who began the water protection movement there, which drew support from Indigenous communities around the world. It was youth and elders from multiple Indigenous nations who were involved in the Paris Climate Accord protests in 2016 and are driving much of the anti-pipeline movement in Canada. The Idle No More Movement (INM) originated in Canada and grew across the United States. INM flags were also flown at Australia Day protests and Māori attempts to shut down the TPP talks. International Indigenous solidarity is growing, and social media has created an accessible forum for sharing knowledge faster than ever before. We can see in each of what are currently Canada, Australia, Aotearoa/New Zealand, and the United States that there can be partial Indigenous successes while playing the long game of refusal. There is evidence that settler-colonial shifting can be negotiated successfully to ensure that settlement is not absolute. We are also increasingly witnessing Indigenous activists and community organizers connecting and collaborating. They are refusing to allow settler nation-states to play the settler-colonial long-game that consolidates the imbalance of power and authority and presumes the absolutism of settlement. In these inter-connected Indigenous refusals, the ambitions are that partial successes will continue to build increasingly sustainable coalitions across the CANZUS States. It is these coalitions through which Indigenous communities will continue to constrain the processes of settler-colonial nationhood within the Anglosphere, until such processes can be successfully dismantled.

Notes

¹ Sheryl Lightfoot is Canada Research Chair of Global Indigenous Rights and Politics at the University of British Columbia. She is also a member of the Coalition for the Human Rights of Indigenous Peoples, has testified before the Canadian House of Commons as an expert witness, and was appointed in 2017 as the North American Expert at the Expert Group Meeting on implementation of the UN Declaration hosted by the Permanent Forum.

² Anaya's expertise on Indigenous Peoples and international law saw him appointed by the UN Human Rights Council to the role of United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples from May 2008 to June 2014.

³ The difference between Indigenous populations and Peoples is a distinct one that warrants further clarification. "Peoples" recognizes that there was more than one single Indigenous group within the borders of the settler nation, while the signifier "populations" suggests a single racial connotation rather than acknowledging the separate distinct national identities of Indigenous Peoplehood. The settler preference for populations rather than Peoples is an example of the subtle ways Indigenous sovereignty is refused and erasure is codified within settler nations. Crucially, it is Peoples, rather than people or populations, that are recognized as having the right to self-determination under international law.

⁴ Walter Echo Hawk is widely acclaimed as a Pawnee lawyer, activist, educator, tribal judge, and author, who has worked within the US Federal Indian law system as an advocate for Native American rights since 1973.

⁵ In North America, people often use minute traces of DNA markers to claim indigeneity and insert themselves in spaces better suited to those who do need to rely on such obscure claims to identity. Kim TallBear offers a thorough examination of this trend and its problematic repercussion in her 2013 text, *Native American DNA: Tribal Belonging and the False Promise of Genetic Science*.

⁶ It is acknowledged here that New Zealand and Aotearoa are technically the same space, but conflicting understandings of belonging and space also render them entirely different spaces depending upon whether one looks through an Indigenous or a settler lens.

⁷ Maynard's text traces the roots of contemporary Aboriginal activism in Australia to the Australian Aboriginal Progressive Association in the 1920s. Their politics was a mixed blend of Indigenous self-determination and Black Liberation, the latter of which was inspired by Marcus Garvey's US-based Universal Negro Improvement Association.

⁸ Managed Decline is an economic strategy where the state will attempt to slowly manage the end of an industry, such as coal or the Postal Service, while mitigating costs and losses. When applied to communities, however, the human cost of these losses of the end of the community is scarcely factored into policies, which simply urge mass individualized relocations from one area to another. In Indigenous communities, the culturally debilitating effects of this forced diaspora are considered a bonus by the state.

⁹ In both instances, armed forces were deployed by the Canadian government to suppress Indigenous blockades on their own territory: in 1990, to advance a golf course that was eventually never built and, in 2019, to push through a pipeline that – as of the time of writing – is still being challenged in federal court.

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Enacting Hope through Narratives of Indigenous Language and Culture Reclamation

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Enacting both hope and change is an intergenerational process. For this reason, we are intentional in highlighting the narratives of emerging Indigenous scholars who are resurfacing language, cultural practice, and identities which have been suppressed by colonization and forced assimilation. Their narratives further portray successes and challenges in setting Indigenous research agendas that interrupt the colonial legacies of Western academic institutions. Chew (Chickasaw) speaks to the process of utilizing a culturally-grounded research methodology which creates space for community members to envision a future for their language. Sobotta (Nez Perce) reflects on the transformational process of teaching and learning the language through stories which reveal Indigenous knowledge. LeClair-Diaz (Eastern Shoshone/Northern Arapaho) shares a personal journey of navigating Indigenous identity in academia. Contributing commentary as scholars in different stages of their academic careers, Stevens (San Carlos Apache), Anthony-Stevens (Euro-American), and Nicholas (Hopi) weave together the stories of hope by highlighting interconnected enactments of resistance and resilience. This commentary confronts assumptions of homogeneity of Indigenous peoples while also searching for common themes to advance decolonizing agendas across Indigenous and non-Indigenous positionalities.

As scholars working at the intersection of anthropology and education, we situate our work amongst a burgeoning mass of critical, Indigenous-led scholarship that counters damaging research that portrays Indigenous peoples—and their languages—as deficient, broken, and conquered (Tuck). While acknowledging the endemic nature of colonization, this body of scholarship underscores complexity and self-determination in its consideration of how Indigenous communities enact language and cultural continuance. This essay emerges from five years of gatherings at the American Anthropology Association (AAA) Annual Meeting, where all six authors have participated in roundtables and panels focused on decolonizing research methodologies for Indigenous education. In our collective journey, we have continually returned to the centrality of narrative to Indigenous research and practice. To this end, we emphasize the vitality and efficacy of reclamation work by bringing into focus narratives of persistence and

optimism in Indigenous language and culture reclamation and education. Collectively, we theorize hope through personal narratives and embrace hope as an essential conduit between thought and action, belief and practice—a significant source of power in Indigenous cultural preservation. In a larger context, our interconnected experiences of living hope through counter stories and the reclamation of ancestral wisdom and knowledge factors centrally in mobilizing decolonial futures in Indigenous education.

The process of selecting and sharing our own narratives is an enactment of survivance: of presence over absence, a performance of the academic transformation for which we advocate (Vizenor 1). Notably, as we have come to understand through our work together, academic transformation(s) necessitate careful consideration of the roles of and relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous collaborators. Meaningful collaborations do not merely incorporate Indigenous frameworks, but center them, thereby operationalizing spaces of hope in negotiated, brokered, and situated ways which tend to ethno-historic contexts of power (Anthony-Stevens 89). Both individually and collectively, all of us, the aforementioned authors, speak powerfully to themes of negotiating identity through language and culture reclamation, alliances that attend to power imbalances and the agency of being as hope. It is our understanding that the process of telling and listening to stories of Indigenous presence and persistence allows us to become whole in them. We choose not to italicize Indigenous languages so as not to mark them as Other in the narratives and discussion.

1. Hope at the Center of Language Revitalizing Pedagogies

We work from a theoretical stance that conceptualizes hope as central to language reclamation and emphasizes “the self-determination and inherent sovereignty” of Indigenous peoples in language reclamation work (Brayboy et al. 424). We follow Miami scholar Wesley Leonard’s theorizing of language reclamation as a social process of reclaiming “the appropriate cultural context and sense of value that the language [and cultural practices] would likely have always had if not for colonization” (141). In this way, language reclamation encompasses, but is also distinct from, projects of language revitalization or documentation, which respectively focus on increasing the number of speakers of a language and creating language materials and resources. Language reclamation, in turn, is not so much about the language itself but “people

‘doing language’ together in meaningful ways” to ensure what Acoma writer Simon Ortiz calls language and cultural continuance (Fettes 303-4; Ortiz). Nurturing hope becomes an act of resistance intricately linked to processes of reclamation. In the same way that language is living and nurtured through relationships, we treat hope as embodied and relationally enlivened in Indigenous language and cultural education. As Quechua scholar of critical pedagogy Sandy Grande reminds us, we are not conceptualizing the “future-centered hope of the Western imagination,” but the hope “that lives in contingency with the past” and “trusts the beliefs and understandings of our ancestors as well as the power of traditional knowledge” (28).

Therefore, as educational philosopher Paulo Freire writes, “hope, as an ontological need, demands an anchoring in practice... in order to become historical concreteness” (Freire and Freire 9). For Indigenous scholars, hope is the outcome of “our experiences, struggles, anxieties, fears, conflicts, and efforts [...] in our ‘everyday practices of resurgence’ [...] to strive for reconnection after disconnection, misunderstanding, and miscommunication” (Aikau 657). In this way, hope within the context of Indigenous language and culture education is a predisposition to action outside of constraints imposed by settler-colonization and a commitment to responsibility and reciprocity to community. Self-definition cannot be separated from relational existence, such as spiritual questions of who we are as peoples and the “inward- and outward-looking process [...] of re-enchantment, or ensoulment” (Grande 74).

This is the hope that is conveyed through each individual narrative—as well as when the narratives are considered together in this essay. Emerging Indigenous scholars Chew, Sobotta and LeClair-Diaz offer unique understandings of hope informed by differing personal, familial, and community contexts. Their stories, as Lumbee scholar Bryan Brayboy writes, “are not separate from theory; they make up theory and are, therefore, real and legitimate sources of data and ways of being” (430). The telling of these personal narratives is a critical act of reclamation in itself because colonization has sought to rob Indigenous peoples of their voices. Thus, Indigenous narratives, “whether blunt or subtle,” as Plains Cree Métis writer Emma LaRocque asserts, act as “protest literature” speaking against struggle and the processes of colonization (xviii). These narratives connect the word to the self to reclaim voice and identities as whole and complete people. Our narratives “share our humanity—over and over again” (LaRocque xxvii).

As scholars who work at the intersections of educational research and sociocultural/sociolinguistic studies, our narratives are unified by critical culturally

sustaining/revitalizing pedagogies (CSRP) as expressions of sovereignty and educational practices; CSRP reclaims that which has been disrupted and displaced by colonization (McCarty and Lee 103) and dedicates non-homogenizing attention to local communities' expressed interests, resources and needs. As an applied framework to think about knowledge transmission, CSRP includes attention to “asymmetrical power relations and legacies of colonization” in contexts of community driven Indigenous language and culture education (McCarty and Lee 8). Critical recognition of ethno-historic context and subjectivities explores ways that narratives can recognize “the multiplicity of relationships across and through culture, history, and location” in a holistic, rather than a fragmented way (Justice 21). We propose that Indigenous and non-Indigenous people benefit from processes that support narratives crossing geographic, disciplinary, and membership borders. Furthermore, these crossings enable us, as co-authors, to enact relationships across difference as well as bring into relief distinct epistemologies and histories that define our differences.

In the following sections, Chew, Sobotta, and LeClair-Diaz share their narratives of language and culture reclamation as hope and allow us to look both inward—understanding the unique contexts in which this work takes place—and outward—putting narratives in conversation with one another to better understand the significance of Indigenous narratives as pathways and practices of the broader goals of decolonization. The narratives are followed by commentary by Stevens, Anthony-Stevens, and Nicholas, who blend the personal and scholarly to extend our stance of restorying Indigenous narratives in ways that recognize the power of relationality and respect the distinct differences among the roles we each play in Indigenous-led language and culture reclamation. In this way, across our contributions, we trouble the distinctions between personal narrative and academic commentary/scholarly writing.

3. Chew's Narrative: Researching for Hope

Chokma, saholhchifoat Kari Chew. Chikashsha saya. I was twenty-years-old and an undergraduate when I first learned to use my language, Chikashshanompa', to introduce myself as a Chickasaw person. By that point in my life, I had said these same words many times in English— “Hello, my name is Kari Chew. I am Chickasaw.”—but they always felt empty, void of connection to the people and places from which I came. Speaking Chikashshanompa'

grounded me in a deep sense of kinship, both to my ancestors and to generations to come. I felt responsibility to care for and learn my Indigenous heritage language and, as a result, began to re-envision the purpose of my pursuit of higher education. I went on to graduate school, first pursuing linguistics so that I could understand what academics had written about my language, and then education so that I could teach other Chickasaws what I had learned.

During my graduate studies, I came to recognize that the ways in which Indigenous people talk about their language(s) differ drastically from how academia and the public portray Indigenous languages. With fewer than fifty elder fluent speakers, Chikashshanompa' is typically classified as *severely endangered* by schema designed to measure the health of languages and disruption in their use. These classifications tend to be based on the enumeration of fluent first language speakers. While it is true that emerging generations are not currently acquiring Chikashshanompa' as a first language, a growing number of youth, adults, and elders have committed to learning, teaching, and speaking the language. Their efforts seemed to go uncounted for within those dominant discourses focused on loss and endangerment. Seeking to better understand the phenomenon of language reclamation from a community perspective, I began researching the motivations of Chickasaw people to engage in language reclamation efforts and how their commitments were sustained over time.

Because I am a Chickasaw person and language learner myself, this research was inherently personal and required me to use a protocol which embraced—rather than erased—my cultural identity and personal relationships with other Chickasaws involved in language work. To this end, I utilized a culturally-informed methodology, put forth by Chickasaw citizen Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), that was “rooted in place, built on relationships, and sustained over a period of time” (Guajardo, Guajardo, and Casaperalta 8). Called Chikashsha asilhlha', or “to ask Chickasaw,” this protocol guided me in how to ask in a way that was humble, transparent, reciprocal, and careful. A key feature of my methodology was a process of co-creating story with participants through in-depth interviews. These stories told of the elders’ strong desires to ensure Chickasaw continuance through teaching the language to others, the parents’ sense of responsibility to pass the language to their children, and the youth and young adults’ yearning to speak Chikashshanompa' as they developed consciousness of their Chickasaw identity. Collectively, these stories conveyed the potential for the rebuilding of intergenerational relationships, and, thus, the continuance of the language.

One especially powerful story was that of Hannah, an elder fluent speaker, Amy, a language learner, and Amy's infant daughter. I first met the three, who were participating in a Master-Apprentice program, in the summer of 2010 at the Chickasaw Council House Museum in Tishomingo, Oklahoma. Amy had come to spend time with Hannah speaking the language, and the pair allowed me to interview them beforehand. Surrounded by Chickasaw artwork and historical artifacts, Amy sat next to Hannah, tending to her child. It was a portrait of possibility: three generations of Chickasaws coming together to speak and to learn Chikashshanompa'. As we talked, Amy shared her desire for both herself and her daughter to know their heritage language.

Over the course of several years, Amy and Hannah continued to build their relationship through their shared language reclamation journey. In 2014, I spoke with the pair again to learn how their story had developed. "Building the relationship and building knowledge have both been good," Amy reflected. "Hannah and I have gotten to be good friends [and my daughter] thinks of her as another grandma." Hannah, Amy, and Amy's young daughter shared a special bond around the goal of restoring Chikashshanompa' as a family language, and their story is one of hope. Hannah asserted, "[Speaking the language] is what I'm supposed to be doing... No matter what, I just keep going." It is because of Hannah and other fluent speakers' persistence and willingness to teach others—and younger generations' commitment to learn—that Chikashshanompa' will keep going, too.

4. Sobotta's Narrative: Learning and Teaching the Niimiipuu Language through Story

In twenty years working for the Niimiipuu Language Program in Lapwai, in north central Idaho, I have seen many wonderful elders, who spoke Niimiipuu as a first language, pass on. With few remaining speakers, there are challenges to teaching and learning the language. As a language teacher, I often wonder how the Niimiipuu Language Program will continue to teach the language with no remaining fluent elder speakers. Through my work as a language teacher and my graduate studies at the University of Idaho, I have focused on my vision to teach and learn *nimipuutímt* (the People's language) through *niimiipuum titwáatit* (the People's stories). Niimiipuu stories need to have life breathed into them. In turn, the stories breathe life back into the people through their lessons of wisdom and guidance.

As a child, I heard Tim’néepe, the Niimípuu creation story told by Niimípuu storytellers. A deceitful Monster swallows all of the Animal People, including Coyote. Coyote foresees the future and wants the best for the Human Beings to come. Eventually, Coyote conquers Monster and escapes with the Animal People. Coyote then created the Niimípuu with blood from the heart of Monster. The teachings of this story have unfolded over time and have come to guide my work.

As a teacher, I, like Coyote, want the best for my students as they grow into strong Niimípuu. This is why I along with other Niimípuu educators exercise sovereignty and self-determination to use our traditional stories for literacy instruction. The stories support our students’ education as Niimípuu in ways that the prescribed readings of the Western public-school system cannot. Through niimípuum titwáatit, Coyote reawakens and is called upon to teach new lessons to the students. Coyote’s powers are released when the listener becomes ready to receive the lessons gifted through the story. The stories continue to unfold throughout the students’ lives as they reveal new lessons. In this way, the stories sustain the Niimípuu knowledge system.

Before my classes, I have the students recite a language pledge: “Nimipuutímt (the People’s language) cukwenéewit (know it) hiteemenéewit (learn it) téecukwe (learn it) c’ixnéewit (speak it) titooqanáawit (the People’s way of life) wiyeeléeheyn (everyday). The pledge is a way to enact Nimipuutimtnéewit ’inp’tóqsix (taking back our People’s way of speaking). I remind the Niimípuu language students that they must speak the language to keep it alive. Over time, the students become able to tell a traditional Coyote story in the language with the aid of the pictures. I place pictures representing Niimípuu words from the story on the classroom walls. The students rotate around the room counter-clockwise—representing the movement of the earth and the seasons—using the visual aids to help tell the story as a group. Through this practice, the students find a connection to learning which affirms their identities and allows them to uphold the responsibilities of teaching and learning the language.

The Niimípuu have over three hundred documented stories and each represents a seed of hope. By telling the stories, we plant the seed and create conditions for Niimípuu knowledge and teachings to grow into good things. Teaching the language through the stories allows Niimípuu to teach as our ancestors did. Our ancestors taught from a place of hope and a vision of continuance seven generations ahead. They told stories out of love for the betterment of the

people, passing them from one generation to the next. Stories are given to us by our ancestors to teach us relationality between all things: the stories to the land, animals, plants, language, and to the people. This is why it is vital for Niimiipuu to continue speaking the language and telling the stories. I have hope that the stories will equip the Niimiipuu youth I teach to be knowledge keepers and that they will continue to carry the language and stories forward.

5. LeClair-Diaz's Narrative: Becoming a Sosonih/Hinono'ei Scholar

My mind felt hazy as I walked towards my car. I opened the passenger door and heard my husband ask, "How was your class?" I held back my tears, trying to think of how to vocalize my insecurities. I had been so excited to begin my first semester of my doctoral program. In academia, I had not encountered Indigenous professors who discussed Indigenous knowledge systems in a contemporary way until I attended my doctoral program at the University of Arizona. I realized I wanted to be part of that movement in some way. Now, I felt overwhelmed because I didn't know where to begin in connecting my Indigenous knowledge with my research interests.

My insecurities stemmed from the second meeting of my Indigenous Seminar course. Two Indigenous professors from my department visited class to speak about their research. One slide from their PowerPoint listed the term "tribal epistemologies," and I wondered to myself what that meant. The professors explained, through imagery on the slide, how Indigenous knowledge and value systems served as frameworks for their research projects. Considering how tribal beliefs could serve as a foundation for an Indigenous scholar's identity was a new process for me. During my pre-K-12 educational journey, I felt pressure from teachers and peers to stifle my cultural identity and focus on undertaking dominant cultural values in my behavior and school work. Students who did not accept and conform to these ideals were viewed as unsuccessful, problem students, or "at-risk."

My husband's voice brought me back to the present. "Amanda, what's wrong?" he asked. I hadn't realized we had left the university and were already halfway home.

"We talked about tribal epistemologies today in class, and it made me realize I don't know what my tribal epistemologies are," I said, my voice slightly catching.

“It’s ok. I bet they didn’t know their belief systems at first either. You have time to learn those things,” my husband answered, patting my knee.

“What if that knowledge is lost? I don’t ever remember anyone talking to me about Eastern Shoshone and Northern Arapaho epistemologies,” I answered.

“You’ll have time to learn it. You could probably ask your mom and dad about it,” my husband said, trying to ease my worries. I felt a great sense of guilt and shame. Had I not listened well enough growing up? Did this lack of knowledge mean I was not Indigenous?

The next day, I called my mother and told her about the discussion that took place in my class. She listened quietly as I asked her what it meant to be Eastern Shoshone. At the time, I was unknowingly favoring this identity because this is the tribe I am federally enrolled in. She answered that she did not know and it was a good question. My dad hopped on the phone and answered that this form of knowledge was probably lost. It was in that moment I realized that I had to try and relearn what it meant to be Eastern Shoshone and Northern Arapaho—not only for my research, but so that I could start feeling like a whole person.

My journey toward reclaiming my identities and epistemologies has drawn me to my languages, which are central to fully understanding Eastern Shoshone and Northern Arapaho ways of knowing. I enrolled in the American Indian Language Development Institute (AILDI), a summer program in my department, to study my tribal languages and how to revitalize and promote their use. I learned about linguistics and language-teaching methods for Indigenous languages. My cumulative project was to model a twenty-minute immersion lesson in my chosen Indigenous language. Most of the Indigenous students in the program selected their single Indigenous heritage language but, for me, the choice was not so simple. Which language would I pick: Eastern Shoshone or Northern Arapaho? I felt pressure to choose only one language to study, and in doing so, it seemed I was privileging one part of my identity over the other. I learned from this experience that, when I acknowledge the intersectionalities of my identities rather than compartmentalize them, I can find strength and power as an Eastern Shoshone/Northern Arapaho woman scholar. Being able to reconnect with my tribal language, I was able to define my identity as an Indigenous woman scholar in a new, transformative way. The commitment to incorporating my tribal languages into my research and actions as an Indigenous woman scholar helps me to connect “understandings of the past” with my

comprehension of being an Eastern Shoshone (Sosonihi)/Northern Arapaho (Hinono'ei) woman scholar in today's world (Grande 250).

Now in the fourth year of my doctoral program, I continue to explore my identity and develop my voice as a Sosonihi/Hinono'ei woman. Conceptualizing my identities as fluid, interwoven, and interconnected has helped me bridge my Indigenous knowledge to my academic work. I cannot separate my identities into binaries or break these two knowledge systems apart. The struggle of reclaiming and reconnecting with my tribal epistemologies will be a lifelong journey—and a challenging one particularly because the Eastern Shoshone and Northern Arapaho were traditionally enemies. Contemporary Shoshone and Arapaho families in my community have intermarried and passed on both tribal epistemologies to younger generations—in this way I am not alone and have an important voice. Reconnecting with my tribal epistemologies has meant centering the memories and values passed to me by my maternal grandmother, parents, and extended family. These teachings have stayed with me and influence me as a source of hope—the thread that connects me across generations to my parents, my grandmother, and my other family members. As long as I keep these teachings at the forefront in my personal and professional life, I have hope that I can stay true to myself as a Sosonihi/Hinono'ei scholar.

6. Commentary

In the ensuing commentary, we weave the narratives of Stevens, Anthony-Stevens, and Nicholas together with those previously presented as an additional layer of complexity. Stevens, Anthony-Stevens, and Nicholas's narratives highlight the crosscutting ways that Chew, Sobotta, and LeClair-Diaz's narratives embody a predisposition to action which decenters settler-colonization and demonstrates commitment to responsibility and reciprocity to community. As a counter to the Western academic genre of separating self from content in analysis of text and concept, Stevens, Anthony-Stevens, and Nicholas choose to unsettle the space of commentary. We make our positionalities transparent and embed ourselves within relational frameworks of accountability to nurture hope. Our use of the commentary space is intended to reflect our engaged stance on restorying Indigenous narratives in the context of education.

6.1 Stevens's Narrative

Like Chew, Sobotta, and LeClair-Diaz, I personally experienced the usurping of Indigenous knowledge, language, and cultural systems through Western colonial practices. Growing up on the San Carlos Apache reservation, stories about Apaches were often told by non-Apaches and found in movies and books. These fictitious and romanticized accounts, told in English, placed a Western lens of vice and virtue over Apache culture and language. The outsiders who told our stories missed many of the culturally salient issues to Apaches. They instead framed our culture and language in opposition to Western notions of what is good: our Gaans—physical manifestations of mountain spirits—were deemed devil dancers and our ceremonies wicked. There is a great need to interrupt the colonial legacies of Western narratives through the telling, as Indigenous people, of our histories, narratives, and truths.

The telling of our stories on and in our own terms is an especially important practice within institutions of contention, such as schools and universities. As an adult, teaching at the same school that I attended as a child, I remember an interaction with a frustrated non-Apache teacher. She was upset that her primary students knew nothing about the “Redcoats” of the American Revolutionary War. At that moment, my own thought was that this teacher knew nothing about Mangas Coloradas (translated loosely to Red Sleeves in Spanish), one of the greatest Apache chiefs. My chuckle regarding the juxtaposing of knowledge and riffing on the color red quickly subsided as it also dawned upon me that her students were probably also ignorant of Mangas Coloradas. For this reason, the privileging of Indigenous narratives is of the utmost importance—they serve to confront colonizing forces while also giving way to the tenet of hope which facilitates the resurgence of our ways of thinking, knowing, and being. Within Chew, Sobotta, and LeClair-Diaz’s narratives, the strengthening of identity and longing for language are themes which resonate loudly. Each narrative enacts language and cultural continuance through being and doing (Fettes 304). Chew embraces, not erases, Chikashshanompa', despite the widely-accepted designation of the language as being severely endangered; at the same time, she positions language use and revitalization within a hope-based paradigm, rather than a deficit one. Her example of multiple generations engaging with the language demonstrates there is the hope “that Chikashshanompa' will keep going, too.” It is this same audacity of hope that compels Sobotta’s Nimipuutimtnéewit 'inp'tóoqsix.

The reclamation of the peoples' way of speaking—despite the decades of Western schooling prioritizing English—allows Sobotta to rightfully recognize that the stories are individual seeds that she is nurturing through her classes. If we are able to incorporate lessons that prioritize Indigenous ways of doing, it may very well lead to events such as LeClair-Diaz's reclaiming and reconnecting with Sosonih/Hinono'ei epistemologies. The initial insecurities felt by LeClair-Diaz as a doctoral student learning about epistemologies is vividly relayed through her story. It is not difficult to situate this insecurity against the hegemonic forces of schooling that for hundreds of years have stripped the recognition of Indigenous culture and language. However, it is the realization of hope that allows the seeds of Sosonih and Hinono'ei to germinate and take root.

These narratives, reflective of lived experience, are models of sustaining and revitalizing Indigenous pedagogies of hope and research which, as Smith claims, talks back and up to power (226). It is the way in which Indigenous people can reclaim our stories as valid and useful—not only for ourselves but also within the cultural diversity of our lived reality. We hope for stories, not filtered through the lens of the colonizer, but firmly rooted in our epistemologies, aspirations, and languages.

6.2 Anthony-Stevens's Narrative

I grew up in the occupied lands of the Potawatami, Peroia, and Miami (among other Indigenous peoples), in a region often referred to as Chicagoland (Midwest, U.S.). As the great-grand-daughter of second-wave, Industrial-era European settlers, my early life enveloped me in a malaise of Indigenous erasure, both material and discursive. While names of rivers (Calumet and Chicago), locations (Wabash and Skokie), and structures occasionally maintained distorted Euro-interpretations of Indigenous place through Indigenous languages, the environment settlers recreated bore little resemblance to its first peoples' relationship to the land. Tuck and Yang write, "In order for the settlers to make a place their home, they must destroy and disappear the Indigenous peoples that live there" (6). In Chicagoland, Indigenous narratives were told as static or made into ghosts under concrete, factories waste, and brick bungalow homes. As an adult, I am a wife and in-law within an Indigenous family, with whom I birthed two beautiful daughters. The unsettling incommensurability of colonial and Indigenous realities rattle my home and

render my identity uneasy. In the context I can now name as settler colonial, Indigenous narratives are urgent and radical anecdotes to the settler oversimplification of our contemporary realities. As a non-Indigenous collaborator, my commentary highlights my own need to learn from Indigenous narratives of hope and to move beyond superficial recognition of the ontologies of Indigenous frameworks.

The relationships described by Chew, Sobotta, and LeClair-Diaz’s narratives highlight intersectional encounters with self in/with community, which are necessary reclamations of wholeness within institutional realities. The three emerging scholars remind me that denaturalizing my own narrative of place is paramount to troubling the social amnesia of Whiteness that obfuscates institutional colonization and racism. Indigenous narrative, as reclamation scholarship, constitutes a space outside of settler colonial binaries and conceptualizes social positionings within complex stories and complex personhood (Gordon). That is to say, the stories people tell about themselves, and their social worlds intertwine with current available narratives and imagined futures. Telling and retelling Niimípuu stories in spaces of colonial literacy instruction, as described in Sobotta’s narrative, invites contemporary youth to find a connection to learning that affirms their identities, a recognition of complex personhood in globalizing times. Language reclamation, as seen in each narrative, brings complex personhood into relief and underscores contemporary persistence as acts of both inward and outward resurgence. Prioritizing Indigenous narratives, by and for Indigenous peoples, furthers what CSRP refers to when it asks settler institutions to pay attention to “asymmetrical power relations and legacies of colonization” in contexts of community-driven Indigenous language and culture education (McCarty and Lee 8). Such a connection between theory and practice instructs non-Indigenous people to stop naming and to listen.

Activated within Chew, Sobotta, and LeClair-Diaz’s narratives, hope is offered as a tangible, living being within our ecosystem. Hope, as powerful and fragile, helps us to name the persisting elephants in the room—settler colonial hegemony, White supremacy, and institutional racism—as threats that constrain and contort the wellbeing of hope. Naming these unsettling threats holds collaborating non-Indigenous scholar-educators accountable to the roles played in perpetuating, or interrupting, the erasure of complex Indigenous narratives. As pedagogies of hope live in relational ways, they do not make space for unexamined settler ideologies, nor do they have a responsibility to educate non-Indigenous collaborators on the structures of settler-

colonialism. The collective narratives shared by the three emerging scholars decenter settler-colonial frameworks and normalize Indigenous complexity. Their very “telling and re-telling” are centered on and perform well-being and wholeness. Non-Indigenous scholars contribute to narratives of hope by listening and taking material action to forefront Indigenous voices, methodologies, and languages, as described by Chew, Sobotta, and LeClair-Diaz.

6.3 Nicholas’s Narrative

I draw from the discussions of Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith’s twenty-five Indigenous projects in *Decolonizing Methodologies*, and Brazilian educationalist Paulo Freire’s concept of *hope* in his *Pedagogy of Hope*, as I begin with my own story. My story is one that I often refer to as a “rude awakening” which also led to my current lifework in language and cultural reclamation. This awakening was prompted by a graduate course assignment using the genre of poetry to explore the linguistic aspects of our heritage languages, mine being Hopilavayi (the Hopi language). The “rude” awakening was that, although Hopilavayi was my first language, as a graduate student, I found myself unable to recall the language I had spoken with ease as a child; I had undergone language shift and evident cultural disconnect. However, I had the good fortune of working with AILDI professor Akira Yamamoto who planted the “hope” necessary and critical to enacting and sustaining my struggle and fight against hopelessness. In response to my anxious question, “Where did my language go?” my professor explained that my language had not gone “anywhere.” Rather, he stated that my language was residing in the depths of my being waiting to be resurfaced—to be spoken again and to become a living part of my being, a “pedagogy of hope” I continue to follow and to which I remain committed.

The narratives of Chew, Sobotta, and LeClair-Diaz as emerging Indigenous scholar-authors of this essay speak collectively of a similar awakening to, or critical consciousness of, the voids of connection to our origins of identity and purposes of existence (the people, places, and responsibility). In turn, each narrative, as a critical self-reflection, reveals the hope—accessing the inherent ancestral wisdom and knowledge—that resides “in each and every one of us” as Indigenous people (Freire 2). As such, each scholar-author also speaks to a researching of the wisdom and knowledge that comprise an Indigenous pedagogy of hope embodied in “the People’s way of life”—titoqanaáawit (Sobotta)—thus residing “in the people”. This researching

has led each scholar-author back to a reconnection with community, the people, the peoples’ language, and ways of knowing and being: for Chew, to community and Chikashshanompa’ (Chickasaw language); for Sobotta, to *nimipuutímt* (the People’s language) and to *niimípuum titwáatit* (the People’s stories); and for LeClair-Diaz, to her cultural heritage identities of Eastern Shoshone/Northern Arapaho and their respective knowledge systems.

Moreover, Smith asserts, “to be connected is to be whole” (150). This assertion is substantiated by Chew who writes, “Speaking Chikashshanompa’ grounded me in a deep sense of kinship, both to my ancestors and to generations to come,” by Sobotta who tells us, “Stories are given to us by our ancestors to teach us relationality between all things: the stories to the land, animals, plants, language, and to the people,” and by LeClair-Diaz who affirms, “I had to try and relearn what it meant to be Eastern Shoshone and Northern Arapaho—not only for my research but so that I could start feeling like a whole person.” This project, then, is as much one of “rediscovering Indigenous knowledge and its continued relevance to the way we lead our lives” (Smith 161) as it is one of enacting and sustaining the Indigenous struggle and fight against hopelessness—“struggle” being a mainstay of hope (Freire). While somewhat ironic that researching and embodying such struggle is being undertaken within the colonizing institutions of Western education, this mission, however, becomes one of “reframing [...] the ways in which Indigenous issues are discussed,” “retaining the strengths of a vision and the participation of community,” and occurring “within the way Indigenous people write or engage with the theories and accounts of what it means to be Indigenous” (Smith 154-55).

Freire further points out that while the hope that each individual holds is necessary, at an individual level it is not enough. The final project necessitates trans-Indigenous engagements (Allen), sharing knowledge through “dialogue and conversations amongst ourselves as Indigenous peoples, to ourselves and for ourselves” (Smith 146), across the world of Indigenous peoples that includes non-Indigenous scholar-educators. Sharing contains views about knowledge being a collective benefit and knowledge being a form of resistance (162), resilience, and persistence. This essay represents emergent Indigenous voices speaking back by writing back, what Smith refers to as “Indigenous people... writing and theory making” (150). The AAA venue, in turn, offers the reclaiming “spaces” for these voices to be heard. The scholar-author contributions to this essay represent the co-construction and publication of Indigenous scholarship of a past, present, and future that is captured in Sobotta’s words at AAA: “We are

still here; we are our own natural resources” for maintaining the most reliable guide toward envisioning an Indigenous future.

7. Conclusions and Implications

Within the sociocultural study of language, localities are situated “worlds of sense” (Feld and Basso 8), experienced through placed relationships; as such, languages transport situated meanings across time and space (McCarty, Nicholas, and Wyman 51). With this understanding, we, together as co-authors, offer pedagogical and methodological orientations which re-center local languages and identities as resources for Indigenous futures. The AAA Annual Meeting venue has served as a space for us to explore Indigenous narrative as language and cultural reclamation and education. Through this essay, we push forward our work to claim spaces for Indigenous voices to be heard and find hope in the assertion that language awaits us in all spaces.

Privileging Indigenous narratives and exchanges expands the space for Indigenous peoples to clarify, as Brayboy argues, their own resources and learn from other ways of doing and knowing. Furthermore, this is an opportunity to draw upon the resources of one another and to enrich individual and community wellbeing. Chew, Sobotta, and LeClair-Diaz’s individual narratives reflect a holding onto “ancestral wisdom[s] despite disruptions” in personal life, family, and community, which in turn provides “nourishment and sustenance” (Neeganagwedgin 326). Significantly, while the narratives have power when considered individually, new meaning is also produced when the narratives of all authors are considered collectively. A unified narrative of hope emerges and brings with it important implications for sustaining and revitalizing Indigenous ways of being and knowing. As Chew, Sobotta, and LeClair-Diaz’s accounts suggest, hope is sustained through intergenerational relationships that connect the past, present, and future. Each author has experienced loss and struggle as a result of colonization and ongoing pressures of assimilation, but nonetheless has taken up responsibility to reclaim knowledge, language, and identity. This work, as Sobotta suggests, has the purpose of sustaining the next seven generations. Hope is enacted as each author upholds a responsibility to honor the teaching of the generations that came before and to share them with those who will come next.

We further learn from the collective narratives of our co-authorship that agency is deeply connected to hope. Language and culture reclamation is not about preserving language and

culture as abstract entities, but about recovering “voice, which encapsulates personal and communal agency and the expression of Indigenous identities, belonging, and responsibility to self and community” (McCarty, Nicholas, Chew, Diaz, Leonard, and White 160). As the narratives demonstrate, the project of recovering and strengthening voice occurs in a multitude of spaces: communities, K-12 classrooms, and universities, as well as within intergenerational relationships between grandparent-parent-child and even professor-student. As LeClair-Diaz suggests in her narrative, these spaces must be intersectional in order to create conditions for Indigenous peoples to empower themselves and express a voice that may be inclusive of complex personhood, including multiple Indigenous heritage languages. As Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars, we each have a role and responsibility in claiming and shaping these spaces, but these roles are non-congruent. As Anthony-Stevens states, non-Indigenous/settler scholars have a responsibility to contribute to Indigenous narratives of hope by listening and by taking material action to forefront Indigenous voices, methodologies, and languages.

Importantly, a key implication of the narratives and commentaries is that hope, as a guiding framework, should not be understood as human-centric. The plants, animals, land, ancestors, spiritual beings, language, and stories have agency and guide the work of language and cultural reclamation. Stl’atl’imx scholar Peter Cole explores this notion, along with the power of narrative, in a conversation between an Indigenous researcher and tricksters Raven and Coyote. According to Raven, “there is a growing call from indigenous peoples academics and other interested parties [...] for compelling new narratives to reshape or replace the progress narrative of modernity” (349). As Raven reminds the researcher, the narrative of progress privileges “mind over body and spirit human over non-human and more-than-human” and creates imbalance through the exclusion of Indigenous knowledges and narratives (349). When we, as Indigenous people, return to ancestral wisdom, which respects and exists in relationship with the non-human and more-than-human, we sustain a hope that is not solely reliant upon the whims of people. Ultimately, by sharing narratives, we seek to privilege Indigenous knowledge and ways of being as generators of new narratives of hope with implications for all people.

Notes

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Aesthetics of Indigenous Affinity: Traveling from Chiapas to Palestine in the Murals of Gustavo Chávez Pavón

AMAL EQEIQ

My first encounter with the murals of Gustavo Chávez Pavón was on December 31st, 2013, when I arrived with a Palestinian delegation in the autonomous Zapatista community in Oventic in the highlands of Chiapas in Southern Mexico to attend the celebrations of the twentieth anniversary of the Zapatista Uprising. We were also attending the graduation from our first grade at *La Escuelita*¹, the Little School that the Zapatistas have been organizing since August 2013 as an annual global camp for indigenous education and autonomy from below. My companions and I were intrigued by a mural of a Zapatista rebel wearing a pasamontaña, the iconic ski mask of the Zapatistas, designed like a black and white *kuffiyeh*, the traditional Palestinian peasant scarf that has become a popular symbol of Palestinian national identity. Although there was no actual artist signature, we recognized the big bold slogan “To Exist is to Resist,” printed on its left corner. It was a very familiar translation of the spirit of *sumūd* from Palestine. Painted in thin black brush underneath were the small captions in Spanish: “*De Chiapas a Palestina, la lucha por libertad nos hermana*” (From Chiapas to Palestine, the struggle for liberation unites us). We concluded that this mural must have been collectively signed by the Zapatista community in Oventic. For the next four years, I would use a picture that I took of this mural as a background image in my academic presentations as a visual proof to explain my rationale for studying contemporary Mayan and Palestinian literatures within comparative indigenous studies. Until one day, and after a quick research of murals in Palestine, I came across an identical image of the same mural painted at the Apartheid Wall in Bethlehem. While searching Google Images in English and Arabic didn’t yield any specific results besides vague references to the work as Latin American, searching in Spanish led to several interviews in the Mexican press with the artist behind the mural: Gustavo Chávez Pavón.



Figure 1: Gustavo Chávez Pavón, Mexico City, 2017. Photo by Amal Egeiq



Figure 2: “To Exist is to Resist” mural in Chiapas. Photo by Amal Egeiq, 2013.

In 2004, Chávez Pavón arrived in Palestine together with Juan Erasto Molina Urbina, from Chiapas and Alberto Aragón Reyes from Oaxaca. They were officially invited by the Lutheran Bishop of Jerusalem, Dr. Munib Younan, to participate in an international artists residency and give lectures and children art workshops at the International Center of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Jerusalem. During the month of the residency, Chávez Pavón painted murals in Qalqilya, Tulkarem, Bethlehem, and Abu Dis, where he also painted a big portrait of Che Guevara. All of these murals are signed at the bottom with four letters: EZLN, *Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional* (Army of National Liberation). Although the mural of “To Exist is to Resist” disappeared from the Apartheid Wall in Bethlehem sometime between 2011 and 2017, most likely due to the increasing appropriation of the Wall as a popular murals site frequented by global street artists such as Banksy (Egeiq, 2018), Chávez Pavón continued to paint murals of solidarity with Palestine on different walls across the world. In fact, since 2004, the brush of the Mexican muralist and Zapatista cultural promoter did not dry. In addition to painting murals in public schools in Mexico within the independent program, *Los Muros en la Educación* (Walls in Education), Chávez Pavón crossed many physical and imagined borders from Mexico to Palestine, Venezuela, Argentina, and Chile, sometimes independently and sometimes as a member of an international brigade of artists called *Murales contra muros* (Murals against Walls) to paint very colorful murals that feature unequivocal and explicit messages of indigenous and global solidarity with Palestine. Despite the powerful presence of his murals in the embassies of Palestine in Mexico City and Buenos Aires, and the *kuffiyeh* that he usually wears as a headband when he climbs walls to paint solidarity with Palestine, Chávez Pavón remains largely unknown in Palestine. Moreover, in comparison with other internationalist artists, more specifically, those of Euro-American origins, who did work in Palestine, his work is largely absent from books and magazines that review or cover Palestinian art and visual culture. In this essay, I introduce the murals of Chávez Pavón based on three interviews that we conducted in Spanish over the phone in May 2017 and in-person in Mexico City in October 2017 and August 2018, respectively. Through this dialogue, my goal is to shed light on key visual elements of Zapatista solidarity and the ways in which they represent collective visions of indigenous liberation in the traveling murals of Chávez Pavón. His enthusiastic participation in these interviews and permission to share his personal archive publicly provide a visual and oral testimony of an untold chapter in the history of indigenous solidarity between Mayan communities in Chiapas and Palestine. This solidarity is transnational at heart

both in its vision of mutual indigenous liberation and the global anti-colonial and anti-capitalist struggle.

AE: The murals “To Exist is to Resist” in Chiapas and Bethlehem are almost identical, and in both you combine the *kuffiyeh* with the maize. Why did you choose this particular image?

GCHP: When I received the invitation to go to Palestine, I was painting a mural that was important for Zapatista education at a primary school in an autonomous Zapatista community in Chiapas. It was an important mural that would eventually make me half-famous. I asked permission from the community to leave and when they knew that I was heading to Palestine, they gave me their approval and asked me to deliver warm greetings to the Palestinians together with a collective message of solidarity that emphasizes that we have a lot in common: the struggle for land, freedom, and dignity are basically the same for our peoples. So, I went to Palestine with this image on my mind.

AE: But the subtitles are different. In Chiapas the subtitle is “*De Chiapas a Palestina, la lucha por libertad nos hermana*” (From Chiapas to Palestine, the struggle for liberation unites us), whereas in Palestine, you wrote, “*Viva Palestina libre abajo el muro fascista*” (Long live Palestine under the fa(ck)sist Wall). Why?



Figure 3: “To Exist is to Resist” mural in progress, Bethlehem, 2004. Photo from Chavéz Pavón’s archive.

GCHP: In Chiapas, our solidarity with Palestine is firm and clear, and the words on the mural are only a daily reminder of commitment to our common struggle. On the other hand, in the murals in Palestine, I wanted to denounce the wall of shame by mocking it. So, in Bethlehem, I wrote the word *facista* to make a joke of this wall and say fuck fascists at the same time. In a mural in Tulkarem, for example, I was more playful with words and wrote: “Viva Zapatata” instead of “Viva Zapata”².



Figure 4: the Zapata mural in Mexico City, 2017. Photo from Chavéz Pavón's archive.

AE: Speaking of Zapata, in 2017 you painted a new mural in Mexico City featuring a Zapata dressed up like a Palestinian fighter. We see here a shift in your work with more explicit integration of Palestinian symbols of resistance, such as the *kuffiyeh* and the slingshot. Can you tell us more about this mural?

GCHP: I painted this mural on a bulkhead wall borrowed from the *Museo de Memoria* here in Mexico City. We borrowed the wall from the museum to stage it at a special event that the Palestinian embassy in Mexico organized to commemorate the *Nakba* (The Catastrophe). This mural is about life and memory: long live Zapata together with the memory of Palestine, which is alive too. For me, this mural is important because it generated support from the museum, and the

ways in which this act of collaboration between a Mexican institution and the Palestinian people are significant.



Figure 5: Mural at the Palestinian Embassy in Buenos Aires, 2015. Photo by Khaldun Al-Massri.

Commemorating Palestine on Latin American Walls

In August 2015, Chávez Pavón had another collaboration with a Palestinian embassy. This time in Buenos Aires where he painted together with artists from the collective, *Muralismo Nóamde* and *Arte x Libertad*, a mural with two head figures, wrapped in the same Palestinian *kuffiyeh* while their hands are tied together and a flock of birds flying in front of them. At the top corner, this slogan was written in Arabic, although it is not clear who wrote it: *Hurrīyatunā tāriḵh al-shu‘ūb* (Our freedoms is people’s history). Two months after the inauguration of the mural and in preparation for November 29th, the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, the Palestinian embassy together with *El Comité Argentino de Solidaridad con el Pueblo Palestino* (The Argentinian Committee for Solidarity with the Palestinian People) launched a contest titled, *Postales por Palestina* (Postcards for Palestine),³ which became an annual competition inviting Latin American artists to revive the tradition of the Palestine Poster Project Archive⁴ from the 1960s by designing posters and painting murals that depict the Palestinian cause and struggle. This invitation led to the appearance of more murals of solidarity with Palestine in the streets and public spaces of Buenos Aires painted by collectives of Argentinian youth,⁵ including Fogoneros, Far,

Junvetud Guevarista and MTR, who incorporated similar iconography of rebellion and revolutionary art.

Reflecting on the meaning of his work in this context of Palestinian cultural diplomacy in Latin America, Chávez Pavón remarks, “When I was invited to paint at the walls of the Palestinian embassy in Buenos Aires, I was asked to paint again the mural of ‘To Exist is to Resist.’ But, instead of replicating the same one, I decided to recreate it by amplifying the message of solidarity it was conveying. This mural is almost double the size. So you see, two *kuffiyehs* instead of one. I also wanted to evoke the spirit of Zapata and the collective story that we have in Mexico that says that he is not dead, but alive somewhere in Arabia. I wanted to send a strong message that reminds us that despite our different languages we are similar people because we are brave at heart as our common legacy of resistance in Mexico and Latin America shows.”

Between Rivera and Freire

In Mexican art magazines and reviews, Chávez Pavón is often described as an “artist of the people,” (Berdeja, 2008) belonging to the Mexican School of Muralism, his art reiterating the works of Diego Rivera, José Celestino Orozco, and David Siqueiros. Although he embraces this recognition and confirms that indeed his art is a continuation of the revolutionary Mexican muralism from the 1920s, Chávez Pavón asserts that his work is not merely a copy of these muralists. He affirms: “It is a recuperation of their values concerning struggle and criticism of the oppressive system” (Ibid). This vision was particularly visible in Palestine in the techniques he used: bold brush strokes, national colors, and a series of red handprints stamped along the Wall.



Figures 6 & 7: Mural in Abu Dis 2004 & 2018.

AE: The EZLN signature and the imprints of your hands are present on all the murals that you painted in Palestine. Can you elaborate more on these artistic choices?

GCHP: When I arrived in Palestine, there was graffiti on the Wall, but not so many murals. Unlike graffiti, murals can't be painted clandestinely, especially when one has to paint for two or three hours in a row and carry liters of paint along. But we did it. Murals have the ability to reverse the logic of the Wall. Murals can change the wall with ideas, forms, and colors. Murals have lots of colors, and colors are life. Colors cheer you up. For example, in the mural at the Wall in Abu Dis, which was very gray in comparison with the Wall in Bethlehem, I painted with the colors of the Palestinian flag flowers and long hair attached to a screaming head. However, I painted a big portrait of Che Guevara in black and white to accentuate a bare, yet personal message of resistance to colonialism and imperialism.

AE: How do you describe your experience of painting in Palestine?

GCHP: As I mentioned before, I came to Palestine while I was in the middle of painting a mural that celebrates the indigenous struggle and Zapatista movement in Chiapas. I was painting from the heart of our people and arrived in Palestine in this mood. At the Wall, we had to paint almost clandestinely. We had two or three hours to paint maximum each day before the Israeli soldiers arrived. We didn't want to paint clandestinely, but we didn't run away either when the Israeli army came to chase us away. We come from a long legacy of fighting back against blows. We are colonized and our resistance as an indigenous movement is still going on. We resist by speaking our native languages, Nahuatl, Zapotec, Tzotzil, Purépecha, and painting murals too. In the social struggle, walls are incredible trenches. The same walls that are being constructed to separate us and segregate us, we use them to create bridges of humanized colors. On these walls, we dig at the rhythm of the sun radiating with internationalist solidarity all the way from Palestine until infinity.

AE: Was there anything in particular that surprised you or called your attention when you arrived in Palestine?

GCHP: Although the war against the Palestinian people is more obvious and the reality of the checkpoints is brutal, I was reminded of Mexico when I arrived. In Mexico there is a subtle war against the Indians and the poor. Yet, wherever there is more struggle and resistance to this war, such as in Chiapas or Ayotzinapa, the government, police and army treat us with similar forms of oppressive violence that the Israelis use. So I wrote ‘to resist is to exist’ as a message to the Palestinians because it also reminded me of my people. I saw the same words written at a barricade that indigenous people were carrying to resist the attacks of the Mexican military in Juchitán, Oaxaca a few years ago. When I came to Palestine, I was reminded of this history of rebellion and the way in which indigenous people in Chiapas and Oaxaca have been dominated and immobilized by a similar military and physiological apparatus seeking to control them and break them down.

AE: Going through the pictures of the murals in your archive, one can notice that you are almost always surrounded by people; whether they are there to physically give you support while you are up on the ladder painting, or with brushes and colors in their hands painting with you. Do you ever paint alone?

GCHP: As Zapatistas, wherever we go, we go because we are invited, not because we are bohemians or good people. As a Zapatista cultural promoter, when I get invited to communities, I go with the intention of learning and receiving feedback. I don’t go to teach anything. You would be surprised at how many artists can be found in a community. Just give people a brush and see how many of them who don’t necessarily self-identify as artists, mostly marginalized groups of women and children, are actually capable of expressing themselves in the most artistic ways.

We don’t get to see this happen everyday because of how capitalism flattens our identities and fragments our communities. As a form of public art, murals socialize art and turn it into an exercise in democracy. For me, muralism can build up communities through a visual critical pedagogy rooted in the liberation philosophy of Paulo Friere⁶ and what he taught us about using collective art to create a new culture of participation.

Sprawling Solidarity

The fusion of the Palestinian *kuffiyeh* and the Zapatista *pasamontaña* became deeply entwined with the revolutionary spirit of public art in a mural that Chavéz Pavón painted in Santiago, Chile, in 2015. He collaborated with a local group of artists called Brigada Ramona Parra to paint a mural on a wall in Pincoya, a neighborhood renowned for its rebellious history. This reputation gained more popularity as the neighborhood became a major site for the muralist movement of *Museo a Cielo Abierto*⁷ (The Open Sky Museum).



Figure 8: Boitcut mural in Chile, 2015. Photo from Chavéz Pavón's archive.

While the iconic image of the masked figure from “To Exist is to Resist” remains the blueprint for the mural, there are several elements from the Palestinian resistance culture that appear alongside it: the slingshot as well as the keys, which symbolize the Right of Return. Next to the image, there is a vivid painting that portrays a Palestinian prisoner in bed being force-fed and a painting of prison bars being transformed into a barcode, with the words “Made in Israel” and “Boicot” sealing it. This part of the mural explicitly evokes the Palestinian prisoners’ hunger strike and the ongoing violation of Palestinian human rights in Israeli prisons and beyond. The “Boicot”

also alludes to the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions movement (BDS). The detailed narrative of solidarity that this mural exhibits is further accentuated with the slogan in Arabic at the top right corner: *‘āshat Filasṭīn ḥurrah* (Long Live Free Palestine). What is particular about the rich textual and visual features of this mural is its very explicit and vivid representation of political iconography. In this case, the call for solidarity with Palestine is clearly *written on the wall*.



Figure 9: Palestinian Girl at Pancho Villa School Mural, Chiapas, 2018. Photo from Chavéz Pavón's archive.



Figure 10: Pancho Villa School Mural, Chiapas, 2018. Photo from Chavéz Pavón's archive.



Figure 11: A Zapatista boy co-painting the Pancho Villa School Mural, Chiapas 2018. Photo from Chávez Pavón's archive.



Figure 12: The Palestinian Mexican Flag at the Pancho Villa School Mural, Chiapas 2018. Photo from Chávez Pavón's archive.

This trend of making solidarity with Palestine more visible is also evident in Chávez Pavón's most recent murals. In early January 2018, he finished painting a new mural in another autonomous Zapatista community in Chiapas. This time, the mural is painted on the wall of an educational center named after Pancho Villa, another prominent figure from the Mexican Revolution. He painted Zapatista children happily reading books amidst colorful magical

landscape. Behind them, there is a portrait of a beaming girl holding tightly onto the trunk of a tree, with a flower in her purple hair and a *kuffiyeh* around her neck. This girl, Chávez Pavón confirmed, resembles his own daughter Violeta when she was a child. Like her father, Violeta is interested in reclaiming indigenous traditions and she is now a folkloric dancer. Under her feet in the mural, the flags of Palestine and Mexico are tied together in a celebratory dance of solidarity between Chiapas and Palestine across generations.

On the final destination of his traveling murals, Chávez Pavón concludes, “I wanted my murals to deliver a message to the Palestinian resistance, and for the Zionists to know about it, from the heart of our people in Palestine. The message of ‘To Exist is to Resist’ had to come to the heart of Palestine for people to know it, live it, and savor it because of our common struggle. In our indigenous lands we have been painting murals, singing, writing poetry, dancing and combating the colonizer enemy for the past 500 years. My murals came to share this message of resistance with Palestine” (Facebook Private Message, Oct. 7, 2018). Ultimately, what Chávez Pavón illustrates is that the walls do speak, against all odds and despite borders, to remind us of what binds indigenous peoples across time, histories, and geographies.

*Special thanks to Gustavo Chavéz Pavón, Omar Tesdell and Khaldun Al-Massri for contributing to this essay by sharing photos from their private archive.

Notes

¹ For more information about the philosophy of the school and its program, see Zibechei, Raúl. “Autonomous Zapatista Education: The Little Schools of Below” (2013). <http://woocomerce-180730-527864.cloudwaysapps.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/autonomous-zapatista-education-the-little-schools-of-below.pdf>

²“Viva Zapata” is a popular slogan from the Mexican Revolution in 1910. The Zapatistas reintroduced it in their marches and political manifestos to evoke the legacy of Emiliano Zapata (1879-1919), the main leader of the peasants who championed “*tierra y libertad*” (Land and Liberty) and promulgated the Plan de Ayala in 1911, which called for substantial land reforms and redistributing lands to the peasants. In fact, naming their indigenous revolution after Zapata, the Zapatistas in Chiapas identify their struggle as a continuation of the Mexican Revolution.

³ For more details on this contest, see this report: “Postales por Palestina Buenos Aires 2015.” *YouTube*, uploaded by Resumen Latinoamericano, 21 Dec. 2015, www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=37&v=jaYhCRqLdW8.

⁴ For more on the history of posters of international solidarity with Palestine and a collection of these posters, see *The Palestine Poster Project Archive*. www.palestineposterproject.org. Accessed 8 Oct. 2018.

⁵ These murals were a joint initiative of the Palestinian Embassy in Buenos Aires and El Comité Argentino de Solidaridad con el Pueblo Palestino (The Argentinian Committee for Solidarity with the Palestinian People). For a short documentation of these murals, see: “Mural por Palestina.Octubre Revolucionario.Buenos Aires.” *You Tube*, uploaded by SuperSalem76, 11 November 2015, www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q3mrlpdqyIs.

⁶ Best known for his seminal book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970) Brazilian educator and philosopher Paulo Friere argued that oppressed people can achieve liberation by co-creating knowledge and developing critical pedagogical practices that establish their participation as equals in society.

⁷ For more photo of murals from this neighborhood and the profile of artists visit the official site of the online museum, *Museo a Cielo Abierto*, <https://museoacieloabiertoenlapincoya.wordpress.com>. Accessed 8 Oct. 2018.

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Two Maya Tales from the Mérida Cereso¹

AUDREY A. HARRIS

“For the Maya Indian—a truth more extensive yesterday than today, but still true—all beings, and even inanimate objects, exist in constant relation to spirits and occult forces that decisively intervene in human life.” —Oswaldo Baqueiro López, *Magia, mitos y supersticiones entre los Mayas* (translation mine)

“Tell all the truth, but tell it slant—” —Emily Dickinson, *The Poems of Emily Dickinson: Reading Edition*

In the claustrophobic atmosphere of a penitentiary, the imagination is both escape and pressure valve. Art can be a mode of spiritual and mental resistance against confinement. For the imprisoned women in Mérida, Yucatán, the oppressions are multilayered, extending from centuries ago to the present day: they come in the forms of patriarchy, Mexican rule in the Yucatán, the memory of the Spanish conquest, the lash of prejudice against the incarcerated, and against incarcerated women in particular, and steep class-based inequalities. Outside prison walls, the telling of Maya folklore and of stories set in Maya pueblos is a form of cultural solidarity, a tribute to the ancient Mayas, one of the great civilizations of the ancient world, and a gesture of resistance against central Mexican culture (Moßbrucker et al., 155). Inside the enforced exile of the prison, where the hand of the law is felt with every breath and daily injustices, large and small, abound, the need for a) a local sense of cultural belonging and b) resistance against entrenched hierarchies of power magnifies exponentially.

The two stories translated below were written for two different writing workshops at the women’s area of the Mérida Cereso (Center for Social Reinsertion), a prison in Mérida, Yucatán. Both authors are of mixed Maya and Spanish descent; though neither speaks fluent Maya, both identify culturally with Maya culture and both report having at least one fully Maya speaking grandparent. Zindy Abreu Barón, a self-trained writer who has won numerous national literary awards, wrote “Mucuy y los niños del monte” (“Mucuy and the Mountain Children”) in 2005 in a workshop led by the Yucatecan educator and writer Verónica García Rodríguez. The book that resulted from this workshop, *Memorias de mujeres en prisión y otros relatos* (2009), features three texts by Abreu: a poem, a short autobiographical account of her apprehension, torturing and forced confession to a murder she didn’t commit, and a short story. In 2005, “Mucuy,” a work of

literary fiction, won the José Revueltas National Story Prize, an annual award, administered by the Ministry of Public Security, for the best story written by an inmate in the Mexican penal system.

Although a writer before spending fourteen years in prison, Abreu developed her talent behind bars in García Rodríguez’s workshop. Passion for the written word runs in her veins; she proudly claims to descend from the family of Ermilo Abreu Gómez. Gómez is the author of one of the canonical texts detailing the injustices experienced by the Maya people, *Canek* (1940): the story of the Maya leader Kaan Ek (Jacinto Canek), who died in 1761 while battling Spanish imperial rule. Upon completing her sentence, during which she began to give classes in English, guitar and chess to the other inmates, Abreu was released in 2014. Since leaving prison, she has become a tireless advocate for incarcerated women in Mérida, returning on a volunteer basis to give classes in English and creative writing, and organizing public exhibits of the prisoners’ artworks; she also dreams of opening a halfway house for recently released female inmates.

The second story, “La leyenda de Juan Pistolas” (“The Legend of Juan Pistolas”) by Yesli Dayanili Pech Pech, was written in the summer of 2016 in a reading and writing workshop I taught in the Cereso. In the summer of 2016, with a grant from the Mellon Public Scholars program, I led a workshop with female prisoners in the Cereso de Mérida, and, following in the footsteps of García Rodríguez, I published a book of their writings, entitled *Nos contamos a través de los muros* (*We Tell our Stories Through these Walls*, Catarsis). This opportunity allowed me to experience first-hand the workings of a prison creative writing workshop and how it may be used as a tool both to help women on an individual basis as they navigate prison life and prepare for social reinsertion, and also to spark larger conversations about conditions of prison life in Mexico and the circumstances that lead people to prison and the transformed world they face once they leave. I presented the project, along with an exhibit of photos taken of the workshop and its participants by the photographer Albert Durán, at events in Mérida and at the U.S. Embassy in Mexico City. The choice to be included by their real names was made by all but one of the workshop participants; likewise, all but one of the participants requested to have their likenesses appear in the photo exhibition. As the Mérida-based writer and prison educator Lope Ávila explained to me, during one of the many lengthy conversations and interviews I conducted with local prison educators, these women are known for their crimes, and their names and likenesses often appear in local papers both upon their incarceration and upon their release.

Participation in cultural projects, such as writing workshops and other public events organized within the Cereso, serve as a rare source of positive publicity and attention for inmates, and can help create a positive impression of them as they prepare for social reentry.

Although this paper is primarily literary in nature, the following section provides important background information on some of the social conditions facing female prisoners in Mexico. The statistics below are also corroborated by information provided to me orally during a number of interviews and informal conversations I held during my time working in the Mérida penal system with prison educators and administrators. According to Leticia Romero Rodríguez, Jesús Nicolás Gracida Galán, and Carlos Benito Lara Romero the following are the conditions facing women in prison in the heavily Maya-descended Southeastern Mexico:

-“Most inmates lack resources to defend themselves...the legal process has little effect and public defense continues to be an ineffectual institution” (Rodríguez, Galán, Romero 21, *translation mine*).

-“There are numerous violations of the rights of female delinquents. The vast majority of female inmates has never seen a judge and did not hear from his or her mouth the reasons for which her rights to liberty have been removed. The defense is of poor quality and there are also clear violations during the process and the moment of detention. Investigation into their cases by the Public Ministry is minimal (*ibid*)”.

-“Once inside the prison, the rates of corruption are high, and insufficient attention is paid to rehabilitation” (*ibid*).

-Fewer than 5% of prison inmates in Mexico are women. The crimes they commit are generally less violent than those by men. However, those who are incarcerated face higher sentences for the same or lesser crimes than men, due to a pattern of discrimination against women within the Mexican penal system.

-Types of corruption that commonly occur in the Mexican prison system include the exchange of sexual favors from female inmates with prison officials for goods or certain freedoms; the proliferation of an underground economy within the prison by which wealthier inmates receive better living quarters and other services not available to other inmates, etc.

-Women in prison are subject to more societal and familial discrimination than men. Because of their doubly or triply marginal position as women (many of indigenous descent) in prison, family members are quicker to cut ties with female inmates than with males. Conjugal

visits are more frequent to men by their wives than to women by their husbands. Women in prison are cut off from their families, rejected, and left to fend for themselves when they leave. They are blamed for ruining the honor of their families, while men are more quickly welcomed back into the family and social fabric following incarceration.

I did not ask the women who participated in the workshop to write directly about their experiences in prison. Instead, I exhorted them, in the words of Emily Dickinson, to “tell all the truth, but tell it slant.” Accordingly, although many of their stories are fictional or related to memories that took place before their incarceration, they contain a number of themes that mark their lives in the Cereso: injustice, solitude, dislocation, and violence, both physical and social.

Pech’s story is a retelling of a folk legend from her town of Dzidzantún: a pueblo located in northeastern Yucatán. Though not a trained writer, Pech is known in the Cereso as the ‘rimera’ (rhymmer), a writer of poetry, rap, and picaresque accounts such as the one translated below, “La leyenda de Juan Pistolas.” I found her to be one of the most enthusiastic members of the writing workshop, producing extra pieces of writing as the sessions drew to a close, including a stash of clever and humorously illustrated poems and songs which she wrote for herself and performed for the other prisoners’ amusement. Pech has since been released.

Since the Spanish conquest of the Yucatán, two key features characterize Maya literature²: 1) resistance to colonial rule (under which the Maya still live as reluctant Mexican nationals) and 2) the Maya cosmovision, which abounds with supernatural characters and occurrences. Both Abreu and Pech claim Maya descent; in interviews both report having at least one fully Maya speaking grandparent, through whom they root their affiliation with Maya culture and to whom they trace an early interest in Maya folklore. Both of their stories feature Maya protagonists, who are also, not coincidentally, outsiders in their society. In search of answers for why inmates, including non-Maya speakers, in the Mérida Cereso are drawn to writing, reading and recounting Maya folklore—it is one of the most-requested genres in my writing workshops there—I interviewed Abreu during a telephone call on September 17, 2018. She says that Mexicans of non-Yucatecan³ origins can find themselves discriminated against, and thus often seek to assimilate by acquiring cultural fluency. She theorized that, in a context of social exclusion such as a prison, the desire to be incorporated into the society, its norms and its values increases; in this case that desire expresses itself through the telling of folklore. Thus the telling of Maya folklore within the prison indicates a mixed cultural identification—on the one hand the

desire to draw close to Yucatecan folkloric traditions, rooted in Maya culture, and on the other, a demarcation of cultural difference from the central Mexican government and from the deculturation occasioned by globalization.

Maya folklore often features magical beings who surprise, bless, or torment humans in the *pueblos*. These beings include the X'tabay, a fatal woman lurking in the brush who lures drunkards to their deaths and serves as a cautionary tale against inebriation and infidelity, the *alux*, the *huay-chivo*, and scores of other surprising creatures who insert an element of magic into the everyday. These characters are beloved for their narrative potential, but also feared. All of them possess an essential *otherness* that mirrors the otherness of Maya culture within the context of Mexican society. Their belonging to an alternate realm of existence asserts the possibility of an alternate order that rules life and that exists quite independently of contemporary society, its laws, norms and happenings—an order capable of undercutting, defying and/or reordering reigning social hierarchies, norms and protocols.

Abreu's piece tells the story of a young autistic girl named Mucuy, who lives in a Maya village on a traditional *solar*. Karen Kramer's anthropological study on Maya children and their roles in traditional *pueblos*, *Maya Children: Helpers at the Farm*, (2005) describes a *solar* as a household compound composed of dwellings of wattle and daub, an earth floor, and pitched roofs. *Solars* are surrounded by a rubble wall which is carefully maintained. Most also have backyards with animal pens, an outhouse, herb and vegetable plots, and work areas (60).

Like most school-age Maya girls, Mucuy must spend many hours a day occupied in domestic work. She assists her grandmother around the *solar* to support the family. Jobs for women in a typical Maya village include “food processing, food preparation, collecting water and firewood, running errands, tending domesticating animals, sewing, washing, and cleaning” (Kramer, 105); meanwhile the men typically spend more time cultivating the *milpa*, or maize field (*ibid*, 104). In the story, Mucuy can be seen performing several chores, including washing clothes, cleaning the patio, gathering firewood, grinding corn kernels in the *nixtamal* and drawing water from the well. Meanwhile, her grandmother feeds the hens, butchers, cooks, and serves one for dinner, weaves hammocks, tends the house and oversees Mucuy's work, and her uncle Paciano works all day in the *milpa*, all following the traditional gendered roles outlined by Kramer. To her disappointment, Mucuy is not permitted by her grandmother to attend school. Beyond primary education, low school attendance is common in Maya villages, where “the

limited amount of training necessary to be successful at maize production, coupled with the unavailability of skill-based wage labor, results in a low payoff to parents who forgo their children’s work and formally educate or train them” (Kramer, 38). However, because of her autism, Mucuy is denied even the chance to learn to read and write; to make matters worse, she is shunned by the other village children. She is beaten and starved by her grandmother, sexually molested by her uncle, and her only friends are the mysterious *niños del monte* (children of the mountain), who resemble *aluxes*, mischievous local sprites. The magical elements in both stories are firmly rooted in the mythological tradition of the Yucatán. The journalist and cultural expert Oswaldo Baquero López (1932-2005) undertook a study of this tradition and defined the *aluxes* as

little spirits that live in the mountains and who manifest their presence with devilish tricks, with the goal of receiving gifts of their favorite foods. Sometimes, they can even cause illness due to the harmful ‘wind’ that they leave in their wake . . . On the other hand, if the *alux* makes friends with the *Indio*, he or she can be certain that no thieves will steal their corn crop . . . They only appear after the sun sets and in the form of a child of three or four years old, naked except for their head . . . They are very agile on their feet and can run backwards as well as forwards. (33, *translation mine*)

The duality of the *alux*—who despite their mischievous natures also serve as protectors to *Indios* who manage to befriend them—is apparent in Abreu’s story, in which the narrator makes friends with the *aluxes*, in spite of her grandmother’s disapproval. They become her playmates when the village children refuse to play with her, and even punish her uncle for drunkenly molesting his niece by fatally smashing his head in with rocks from the garden wall. In the presence of the *aluxes*, hierarchies between young and old, male and female, and weak and powerful collapse. As a result of her friendship with them, the otherwise disempowered narrator experiences small but significant joys and triumphs. During our interview, Abreu explained to me that her aim in writing “Mucuy” was to create a slice of life based on accounts of the *pueblos* told to her by Maya inmates whom she describes as enveloped in a world of fantasy (i.e. fantasy as subversive of material conditions) that helped them manage the poverty and injustice of prison life. Likewise, Mucuy’s fantasy relationship with the *aluxes* helps her survive the domestic abuse she lives at the hands of her grandmother and uncle.

Similarly, in Pech's story, the *alux*—and the *huay chivo* that appear are examples of the magical hybrid creatures that abound in Maya mythology. In his *Mitología Maya*, the prominent folklorist Roldán Peniche Barrera, author of several books of Maya legends he collected and transcribed in the *pueblos* of the Yucatán peninsula, describes these creatures variously as 'seres perversos' (perverse beings), and 'nefastas criaturas,' (nefarious creatures) 'siniestras,' (sinister) and 'deleznales' (despicable), elaborating on their nature as follows: "Los seres mitológicos mayas se comportan... como verdaderos flagelos. Son todos de impresionante presencia, feos por dentro y por fuera, intimidantes, ... y además vagan por las noches" ("The mythological beings of the Maya act... like true scourges. All impressive in appearance, they are ugly on the outside and the inside, intimidating... what's more they roam by night") (5). In stark contrast with these primarily negative descriptions, the narration of both Abreu's and Pech's stories sympathizes with these often demonized characters, both humanizing them and demonstrating how they are (unjustly) vilified by the larger society. In the case of Mucuy, the *aluxes*, though considered a nuisance by her grandmother, rescue her from the sexual molestation that she suffers at the hands of her uncle. Thus the outlier figure of the *alux* is shown to be misunderstood, even heroic in the context of Abreu's story. Meanwhile, in Pech's retelling of the *Huay-Chivo* legend, the violent punishment greeted on the titular character by the people of the pueblo is disproportionate to the crimes of vandalism he has perpetrated—thus she turns the legend into a parable about the unjust sentencing of a misunderstood outsider.

Pech originally recounted the story of Juan Pistolas orally in our workshop. The first draft she presented was brief, yet indicated her talent for rhythm, structure, suspense, and captivating subject matter. In her second draft, she added more details to the story, such as descriptions of Juan Pistolas's body and of his activities that so frightened the village people.

One interesting element of Pech's tale is its hybrid character. There are characteristics of the Western film in the story, with people riding horses and seeking to lynch the *Huay-Chivo*. Indeed, many of Pech's texts contain cinematic elements indicating her interest and influence in film and popular culture. The name Juan Pistolas shows the influence of Spanish culture, as pistols are not native to Maya culture. The horse is a Spanish import to Mexico, as are the church bells, the notion of the 'soul in pain' and the references to Satan. Even the *Huay-Chivo* is a cultural hybrid, since goats were also imported to Mexico from Spain. However, *Huay* is a Maya

word, Dzidzantún is a Maya pueblo, and the *choza* where Juan Pistolas lives refers to a typical provisional Maya hut, constructed of sticks or mud and a thatched palm roof.

In the context of ongoing ethnic conflict and inequality in the Yucatán, it is significant that the protagonist of Pech’s story is an “hechicero” (spell-caster or sorcerer) who mutters a “Satanic dialogue.” Pech describes Juan Pistolas as a sorcerer, and he raises his wife’s suspicion by muttering verses from the Black Book. The story registers cultural conflict when Juan Pistolas’s wife and others in the village judge him for practicing a belief system that they judge evil, based on their Manichean worldview. As in Abreu’s story, it is the principal character’s contact or association with an alternate world order characterized by magical, pre-Catholic belief systems that lands them in trouble. The presence of folk Catholicism, or the mixture of Catholic and pre-Catholic beliefs that characterize contemporary indigenous cultures across Mexico, is clear in the story which includes references both to the biblical Satan and to the Maya *Huay-Chivo*, conflating them into one in the eyes of the villagers.

Other important elements of Pech’s story are its themes of violence and injustice. Is the violence perpetrated against Juan Pistolas by the villagers and his own brother really merited by his crimes? His crimes are, by any measure, petty: breaking and entering, causing public disorder, and slaughtering chickens. His punishments— imprisonment, assassination, eternal damnation—feel unwarranted and unjust.⁴ He is a scapegoat for the ills of the village and punished accordingly, after being betrayed by his own family. For the crime of social deviance, he is now a prisoner of the devil, condemned to eternal suffering. As for many of the female prisoners at the Cereso de Mérida, his punishment and public vilification far outweigh his crimes.

Both of these stories speak to the cultural hybridity of Mexican culture, which has arisen as a product both of Spanish colonialism and Western cultural imperialism. Abreu uses the form of the short story to bring characters from Maya mythology to life, instead of employing the traditional *leyenda*⁵ format (the format that Pech employs to great effect in her story). Meanwhile, Pech introduces elements from the cinematic western to her original retelling of the *Huay-Chivo* legend.

Due to the distinct process of conquest and mestizaje undergone by Mexico during and after the Spanish colonial period, indigeneity functions differently in Mexico than it does in the United States. In Mexico, indigeneity has been embraced by the nation as an important symbol

of national identity and culture. Yet at the same time, indigenous populations in Mexico face enormous structural inequalities. Both of these stories bely a unique sensitivity to the multiple oppressions their characters face. Both also bely a playful sensibility that derives humor and enjoyment from the figures of Maya folklore, and subsequently and simultaneously function as a denunciation of social marginalization and a celebration of the unique landscapes, customs and supernatural characters of the Maya world.

Beyond appealing to a local audience, or even to a readership concerned with issues of prison justice, these stories transcend through their universal themes of injustice, otherness, violence and abuse. Both are the work of gifted storytellers. Abreu is already recognized in the world of Mexican prison literature but deserves an even wider national and international audience as a writer whose work stands on its own. Meanwhile Pech's work is until now largely unknown outside the Mérida Cereso, yet readers should appreciate the fine quality of her writing. For both women, this is the first time their work has appeared in English translation. Their stories demonstrate the potential of Maya prison narratives to transcend prison walls, as well as linguistic and geographic boundaries, carrying their authors' critique of injustice, and also their cry of hope, to readers around the globe.

A note on the translation: Abreu and Pech's stories appear below first in the original Spanish versions and then in my English translation. In the Yucatán, Spanish is frequently mixed with Yucatec Maya. I have left Maya words and expressions in italics, with English translations in the footnotes, to preserve the bilingual flavor of the Spanish in the region.

MUCUY Y LOS NIÑOS DEL MONTE

Zindy Abreu Barón

Cada noche, por entre los hilos de mi hamaca, los veo llegar. Vienen del monte. Caminan sobre las piedras de la albarrada y arman gran alboroto en el patio. La luz de la luna llena alumbrá sus cuerpos arrugados, de piel morena como la mía. Son de mi tamaño, aunque algunos alcanzan a asomar los ojos de carbón encendido por las ventanas de madera.

Mi abuela dice que yo atraigo a esos *malos aires* que le quitan el sueño. También asustan a sus gallinas que ya no quieren poner más huevos. Por eso hace de todo *pa'* que se larguen:

acomoda tijeras en forma de cruz bajo su hamaca, cuelga ajos con hojas de *guano* tras de las puertas y se pasa las horas *cuchicheando* con la estampa de una señora con rebozo de estrellas, rodeada de un montón de chiquitos gordos con alas, *quesque* viven en el cielo. Antes de dormir, se santigua y asienta junto a la batea tres jícaras, que son como mitad de pequeños cocos secos, sin pelos, llenos de atole de maíz nuevo, chile habanero y aguardiente de mi tío Paciano. Cuando duermo en el patio, me trago todo lo que encuentro en las jícaras, *pa'* que los niños del monte nunca se vayan.

Después de que el gallo canta, mi *chichí*, con los pelos canos largos, sin amarrar todavía, le da de comer a las gallinas. A la que más se acerca a ella le aplasta la cabeza con sus *sayonaras* y le tuerce el pescuezo. La cocina con caldo de arroz en leña y prepara agua con naranjas agrias, sólo *pa'* mi tío, porque es hombre y trabaja la milpa. Yo como de lo que encuentro en los árboles. Más tarde, se pone a urdir hamacas con hilos de colores. A mí me pone a lavar ropa, limpiar el patio, juntar leña, moler los granos de maíz en el *nixtamal* y sacar agua del pozo. Todo eso hago hasta que el sol cae, como bostezando, entre las flores que cubren el *tajonal*. Me quedo a *gustarlo* porque sé eso de las flores y el sol que, agradecido en que lo guardan de noche, les regala sus colores.

Ya se durmió mi abuela y su hijo que no aparece. El pobrecito llega de trabajar la milpa, siempre borracho, ya muy noche, desde que esa mujer con la que peleaba mucho, por mi culpa, se fue.

La luz de una vela alumbra las sombras, que, bailan y se alargan por las paredes de adobe. El humo a cartón de huevo quemado llena la choza y ahuyenta los moscos que dan vueltas sobre mi cabeza. Sentada en mi hamaca arrullo entre mis brazos el cuerpecito de manta de mi muñeca. Paseo mis dedos por su cabello enmarañado y negro como el mío. Le pregunto si conoce el cielo por donde se pasea mi *má*. Dice mi abuela que, al rato que me parió, se nos fue. No lloro; aunque sienta que cruja, como cucaracha aplastada, lo que punza dentro de mi pecho. Unos ratones chillan y *acorretean iguanos* transparentes sobre los palos de madera que atraviesan el techo de paja. Los persigo con la mirada. Algunos caen, resbalan por el pabellón en donde ronca la vieja y se escurren bajo la tierra roja del suelo. Al menos ellos tienen con quien jugar.

Los chamacos del pueblo no quieren jugar conmigo. Corren a atraparse entre los árboles. Con soga de *henequén* se amarran a los tobillos *jícaras* redondas llenas de piedritas. Desde lejos los miro. Brinco y aplaudo cuando pescan a alguno. Si me acerco, gritan que apesto a *wishs* y

con piedras en las manos corren tras de mi hacia la milpa. El corazón que se me quiere salir por las narices cuando me guardo entre los maizales, los niños del monte los reciben a pedradas. Los chamacos, con los ojos bien abiertos, dan la vuelta y huyen hacia el pueblo, las piedritas en sus tobillos zumban como panal de abejas. Con los brazos al cielo y mi lengua de lado, los persigo hasta que los pierdo de la mirada.

No falta quien llegue de acusón con mi abuela, quien, sin preguntar, deja caer una lluvia de *huascops* sobre mi cabeza. Grita que sólo sirvo *pa'* hacer maldades, que soy bien bruta y que en mi cabeza de *cocoyol*, sólo las liendres y los piojos se pegan. Por eso no me llevan a la escuela. Además *quel* dinero no alcanza *pa'* libros. Entonces sí lloro. No por los pescozones que rezumban mi cabeza, sino porque quiero ir a la escuela, a jugar con los niños, a leer las letras.

Mi tío no me pega. Deja que remoje mi tortilla en su caldo cada que llega y encuentra dormida a mi abuela. Me sienta encima de su enorme panza. Mientras devoro lo que queda en el plato, él hace *cosquías* a mis pies. A veces pienso que con su dedo más gordo quiere atravesar la carne entre mis piernas y no lo dejo. *Revoloteo* como gallina que le *tronchan* el pescuezo y *wisho* su pantalón. Para esas veces; gruñendo, Paciano se levanta, me bota al piso y del pelo me jala a dormir al patio.

Con la mano espanto a los moscos que dan vueltas sobre mi cabeza. No dejan que se aquieten mis pensamientos. El ruido de unas piedras que caen de la albarrada hace que de un salto me levante de la hamaca. Camino hacia la puerta del patio. Acecho, primero un ojo, luego otro. Por mis cabellos se cuele el aire fresco de la noche. El susurro de las hojas secas que el viento pasea de un lado a otro llena mis oídos. Los grillos cantan cosas de la gente del pueblo: el llanto de los huesos enterrados bajo la tierra, del *nené* que aprieta con su boca el pecho seco de su *má* y del chillar de tripas que se retuercen de hambre, como las *mías*. Camino sin prisa hacia el fondo del patio. Con los dedos intento pellizcar las estrellas que cuelgan del cielo. Una, la más brillante, abre y cierra sus ojos. Con su luz acaricia mis pestañas. Un viento colado se mece entre las hojas de los árboles y trae hasta mis oídos murmullos que parecen decir: *Mucuy, koóx paxal*. Me detengo junto al brocal del pozo, agarro una piedra y la aviento hacia la oscuridad. Entre los árboles estallan las risas de los niños del monte. Mi corazón parece querer salir por mi boca abierta cuando los miro bajar y deslizarse por las matas de tamarindo y aguacate. Del tronco de ceibo se despega uno que se apoya de una vara al caminar. Acerca su rostro de papel arrugado al mío. Su aliento a tierra mojada baña mi rostro. Se carcajea con los dientes puntiagudos de fuera.

Un grito agudo, como graznido de *kau*, escapa por mi garganta. Cubro mi boca con la mano y *wisho* mi *huipil*. Corro hacia mi hamaca y me enrolló en ella.

Por entre los hilos, miro a los niños colgar sogas de las ramas. Esconden el lazo entre la tierra y riegan granos de maíz encima. Abren la reja del gallinero, azuzan a las gallinas y trepan a los árboles. Cuando las gallinas se acercan a picotear el maíz, los niños desde las ramas, jalan las sogas. Las muy mensas quedan colgadas boca abajo, cacarean, giran y aletean, unas del pescuezo, otras de una pata. A lo lejos, en las calles vacías del pueblo, los perros aúllan.

Para cuando decide asomarse mi abuela, el patio amanece cubierto de plumas y las gallinas, todas tiesas, como tieso amaneció hoy mi tío Paciano. Con la cabeza, como *tauch*, aplastada bajo las piedras que cayeron de la albarrada. La vieja, sin preguntar y a chillidos, me raja las nalgas con sogas remojada. Aprieto los ojos. Con las manos cubro mis oídos para no escuchar como si un montón de hormigas *sayes* marcharan hacia mi nuca por los huesos de mi espalda. Una voz dentro quiere llevarme a caer hacia las aguas del cenote sagrado en donde nacen los niños del monte. Si no fuera por la luz brillante de esa estrella, que abre y cierra sus ojos, dentro de mi cabeza.

MUCUY AND THE MOUNTAIN CHILDREN

Zindy Abreu Barón

Each night, from between the strands of my hammock, I watch them arrive. They come from the mountain. They walk on the stones of the garden wall and make a huge ruckus in the patio. The light of the full moon illuminates their wrinkled bodies, dark-skinned like mine. They are my size, although some of them are tall enough to peer through the wooden windows with their burning coal eyes.

My grandmother says that I attract these evil spirits that rob peoples' sleep. They also frighten her hens, who refuse to lay their eggs anymore. That's why she does anything to shoo them off: she arranges scissors in the form of a cross beneath her hammock, hangs garlic with *guano* leaves behind the doors and spends the hours whispering with the figure of a woman dressed in a starry *rebozo*, surrounded by a mountain of fat babies with wings, because they live in the sky. Before sleeping, she crosses herself and next to the tray she places three *jícaras*, which are like little halved dried coconuts, hairless, filled with young corn *atole*, *chile habanero*

and my uncle Paciano's *aguardiente*. When I sleep in the patio, I drink everything I find in the *jícaras*, so that the mountain children will never leave.

After the cock crows, my *chichi*,⁶ with her long white hair, not yet tied back, feeds the hens. She crushes the head of the one who gets nearest to her and wrings its neck with a *sayonara*. She cooks it in a broth with rice over firewood and prepares water with tart oranges, only for my uncle, because he's a man and works in the *milpa*⁷. I eat from what I find in the trees. Later, she weaves hammocks with colored strands. She sets me to washing clothes, cleaning the patio, gathering firewood, grinding corn kernels in the *nixtamal* and drawing water from the well. I do all this until the sun sets, as though yawning, between the flowers that cover the *tajonal*⁸. I stand there enjoying it because I know this about the flowers and the sun, that, grateful that they preserve his essence at night, he gifts them his colors.

My grandmother has already fallen asleep and her son hasn't yet appeared. The *pobrecito* always comes back from working the *milpa*, always drunk, late at night, ever since that woman who he was always fighting with, over me, left.

Candlelight illuminates the shadows, which dance and lengthen across the adobe walls. The smoke of burnt egg crates fills the hut and drives off the mosquitos circling above my head. Seated in my hammock I rock my doll's little cloth body. I run my fingers through her hair, which is tangled and black like mine. I ask her if she's been to heaven where my *má* walks. My grandmother says that, just after giving birth to me, she left us. I don't cry, although I feel something crunching, like a crushed cockroach, piercing my heart. Mice squeak and transparent iguanas scamper over the wooden poles that cross the thatched roof. I follow them with my eyes. Some fall, sliding down the pavilion where the old woman snores and they burrow beneath the red earth of the floor. At least they have each other to play with.

The village kids don't want to play with me. They run and hide between the trees. They tie round *jícaras* filled with stones to their ankles with henequen ropes. I watch them from far away. I jump and clap when they catch someone. If I come close, they yell that I stink of *wishes*⁹ and with stones in their hands they run after me toward the *milpa*. My heart wants to jump out of my nostrils as I hide myself between the corn stalks; the mountain children throw stones at them. The village kids, their eyes open wide, turn around and flee toward the village; the rocks at their ankles buzz like honeycombs. With my arms waving in the sky and my tongue wagging, I chase them until they are out of sight.

There is no lack of complainers who come to my grandmother, who, no questions asked, lets fall a shower of *huascops*¹⁰ on my head. She yells that I’m only good for making trouble, that I’m a brute and that my head of *cocoyol*¹¹ is filled with nothing but nits and lice. That’s why they don’t send me to school. Besides they don’t have enough money for books. Then I do cry. Not because of the blows that reverberate in my brain, but because I want to go to school, to play with the other children, to read letters.

My uncle doesn’t hit me. He lets me moisten my tortilla in his broth whenever he comes and finds my grandmother asleep. He sits me on top of his enormous belly. While I devour what remains in the dish, he tickles my feet. Sometimes I think that with his fattest finger he wants to pierce the flesh between my legs, but I don’t let him. I flap and flutter like a hen with a twisted neck and I pee on his pants. On these occasions, he gets up growling, boots me to the floor, and drags me by the hair to sleep on the patio.

With my hand I frighten away the mosquitos that circle above my head. They don’t allow my thoughts to settle. The sound of stones falling from the garden wall makes me jump from my hammock. I walk toward the patio door. I spy, first with one eye, then the other. The fresh night air sneaks through my hair. The whisper of dry leaves being blown back and forth by the wind fills my ears. The crickets sing about the villagers, the lament of the bones buried beneath the earth, of the *nené* who sucks his *má*’s dry breast and of stomachs twisting with hunger, like mine. I walk unhurriedly toward the back of the patio. With my fingers I try to pinch the stars that hang from the sky. One, the brightest, opens and closes its eyes. Its light caresses my eyelashes. A draft blows between the leaves of the trees and carries rumors to my ears that seem to say: *Mucuy, koóx paxal*.¹² I pause next to the lip of the well, grab a rock and fling it into the darkness. The laughter of the mountain children explodes amidst the trees. My heart seems to want to escape through my open mouth when I watch them descend, wriggling through the tamarind and avocado plants. From the trunk of the *ceibo* drops one who leans on a crutch when he walks. He nears his wrinkled paper face to mine. His breath of wet earth bathes my face. He cackles with his teeth pointed out. A sharp cry, like the squawk of a *kau*¹³, escapes my throat. I cover my mouth and wet my *huipil*. I run back to my hammock and roll myself up in it.

From between the strands, I watch the children hang ropes from the branches. They hide the loop in the earth and shower kernels of corn on top. Then they open the chicken coop, bait the hens and climb up the trees. When the hens come close to pick at the corn, the children pull

the ropes from where they are stationed up in the trees. The stupidest get strung up mouth down, squawking, spinning and flapping, some by the neck, others by a leg. Far away, in the empty streets of the village, dogs howl.

By the time my grandmother decides to come out the next morning, the patio is covered in feathers and the chickens are all stiff, stiff like my uncle Paciano looked this morning. With his head, like a *taúch*¹⁴, crushed beneath the rocks that fell from the garden wall. The old woman, without asking what happened, screams and whips my bottom with a wet rope. I squeeze my eyes shut. With my hands I cover my ears so I won't hear what sounds like a mountain of ants marching along my backbone toward the nape of my neck. A voice inside wants to carry me to the sacred *cenote*, to fall into the waters where the mountain children are born. If it weren't for the brilliant light of that star, that opens and shuts its eyes, inside my head.

LEYENDA DE JUAN PISTOLAS

Yesli Dayanili Pech Pech

Cuenta la leyenda que en un pequeño pueblo llamado Dzizantun, en Yucatán cuando llegaba la noche unas cadenas sonaban. La gente decía que cosas insólitas pasaban en el pueblo.

Los ancianos del pueblo decían que todo era a causa de un brujo al cual le llamaban “Juan Pistolas”. Juan Pistolas tenía ciento cinco años de edad. Su madre era una mestiza de aquel pueblo. Por las noches se transformaba en un animal grande con patas de chivo, cabeza de caballo y pelo de mono. Sus ojos, como los del venado, sólo se distinguían de noche. Juan Pistolas asustaba a la gente del pueblo transformándose en un animal llamado “Huay-chivo”. A partir de las doce de la noche ningún alma en pena caminaba por las calles por miedo de que se les apareciera “Juan Pistolas”. La hora de salir de aquel animal era las doce de la noche ya cuando la gente del pueblo dormía. Juan Pistolas salía de su choza que quedaba por San Juan Chuilén y en ese mismo pueblo asustaba a la gente metiéndose a las cocinas de las chozas y tirando todo lo que hallaba a su alrededor: ollas, sartenes y cubetas. Pero en realidad se comía la comida y mataba a las gallinas y pavos sólo para sacarles el corazón.

Cuenta la leyenda que “Juan Pistolas” se había casado con una mujer más joven que él. La mujer era de otro pueblo, cerca de Dzizantun, llamado Cansacob, Yucatán. A pesar de tener dos hijos con él, una noche ella lo abandonó porque descubrió que “Juan Pistolas” se dedicaba a

hacer la brujería, magia negra. Una noche ella se levantó y le escuchó susurrando un dialecto a Satanás del "Libro negro". Poco tiempo después, en una noche oscura, la gente del pueblo, cansada de sus fechorías, decidieron lincharlo pero una y otra vez se les escapaba.

Juan Pistolas tenía dos hermanos: Herminio y Pedro. Un día, Pedro, el mediano, decidió acabar con su propio hermano. Agarró su caballo y se dirigió a la cueva donde vivía el brujo. Llevaba un litro de gasolina. Cuando llegó comenzó a rociar toda la choza con el líquido, prendió un cerillo y quemó todo. Juan Pistolas estaba dormido después de una de sus corridas nocturnas y no anticipó el ataque.

Cuenta la leyenda que Juan Pistolas murió a manos de su propio hermano, pero su alma en pena sigue andando arrastrando la cadena que lleva atada a sus pies y a su alma: es prisionero del diablo. Hasta la fecha la gente se acuerda de sus infamias.

THE LEGEND OF JUAN PISTOLAS

Yesli Dayanili Pech Pech

The legend goes that in a village called Dzidzantún, in the Yucatán, when night fell the chains began to clank. People told of unusual things that happened in that town.

The old people said that it was all the fault of a sorcerer who was known as Juan Pistolas. He was a hundred and five years old. His mother was a *mestiza*. By night he would transform himself into a large animal with the hoofs of a goat, the head of a horse and the hair of a monkey. His eyes, like a deer's, could only be distinguished at night when they reflected the light. Juan Pistolas would scare the village people transforming himself into an animal called a *Huay-Chivo*. After midnight no one could be seen in the streets because of the fear that he might appear. That animal left the house at midnight when the people of the village were already asleep. He would leave his hut, near San Juan Chuilen, where he would scare people by entering their kitchens and ransacking their pots, pans, and drawers. But really he was only after the food, and he killed the hens and turkeys by tearing out their hearts.

The legend goes that Juan Pistolas had married a woman who was younger than him. The woman was from Casacab, a village close to Dzidzantún. Although she had borne him two children, one night she abandoned him because she discovered that he performed witchery, black

magic. One night while she was dreaming, some murmurs awoke her; she walked toward where the voice was coming from, and found him whispering a Satanic dialogue from the Black Book.

On a dark night, the villagers, tired of his misdeeds, decided to lynch him, but again and again he escaped them.

Juan Pistolas had two brothers, Herminio and Pedro. One day, Pedro, the middle one, decided to finish off Juan. He mounted his horse and headed toward the *choza*¹⁵ where the sorcerer lived. He carried a liter of gasoline. When he arrived, he poured it all over the *choza*, lit a match and burned it down. Juan Pistolas was asleep and had not anticipated the attack.

That's how Juan Pistolas died at the hands of his own brother, and he drags a chain tied to his feet and his soul; he is the devil's prisoner. To this day people still remember his infamies

Notes

¹ Research for this article was supported by a Mellon Public Scholars Grant

² I understand Maya literature to include Maya folklore and stories written by people of Maya descent. Because both Pech Pech and Abreu claim Maya heritage, I classify both their stories as pertaining to to the tradition of Maya literature.

³ Yucatecan refers to inhabitants of the state of Yucatán, located in the north of the Yucatán peninsula, in South Eastern Mexico. Mérida is the capital city of Yucatán.

⁴ I am indebted for this interpretation to a conversation about Pech's writing that I shared with the noted Yucatecan writer and educator Lope Ávila.

⁵ Traditional Maya *leyendas* (or legends) are short written accounts of oral myths. They often begin with the lines "Cuenta la leyenda..." ("The legend goes that...")

⁶ Term of endearment for a grandmother.

⁷ Maize field.

⁸ An herbaceous bushy plant covered in yellow flowers that grows wild along roadsides and in fields in the Yucatán.

⁹ Pee.

¹⁰ Blows to the head or neck delivered with closed fists.

¹¹ A palm tree nut that has been stewed into a sticky, sweet candy.

¹² "Let's play."

¹³ Great-tailed grackle.

¹⁴ Black *sapote*, a species of persimmon also known as chocolate fruit, chocolate persimmon, or chocolate pudding fruit.

¹⁵ Typical Maya hut, frequently made of wood or mud and palm leaf branches.

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Indigenous New Media Arts: Narrative Threads and Future Imaginaries

THEA PITMAN

This article seeks both to communicate a sense of the vibrancy and diversity of Indigenous new media artworks and projects, and to “frame” them within the context of the particular transnational networks of friendship and support into which they are born and in which they circulate. It is my contention that Indigenous new media arts¹ have particularly flourished across the parts of the “Anglo-world” (Belich) that are the result of the early waves of British settler colonialism, most notably in countries such as Canada, Australia, Aotearoa/New Zealand, and the United States (including Hawai’i).²

There are a number of reasons why Indigenous new media art initiatives have really been able to thrive across this particular geopolitical framework. Firstly, there is the nature of settler colonialism itself and the type of transnational dynamics it leaves us with. In distinguishing between colonialist and settler colonialist frameworks, critics have noted that while the former privileges a centre-periphery dynamic, settler colonialism is “inherently transnational” and requires a “‘networked’ frame of analysis” to capture the movements and exchanges between colonies (Lester, qtd in Veracini 10). Nonetheless, although the phenomenon of settler colonialism has the capacity to bypass the original metropole, it still depends on that metropole for the provision shared cultural values and a *lingua franca* through which cultural sharing may take place. Thus, from the outset, there is a network of settler communities with lots in common and a shared language in which to explore similarities and differences.

Furthermore, while the original circuitry of settler colonial “worlds” is based on the movement and exchanges between settlers rather than the Indigenous peoples the settlers sought to displace, assimilate or eliminate, the same overarching networks and *linguas francas* have also been strategically appropriated by Indigenous peoples to provide the framework for the growth of a pan-Indigenous movement that has blossomed over the last forty years. While this global Indigenous movement stretches far beyond the “Anglo-world,” Ronald Niezen argues for a predominance of Indigenous voices from the “Northern Hemisphere,” particularly Canada and

the United States, in the first Indigenous-specific meetings organised at the United Nations that provided the basis for the development of this movement (69-72).³

Secondly, there is the critical relationship between the global Indigenous movement and new media technologies. The development of the Indigenous movement has been considerably facilitated by the rapid spread of networked digital communication technologies since the late 1980s. As Niezen notes, “the clearest evidence of indigenous networking can be found on the Internet,” and, drawing a comparison with Benedict Anderson’s influential arguments about the importance of the relationship between printing technologies and the rise of nationalisms, he argues that “the development of information technology has similar implications for the rise of international consciousness among those marginal to nation-states” (226, n.12).⁴ Furthermore, it is worth noting that these technologies were developed first in the United States, almost all computer programming languages are based on English, and the lingua franca of the early internet was, by default, English. Thus those Indigenous communities resisting within the “British” (post)colonial settler world,⁵ and who were minded to appropriate the structures and technologies of that world to advance their own decolonial agendas, were ideally placed to take advantage of new technologies such as the internet and to undertake the networking necessary to support the development of a nascent global Indigenous movement.

Furthermore, Maximilian Forte argues that while “it is important to underscore the extent to which the symbols and discourses of indigenous groups in one part of the world can and do impact the symbols and discourses of indigenous groups in another part of the world, especially on the Internet,” the circulation of “globalized indigeneity” is not multilateral, and “North American Indian labels, motifs, and representations” have significant sway in “influenc[ing] contemporary articulations” of indigeneity elsewhere in the world.⁶ Other research in the field focusing on the first decade of the internet’s existence would suggest that even if Forte were not overstating the influence of North American Indigenous iconography at the point in time that he was writing, other sources of Indigenous influence were quick to spring up in places such as Australia.⁷ Nonetheless the predominance of Indigenous voices and visions from across the “British,” “Anglophone” (post)colonial settler world in the context of networked digital media is still apparent.

And finally, although new media technologies are essential to the development of the contemporary global Indigenous movement, new media arts *per se* have not flourished

everywhere that there are self-identifying Indigenous communities that use the internet to network with other Indigenous communities, either in English, or increasingly in other *linguas francas* of colonisation that have substantially increased their presence online such as Spanish or Portuguese.⁸ It is the case that, while socio-political conditions in (post)colonial settler nation-states such as Canada or Australia are far from ideal from an Indigenous perspective, these are nonetheless “‘successful’ colonies” (78) in Niezen’s terms: they are large, politically stable, liberal democracies with strong economies that are well able to support and sustain a healthy Indigenous arts “scene” in a way that has not been possible in other contexts either within the “Anglo-world” or in other (post)colonial settler contexts such as Latin America.

It is this contrast between different contexts and how they may facilitate, or not, the creation and circulation of Indigenous new media arts that underpins my curiosity to explore the artworks and projects that are the focus of this article. My main research interests are in Latin American cultural studies, and I am currently involved with a project entitled AEI: Arte Eletrônica Indígena [Indigenous Electronic Art] (www.aei.art.br), run by the NGO Thydêwá (www.thydewa.org). The project promotes the co-creation of what they refer to as “electronic art”⁹ between (typically) non-Indigenous artists and interested Indigenous community members in nine different communities in the North East of Brazil. In order to analyse and evaluate the artistic processes and products of the project, I felt the need to familiarise myself with the kind of new media/digital/electronic artworks and projects that I was aware were already being produced by other Indigenous artists in North America. As I began this research, the need to recognise the fact that new media arts created by Indigenous artists in the United States and Canada exist in an “(art) world” that is distinctively structured by the legacy of British settler colonialism, and has strong links to other “comparable” countries such as Australia and Aotearoa became apparent.

The vibrancy of Indigenous new media arts across this particular geopolitical framework is evidenced by a wealth of different artists’ networks, residencies, group exhibitions and anthological publications. While some of these are confined to just one locale or, for better or worse, nation-state, others seek to span the full geopolitical range. Whereas more place-based and financially demanding activities such as residencies, workshops and exhibitions tend to be circumscribed by local, regional or national frameworks, arguably it is Indigenous-led artistic/academic networks of friendship and support that are most likely to span the full range of settings. The special issue of the journal *Public*, entitled *Indigenous Art: New Media and the*

Digital (eds Igloliorte et al., 2016), provides maximum proof of the scope and rationale of these networks. In the introduction, Canada-based Indigenous editors Heather Igloliorte, Julie Nagam and Carla Taunton are clear about the transnational (post)colonial settler colonial framework that the works and projects selected span, although less so about its British origins and Anglophone underpinnings: Despite the repeated use of the term “global” in reference to the “Indigenous media art” showcased, they also repeatedly emphasise that “This publication gathers scholars, curators, and artists from the Indigenous territories in Canada, the United States of America, Australia and Aotearoa” (9), all “colonized countries” (13) that “share similar histories of settler colonialism” (6).

With what is such a dynamic, creative “thread” of activity spanning across continents and oceans, it is an invidious task to select materials for specific comment. I have thus structured what follows around various vectors that will give a sense of the diversity of the field: I start with some of the earliest projects, followed by those that most clearly project Indigenous cultural imaginaries into the future (“First Encounters and Indigenous Futures”). I then go on to explore the very different modalities of Indigenous new media arts as well as some of the common threads that bind them together (“Multidimensionality: Voices and Visions”), before closing with a consideration of the different audiences that this kind of art engages (“Sharing Indigenous New Media Arts”).

In terms of the relationship of my approach to Indigenous-led academic publications such as the special issue of *Public* mentioned above, as well as the Canada-specific anthology *Transference, Tradition, Technology: Native New Media Exploring Visual and Digital Culture* (eds Claxton et al., 2005), and the North America-specific *Coded Territories: Tracing Indigenous Pathways in New Media Art* (eds Loft and Swanson, 2014), these works for me constitute primary materials in themselves. As Indigenous-led publications they provide compelling evidence not just of the artworks and projects themselves, but also of the transnational networks of friendship and support that underpin their creation and circulation, and of Indigenous understandings of the purpose and intended audiences of Indigenous new media arts.

First Encounters and Indigenous Futures

The beginnings of Indigenous new media arts are contemporaneous with the development of new media itself. Indeed, Indigenous engagement with computing and with code as communication technologies go back at least as far as the early twentieth century—Native American languages were used as code to send messages in both First and Second World Wars (Eglash 181). In the case of the development of the internet, the United States-based Ojibway artist Hymhenteqhous Mizhekay Odayin, more commonly known as Turtle Heart, started creating art on computers from the early 1980s (Eglash 182), and his *American Indian Computer Art Project* website started life on a Bulletin Board System before being hosted by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology as a World Wide Web site in 1991 (Turtle Heart), i.e. before the Internet took off as a widely-accessible public platform in 1994. The *American Indian Computer Art Project* is essentially Turtle Heart's personal artist's website, and it showcases his artistic trajectory, including drawings, paintings, sculpture and computer-generated visual art, the latter a strong thread throughout his career. According to the *AICAP* website, it was one of the first thousand websites ever to be created and has been archived in the Permanent Collections of the United States Museum of Computer History at the Smithsonian Institute. The site switched to personal ownership in 1998 (<http://www.aicap.org>) and is still live on the internet twenty years later—this quarter-century trajectory is quite a phenomenal achievement for any web-based project.

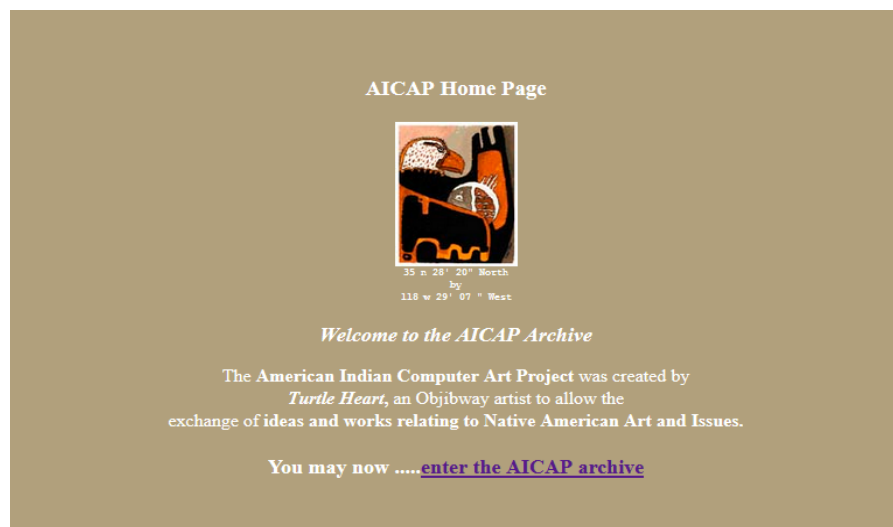


Fig 1. Hymhenteqhous Mizhekay Odayin/Turtle Heart, first capture of the *American Indian Computer Art Project* website on Internet Archive Wayback Machine (12 Dec 1998). Reproduced with kind permission of the artist, for academic and educational use only. No commercial use of any *AICAP* materials is allowed, implied or granted.

While Turtle Heart’s *AICAP* is an individual artist’s website, and came about as a result of his close links with US academics in the field of computer science (personal email), other Indigenous artists in Turtle Island/North America, particularly those much further north in Canada, first came to new media via the networking and dissemination possibilities offered by the internet for spatially dispersed Indigenous artists, together with the support of art institutions such as the Banff Centre for Arts and Creativity in Alberta. Starting in the mid-1990s there were a whole host of initiatives to network Indigenous artists as well as encourage take-up of new media technologies through face-to-face events and exhibitions, online gallery spaces and chatrooms. See, for example, Drumbytes.Org (<http://drumbytes.org>, 1994–), Cyber Powwow (<http://www.cyberpowwow.net>, 1996–), and isi-pikîskwewin ayapihkêsisak / Speaking the Language of Spiders (<http://spiderlanguage.net>, 1996–).

These early initiatives have also continued to develop over the last twenty-five years and have led to Indigenous media arts research networks such as Aboriginal Territories in Cyberspace (AbTeC; <http://abtec.org>, 2004–) and more recently the Initiative for Indigenous Futures (IIF; <http://abtec.org/iif>; 2015–), both led by Cherokee/Hawaiian/Samoan academic and artist Jason Edward Lewis and Mohawk/Irish artist Skawennati. As Lewis notes, while AbTeC was focused on “claiming territory in the newly formed virtual places of cyberspace,” IIF directs its attention at “claiming territory in the future imaginary, or better yet, creating our own” (Lewis 37). Both initiatives thus ensure Indigenous presence in virtual and/or imaginative spaces to contest the dominant view that these spaces are *terra nullius* where “white” people can make themselves at home having removed any concern for competing and/or prior claims for such space, or where their dominance will inevitably prevail after many battles (the typical narrative arc of Western science fiction).¹⁰

Lewis’s and Skawennati’s own artistic outputs are important in their own right. See, for example, Skawennati’s complex and painstaking *TimeTraveller*TM (<http://www.timetravellertm.com>, 2009–) video-art project created using machinima technology that records real-time interactions in gaming environments, in this case the actions of avatars created by the artist to support roleplay scenarios in Second Life, and which retells significant episodes of history from a First Nations perspective (Ore; LaPensée and Lewis).



Fig 2. Skawennati. “Dakotas Raise Weapons”, machinimagraph from *TimeTraveller*TM (2010). Reproduced with kind permission of the artist. Image may not be reproduced without permission.

However, what is perhaps even more important is the fact that the directors have arguably inspired a whole generation of Indigenous artists to work with computer gaming technologies through the Skins Workshops on Aboriginal Storytelling in Digital Media (<http://skins.abtec.org>) that AbTeC has been running since 2008. (See, for example, the work of Beth LaPensée.) These workshops have focused on developing the potential of Indigenous youth from a wide variety of different ethnic groups, predominantly in Canada but also in places such as Hawai’i, to simultaneously engage with new technologies and with their own cultures through the design of computer games that represent them and their worldviews, including their visions of what kind of futures they want to have. This is not only important in terms of ensuring the passing on of Indigenous knowledge and cosmovisions (worldviews), from generation to generation, but also in terms of contributing to the envisioning of possible futures for the whole of humanity. That is to say, one hopes that Indigenous science-fiction imaginaries can offer much needed correctives to the above-mentioned mainstream science-fiction narratives that tend to rerun colonialist first-person-shooter scenarios, thus delivering only the unimaginative futures conjured up by those who hanker after the glories of conquests past.

Similar initiatives are also evident elsewhere in the British settler colonial world, such as in the Pilbara region of Australia, where Ngarluma youth have collaborated on a project

sponsored by Big hART—a not-for-profit community arts initiative—to create an interactive animated science-fiction comic storybook for iPads called *The Neomads* (<http://yijalayala.bighart.org/neomad>, 2010–), and which is based on “Dreamtime stories about the land, seas and rivers, sacred sites and spirits” (Bessant and Watts 1). Bessant and Watts voice some concerns about the ability of the project to not simply further essentialise and commodify Indigenous identities in a new medium and to offer real agency for the Ngarluma youth involved (11-12). Nonetheless, they conclude that “*The Neomads* contests the idea of who is a ‘real’ Aboriginal by demonstrating that the young participants are savvy technicians skilled in new media” and “creative bricolage,” and that they are able to use new media to strengthen their sense of community belonging, as well as relate to a fast-changing, multicultural world (Bessant and Watts 11-12). Thus, through these gaming imaginaries, and the creative, intercultural skills and positionalities developed in their composition, Indigenous youth and artists can be seen to be making a significant contribution to future-proofing their cultures.

Multidimensionality: Voices and Visions

The different manifestations of Indigenous new media arts are as diverse as one can imagine, ranging from Inuit (Pond Inlet, Nunavut) artist Ruben Anton Komangapik’s *Nattiqmut Qajusiqujut (the seal that keeps us going)* (2014), a 15cm-wide mixed-media piece combining harp seal skin, various different metals and nylon thread and incorporating a QR code dyed into the seal skin which leads to a YouTube video of the artist telling a family story of cultural survival; to British/Māori (Ngapuhi, Ngāti Hine and Ngai Tu) artist Lisa Reihana’s c.20m-wide and 4m-tall,¹¹ 64-minute-duration video installation *In Pursuit of Venus [Infected]* (2015-17). The latter work took Reihana ten years to create and it is based on a revisionist re-enactment of first encounter between Indigenous people and Captain Cook and his crew in Tahiti for the 1769 Transit of Venus—a prelude to the colonisation of the entire region—as seen in “a scenic wallpaper from 1805 called *Les Sauvages de la Mer Pacifique* (or *Savages of the Pacific*), created by French manufacturer Joseph Dufour based on the design of painter Jean-Gabriel Charvet” (Jefferson). In the “digital wallpaper” installation, the figures depicted “come to life,” embodied by Australian Indigenous actors in the main, and act out vignettes that trouble any Manichean readings of the narrative of first encounter, encouraging viewers to adopt their own point of view (a play on the work’s acronym, “POV”). Yet, despite vast differences in materials

or scale, there are, nonetheless, obvious common threads running across a great many of these works relating to questions of Indigenous voice and agency, cultural heritage and “story-telling” via new media, as well as wider questions of cosmovision and ethics of representation.

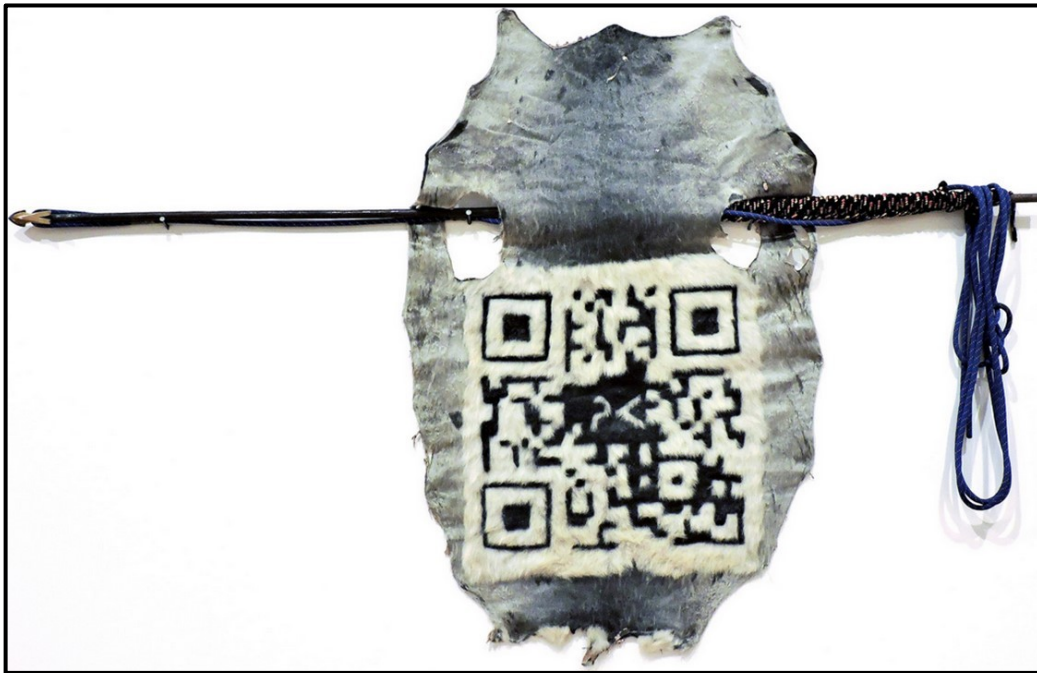


Fig 3. Ruben Anton Komangapik, *Nattiqmut Qajusiqujut (the seal that keeps us going)* (2014). Harp seal skin, indelible ink, steel, bronze, sterling silver, nylon cord, and waxed nylon, 114.5 x 180 x 6cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. Reproduced with kind permission of the artist and the National Gallery of Canada. Image may not be reproduced without permission. Scan QR code with any QR code reader to access the video.



Fig 4. Lisa Reihana, *In Pursuit of Venus [Infected]* (2015–17). Single channel video, 16k Ultra-HD video, colour, sound, 64 mins, c.20m-wide/4m-tall screen. Supported by Creative New Zealand, New Zealand at Venice, Artprojects, Campbelltown Arts Centre, Park Road Post. Installation view, *Lisa Reihana | Cinemania*, Campbelltown Arts Centre, 2018. Photo: Document Photography. Reproduced with kind permission of the artist and CAC. Video footage showing how the installation was made and how it works available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WmMRF5nw9UI>

As Jason Edward Lewis argues, the multidimensionality of digital art forms (the facility to provide different layers or divergent narrative threads via links, for example) is an excellent way of providing “a much fuller picture of what this history is or what this contemporary situation is” and ensuring that a wider range of voices can be heard (Lewis, in interview with Smyth). Excellent examples of layering, multi-voiced-ness and alternative means of story-telling are to be found in the multimedia work of Diné (Navajo) artist William Ray Wilson. In a series of beadwork “weavings,” including *Auto Immune Response: Weaving the Sacred Mountains* (2011-12) and *eyeDazzler: Trans-customary Portal to Another Dimension* (2011), Wilson embeds scannable QR-codes into the weavings. In *Auto Immune Response* these QR-codes link to short videos that focus on “a post-apocalyptic Navajo man’s journey through an uninhabited landscape,” and raise questions about ecological change, the loss of key Indigenous sacred landscapes, and the possibility of survival and “reconnection to the Earth” (Wilson, interviewed

by Moomaw and Lukovic). In *eyeDazzler*, a much bigger public-art piece made of 76,000 4mm-diameter glass beads, the textile is much more complex in itself, referencing a particular two-sided Navajo textile design as made by the artist's grandmother. Where the cultural knowledge required for the elaboration of such traditional textiles is being lost, Wilson uses two identical QR-codes to offer an alternative "trans-customary portal" (in his terms) to access that knowledge—the codes lead to a two-channel video of his mother and aunt discussing, in Diné,¹² how their mother had made the original rug, while the viewer sees images of how the new rug is being made and who is involved in the project.¹³ As Wilson notes, rather than simply foisting something new and high-tech onto an artform perceived as "traditional" and "static," "our project was always about working from within and developing a trans-customary form based on something that our mothers and their mothers before them have always been innovating" (Wilson, interviewed by Moomaw and Lukovic). The *eyeDazzler* project was also a community collaboration, given the enormity of the task of making the piece, and designed as a piece of public art to complete the feedback loop between creative communal praxis and its intended local (Diné-speaking) audience.



Figs 5 & 6. William Ray Wilson, *eyeDazzler: Trans-customary Portal to Another Dimension* (2011); whole work and detail. Reproduced with kind permission of the artist.

A more recent project that evidences the facilities of “layering” in digital art, is Wilson’s *Critical Indigenous Photography Exchange (CIPX)* which includes a series of eight “talking tintypes” (https://willwilson.photoshelter.com/gallery/Talking-Tintypes/G0000n_hiXQrBXNw, 2015).¹⁴ These are conventional-looking ethnographic black-and-white tintype photographs of Indigenous subjects in the style of Edward S. Curtis. But these are not just conventional ethnographic portraits, presenting objectified, decontextualised images of unnamed Indigenous subjects for consumption by the Western gaze. The “exchange” of the title suggests that these images are the result of a collaborative “exchange” between sitter and photographer which grants the sitter greater agency in the way in which they are represented and offers new ways for viewers to understand contemporary Indigenous identities. It effects this exchange by means of adding new layers to the ostensibly traditional image. Indeed, when they are scanned with an Augmented Reality app (Layar), the images are overlaid with video material from the sitting such that sitters can both return the viewer’s gaze and speak for themselves.¹⁵ The results, as readers may judge for themselves by downloading the free Layar app and scanning the images below, are really very arresting and effective.



Figs 7 & 8. William Ray Wilson, “Insurgent Hopi Maiden” (2015), and “Chairman Shotton of the Otoe-Missouria Tribe” (2016), from the “Talking Tintypes” series in Wilson’s *Critical Indigenous Photography Exchange (CIPX)* project. Reproduced with kind permission of the artist.

Another way of thinking about the issue of layering in these images is also to consider the fact that Wilson has chosen to include some ostensibly Latina/o subjects alongside the Native American sitters,¹⁶ thus hinting at the complexity of the relationships and/or overlapping identities between Native American communities in the South West, the large, and fast-growing, numbers of *mestiza/o* (mixed-race) Chicanas/os and Latinas/os in the region, and the not-insignificant numbers of Indigenous community members from further south in the Americas who have settled in the area. While the majority *mestiza/o* population likes to emphasise its Indigenous ancestry as a way asserting an a priori right to reside in the US Southwest and emphasising its own sense of colonisation by Anglo-America,¹⁷ this indigenist dynamic also tends to erase the presence of self-identifying Indigenous peoples among the Chicana/o and Latina/o populations as a whole. Indigenous people of Latin American origin in the US Southwest have to negotiate their multiple oppressions as both Indigenous and Chicana/o or Latina/o, as well as the complexity of their “settler” relationship vis-à-vis Native American communities in the region. As critics have noted, these are “layered, complex, multifocal, and multi-vocal Indigenous” (Blackwell, Boj Lopez and Urrieta Jr, 132) identities that are very much part of the contemporary, transnational, transcultural, and cosmopolitan forms of indigeneity (Forte) that Wilson sought to photograph.

A significant amount of Indigenous new media arts created to date has come in the form of large-scale digital video and multimedia installations. Lisa Reihana’s *Tai Whetuki—House of Death Redux* (2015), for example, focuses on Māori and Pacific rituals around death and mourning. The two-channel video installation takes up two whole sides of a room that is otherwise in complete darkness. Nonetheless, the videos are designed to partly project, and partly reflect onto the polished floor, thus over-spilling their “natural” limits, and a hazer is also used to create a mist that is picked up by the light of the projector. This last element was intended by Reihana to evoke a sense of “spirit” (interview with Tamati-Quennell 67).

Another example—one that offers a meta-narrative about “old” media and voice to boot—is *The Phone Booth Project* (http://www.lilyhibberd.com/The_Phone_Booth_Project_new.html, 2012-13), by non-Indigenous Australian artist Lily Hibberd and Martu filmmaker Curtis Taylor. The installation stems from a community-based project around the social role still played by phonebooths in the remote communities of Australia’s Western Desert (Biddle, Hibberd and Taylor 110). When

installed in the Furtherfield Gallery in Finsbury Park for the *Networking the Unseen* exhibition of Australian aboriginal digital art curated by Gretta Louw in summer 2016, the installation consisted of three whole-wall videos featuring Martu community members discussing, in different languages (but with subtitles in English), what the phonebooths meant to them, how they have appropriated this technology, as well as other footage of the booths in the communities. In the same space there was also a real phonebooth, red sand on the floor and lighting to mimic the pounding heat of the desert sun (Rai).

In both these cases, what is important is the immersive, visceral impact of the installations: this aspect is really enhanced by the non-digital elements that force viewers to engage with the works through all of their senses. This decentring of the digital, relegating it to be just another means for communication that Indigenous artists may appropriate at will, is a helpful corrective in a field that has often given in to too much celebratory, utopianist hype about the potential of digital media to revolutionise human society, including “freeing us from the meat” of our carnal bodies and painstakingly-negotiated social identities.¹⁸ Furthermore, the “whole-body” experience offered by such video installations helps to move them beyond the conventions of “Western” documentary practices, and works, instead, to engage the viewer with Indigenous cultural repertoires.¹⁹



Fig 9. Lisa Reihana, *Tai Whetuki—House of Death Redux* (2015). Ultra-HD, widescreen cinema aspect ratio, 2-channel video, sound, 14 mins. Photograph of the installation at *The Walters Prize 2016* exhibition, Auckland Art

Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, 2016. Installation view, *Lisa Reihana* | Cinemania, Campbelltown Arts Centre, 2018. Photo: Jay Patel. Reproduced with kind permission of artist and CAC. Sample of video available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x6tVOhG2Ruo>



Figs 10 & 11. Lily Hibberd and Curtis Taylor, *The Phone Booth Project* (2012-13). Photographs of installation as featured on the project website. Website also includes sample videos. Reproduced with kind permission of the artists.

Sharing Indigenous New Media Arts

Indigenous new media artists and community art projects have flourished across the contemporary British (post)colonial settler world over the last twenty years (or so), particularly in Canada, the United States, Australia and Aotearoa. Integral to this flourishing, such artists and projects have often used the networks of friendship and support provided by other Indigenous artists and supporters elsewhere in that “world,” as evidenced by the Indigenous-led works of scholarship on the subject, in order to strengthen their sense of identity as “Indigenous peoples,” as well as raise the profile of this kind of art. But the question remains, raise the profile with whom? Who is the intended audience of this kind of art?

As the editors of the special issue of *Public* dedicated to *Indigenous Art: New Media and the Digital* (2016) note, their anthology was designed precisely “to showcase the invaluable momentum created by existing global networks of Indigenous artists, curators, and scholars, and to share the knowledges and practices advanced through such networks” (Igloliorte et al., 6). Elsewhere in their introduction, however, the editors make the case for the primacy of global Indigenous artistic and cultural exchange achieved through these works and projects, of an engagement with Indigenous (counter)publics, invoking the potential that these practices have to promote decolonial forms of critical mass referred to as “*gathering*” (they appropriate Māori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith’s term), “Indigenous *networking*,” and “Indigenous-to-Indigenous dialogue around the world” (Igloliorte et al., 6).

Nonetheless, in the earlier Indigenous-led, Canada-specific anthology, *Transference, Tradition, Technology: Native New Media: Exploring Visual and Digital Culture* (2005), one of the editors, Dana Claxton, specifically notes that as Indigenous new media arts become more recognised and enter formal gallery spaces, they are predominantly appreciated by a “non-Aboriginal audience” (16). Despite voicing concerns about the possible co-optation of Indigenous new media art by the dominant, largely non-Indigenous academy and art world, Claxton is positive about the decolonial potential of the increasing presence of Indigenous new media art works in such fora, hoping that the exchange with the non-Indigenous viewer can be “one of pedagogy, understanding, truth, hope” (16), building “trust and interrelationships with non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal communities” (17). She goes on to argue that “By decolonizing the exhibition space and art discourses, an Aboriginal worldview will flourish, taking hold within the artworld” (17).

It is in this sense, then, that we should celebrate the fact that the most successful of Indigenous new media artists featured in this article now figure in the exhibitions and permanent collections of major institutions both within the geopolitical limits of the contemporary British (post)colonial settler world, as well as beyond. For example, an installation of Lisa Reihana's *In Pursuit of Venus [Infected]*, called *The Emissaries*, was selected for exhibition in the New Zealand pavilion at the 2017 Venice Biennale, and praised as the best work of the whole exhibition by eminent art critic Waldemar Januszczak. At present (November 2018), the same work is being exhibited at the Royal Academy in London as part of the impressive "Oceania" exhibition of indigenous art from the region, from first encounter to the present day. The presence in these venues of Reihana's large-scale critical revisioning of first encounter is a significant part of what a decolonisation of those spaces entails, particularly given their tendency to function within the nation-state framework of international "world fair"-like exhibitions or anthropologically-curated art "spectacles" reminiscent of the imperial-legacy collections of "world" art in places such as the British Museum.

Other of the artworks featured in this article have recently been purchased by major galleries in the relevant (post)colonial settler nation-states that clearly seek to expand their collections to be more inclusive of the ethnic diversity of the nation in question. See, for example, Ruben Komangapik's *Nattiqmut Qajusiqujut* which has been purchased by the National Gallery of Canada, or some of Will Wilson's photographs that are now held by the Portland Art Museum. While this is also to be celebrated, one of the dangers with purchase by art galleries is, however, that they place a stranglehold on the further circulation of (images of) such works such that they are reserved only for those with the cultural and economic capital required to visit such institutions or to purchase expensive art books.

A lot rides, therefore, on the careful curation of international exhibitions and state-owned collections so that Indigenous new media arts are not shoe-horned into "frame"-works that limit and neutralise their ability to communicate, nor made inaccessible to those communities whose stories they tell. Furthermore, circulation in such fora should, of course, not be taken as the only measure of success. Travelling exhibitions that take works to Indigenous communities themselves and co-creative community new media arts projects have an important role to play in ensuring that Indigenous communities continue to be both participants in the creation of such works as well as the primary audiences thereof.

Notes

¹ Terms such as new media art (and its translations into other European languages with which I work) are often used interchangeably with others such as digital art or electronic art. Electronic art covers the widest range of artforms (indeed there are works of electronic art that are not digital at all), then digital art, and new media art is arguably a subset within digital art. There are further subsets of digital art such as computer art, internet art or net.art. (For electronic art see Shanken; for digital art see Paul; for new media art see Tribe and Jana; and for internet art see Stallabrass, and Greene.) In this article I prefer to speak of “arts” rather than “art” in order to acknowledge the significant diversity of works that may be classified under this rubric, as well as to embrace community-based creative projects using new media that are not primarily intended for consumption by the outside world as “art.”

I have chosen to use the term “new media art” here as it is the term most frequently used in relation to work in this field by the Indigenous artists included in this article, although digital art is also used on occasion. The preference for the use of the term new media art is telling in that it focuses attention much more on the communicative potential of the work than on the technological underpinnings. For further discussion of the merits of this different qualifiers in relation to poetry, as well as a discussion of why we might be better off bracketing the “new” of “new media,” see Pitman, “(New) Media Poetry.”

² Although many see the phenomenon of settler colonialism as related specifically to British colonialism, more recent research recognises the much more varied instances of settler colonialism across the world and at different times (see Cavanagh and Veracini, and, for more recent historical examples, Elkins and Pedersen). Even in cases that have provided the classic contrast to British settler colonialism, such as the colonialist enterprises of the Spanish and the Portuguese in what is now Latin America, and their reliance on a dynamic of *mestizaje/mestiçagem* (racial mixing), scholars have started to make the case for the ways in which settler colonialism may be seen to be a pertinent frame of analysis in those contexts also (Castellanos). It is for this reason that I chose to identify the specific settler colonial framework that underpins the Indigenous new media arts studied here as “British” in origin, and “Anglophone” in terms of the language of colonisation.

³ Niezen also notes that Indigenous communities from the South Pacific (including Australia and Aotearoa, in this designation rather than just the smaller South Pacific islands, I believe) were not far behind those from the Global North in participating in the development of a global Indigenous movement (69). It goes without saying that the ability to communicate in English, and to a lesser extent French, underpins this early development of the Indigenous movement.

⁴ Writing just a year earlier, in 2002, the anthropologist Maximilian C. Forte, also made a strong case for the role played by the internet in the spread of what he calls “globalized indigeneity”: “the globalized spread of motifs, practices, products, ideologies, cosmologies, organizations, media and support networks of indigeneity, *especially on the Internet*, have led to the construction of indigeneity as a *macro* phenomenon, lifted from the confines of any one location, and seemingly applicable to any other location. At this level, we are then speaking of an indigenous *macro-community* that is *trans-local* and constitutes a virtual *meta-indigeneity*.”

⁵ I am indebted to Chadwick Allen’s formulation “(post)colonial settler nation-states” (xii) in my use of the term “(post)colonial settler” here.

⁶ Elsewhere in his article, Forte also argues that “the U.S., Canada, and Brazil are most likely the symbolic core of internationalized paradigms of indigeneity, providing perhaps a disproportionate amount of the motifs of indigeneity, the emblematic struggles, and the trademark representations of ‘indigenous issues’” as they circulate online. The inclusion of Brazil is unusual given the predominantly Anglophone, British settler colonial paradigm that I have been outlining. However, its influence at the point in time that Forte was discussing the matter (2002), was arguably more due to the attention given to the Amazon and its peoples via Anglophone NGOs and international organisations based in the Global North rather than the circulation online of materials put up in Portuguese or in any of the nearly 200 Indigenous languages spoken in Brazil.

⁷ Australia-based researchers Laurel Evelyn Dyson, Max Hendriks and Stephen Grant give a much more nuanced picture of the way the Internet has been used by Indigenous communities in Australia and elsewhere in the world and without undue reliance on North American paradigms of indigeneity, concluding their edited anthology, *Information Technology and Indigenous People* (2007), with the assertion that, “The way that information technology is used by indigenous peoples around the world is hugely varied. It reflects their different cultures and their aspirations for themselves, their families and their nations. It reflects the special needs for each particular community at this particular time in history” (314).

⁸ Indigenous languages are used for intra-community communication online where the speakers of that language are sufficiently numerous and spread out over a wide geographical area. However, for online networking between Indigenous communities speaking different Indigenous languages, inevitably the dominant European language of colonisation is used as *lingua franca*.

⁹ The works produced under the aegis of the project go well beyond the remit of just those produced using new media or digital technologies. The reference to electronics may also focus our attention on the materiality of the work—there are many works of electronic art that are installation pieces—rather than on the immateriality of a work created and often displayed on a computer screen.

¹⁰ For more on the colonialist discourse surrounding the development of the internet, together with Indigenous responses to it, see Pitman, “Warriors and Weavers.”

¹¹ Exact dimensions differ for different installations of the work.

¹² The use of Diné language gives a clear steer as to the ideal audience of this piece (ie. other Diné speakers), and evidences an uncompromising attitude towards the needs of English-speaking audiences.

¹³ Nb. While the original QR-code no longer scans, the two-channel video is available here: <https://vimeo.com/34320606>.

¹⁴ Wilson has produced more of these “talking tintypes” but there are only eight displayed under this heading on his website at present.

¹⁵ A further aspect of “exchange” lies in Wilson’s choice to allow the sitter to keep the original tintype image, if he is allowed to keep and use a digital copy.

¹⁶ I am using the names/community roles of the sitters, as given by Wilson on his website, as my guide here, along with elements of traditional dress for some.

¹⁷ Many Chicanas/os were effectively “crossed by the border” as the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed in 1948 ceding vast swathes of then Mexico to the United States.

¹⁸ See Lupton for an analysis of the utopianism of early cyberculture.

¹⁹ In making this claim, I am adapting Diana Taylor’s *The Archive and the Repertoire*, which contrasts the embodied knowledge of performance to the textual knowledge of the traditional archive, to a slightly different context.

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A Dramatic Reading of Vizenor's *Bear Island* at the University of Michigan

MARTIN WALSH

On March 23 2018 Gerald Vizenor delivered the annual Berkhofer Lecture at the University of Michigan with a talk entitled "Betrayal and Irony: Native American Survivance and the Subversion of Ethnology." Named in honor of the pioneering Michigan anthropologist Robert Berkhofer, the lecture series was begun in 2016. N. Scott Momaday and Joy Harjo had been the previous speakers.

In honor of Vizenor's visit to campus the University's Residential College in conjunction with its Native American Studies program presented a dramatic reading of *Bear Island: The War at Sugar Point*, Vizenor's poetic meditation on the Leech Lake, MN battle of 1898. This was the last conflict of the U.S. Army with Native Americans as Vizenor documents in his Introduction to the published work, with further perspectives provided by Jace Weaver in a Foreword (University of Minnesota Press, 2006). The theatrical presentation took place in the Keene Theater of the Residential College on Thursday evening March 22. As head of the College's Drama Concentration, I devised and directed the reading on the model of Ping Chong's oral history theater works. The piece was scored for four voices and included two dozen projections of historical images alternating with contemporary photographs of the Leech Lake area, as well as Anishinaabe songs performed by the local Mino-Maskiki Singers (formerly The Swamp Singers). The latter were under the direction of Jasmine Pawlicki (Sokaogan Band of Lake Superior Chippewa) and included her daughter Shayla, Nancy Morehead (Little River Band of Ottawa) and Karen Schaumann (Passamaquoddy).

Bear Island is Vizenor's most extensive poetic work. Its short lines reflect the poet's lifelong engagement with the Japanese *haiku* form which he finds closely analogous to Anishinaabe dream-songs. The poem develops a wide variety of moods, lyrical, satiric, elegiac, journalistic, which easily lend themselves to oral performance. *Bear Island* is divided into six unequal sections beginning with the history and mythos of the Pillager Band and moving on to the climactic event from both the Native and White American perspectives. They are: Overture: Manidoo Creations/ Bagwana: The Pillagers of Liberty/ Hole-in-the-Day: Grafters and

Warrants/ Bearwalkers: 5 October 1898/ Gatling Gun: 6 October 1898/and War Necklace: 9 October 1898. Each of the four voice-actors had specific areas they generally covered with some overlapping. Anishinaabe language elements, which Vizenor uses throughout, as well as the majority of nature references were assigned to Ms. Pawlicki; passages relating to the U.S. Army to Graham Atkin; other passages relating to White encroachment and exploitation to another U-M Drama alumnus Joseph McDonald, with myself assuming the voice of and passages relating to Leech Lake elder Hole-in-the-Day (Bugonaygeshig) whose mistreatment by the federal legal system was the underlying cause of the conflict. The solo performances were punctuated with occasional multiple voices and staccato rhythms.

The historical images furnished by the Minnesota Historical Society included portraits of the military leaders Maj. Melville Wilkinson, who perished in the conflict, and Gen. John M. Bacon; scenes of Company E of the Third Infantry both before and after the action; portraits of Pillager Band elders; views of Sugar Point and Bugonaygeshig's cabin and garden plot; and the iconic portrait of him posing with his Winchester wearing the necklace he had made of spent cartridges gathered from the battlefield. Photographs taken by me around Leech Lake during a snowy weekend at the end of October 2017 conveyed the present look of the historical locales under weather conditions similar to those of the battle itself. Not designed to be point-for-point illustrations of the poem, the projections were faded in and out in a slow rhythm over the entire reading.

The Anishinaabe songs which bracketed and divided in half the reading performance were: "Pete Seymour Shuffle" from Whitefish Bay, "Shakaakamikwe" by Brenda MacIntyre (with Anishinaabe words by Margaret Noodin) and the "Strong Women's Song" which came out of the Kingston, Ontario Prison for Women in the 1970s. It was felt that a strong Native female presence would nicely complement the "tricky" victory of the Pillager warriors over the U.S. Army which the poem both celebrates and justifies but also finds deeply ironic. The multiple grievances of the Pillagers, for example, are juxtaposed to a long tally of the casualties inflicted upon the largely European immigrant soldiery.

Prof. Vizenor attended the performance and was extremely complimentary of the effort at presenting his work live. He graciously joined with the performers for a spirited question-and-answer session with the audience.



Bug-ah-na-ge-shig.

Chief Warrior in Battle at Sugar Point, Leech Lake, Minn., Oct. 5, 1896.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1896, by James S. Drysdale of Walker, Minnesota, in the office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington.

Version of the battle from an illustrated weekly, mid-October 1898



LAST WEEK'S BLOODY BATTLE WITH REDSKINS IN MINNESOTA.
Fatal Wounding of Gallant Maj. Wilkisson, who Received an Indian Bullet While Bravely Directing the Fire of His Troops in the Conflict with the Pillagers on the Shore of Leech Lake.

Special Issue Review Essay: **The Intelligentsia In Dissent: Palestine, Settler-Colonialism and Academic Unfreedom in the Work of Steven Salaita**

Steven Salaita. Anti-Arab Racism in the USA: Where It Comes From and What It Means for Politics Today. Pluto Press, 2006. 264 pages. ISBN: 0745325173

---. **The Holy Land in Transit: Colonialism and the Quest for Canaan. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2006. 234 pages. ISBN: 081563109X**

---. **Arab American Literary Fictions, Cultures, and Politics. Palgrave Macmillian, 2007. 208 pages. ISBN: 1403976201**

---. **The Uncultured Wars: Arabs, Muslims and the Poverty of Liberal Thought—New Essays. New York: Zed Books, 2008. 168 pages. ISBN: 978-1848132351**

---. **Israel's Dead Soul. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2011. 159 pages. ISBN: 9781439906385**

---. **Uncivil Rites: Palestine and the Limits of Academic Freedom. Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2015. 243 pages. ISBN: 9781608465774**

---. **Inter/Nationalism: Decolonizing Native America and Palestine. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016. 207 pages. ISBN: 9781517901424**

To even attempt something approximating a comprehensive review of Steven Salaita's critical publications to date is a daunting prospect for several reasons. The first of these is rather straightforward: isolating and distilling the intellectual currents that define any thinker's work across a cumulative body of texts is never a simple task—that is, when attempted with fair and sympathetic attention. The second is more personal, but no less urgent: any Palestinian academic who foregrounds Palestine in research as well as extramural endeavors knows that the threat of repression is all too palpable. Indeed, as Salaita himself has noted, at times by way of personal example, the academic embargo upon engaging Palestine in its full colonial character is itself an extension of the ongoing settler-colonization Palestinians continue to endure. For the Zionist project, as with other settler-colonial imperatives, is not only to drive an indigenous population off of its homeland, but also to eliminate all of their historical and cultural imprints as part of this larger process of ethnic cleansing. Due to the United States' active support for the Israeli colonial project, American universities, which have also served as strategic sites in the dispossession of North American Natives, become disciplinary spaces seeking to temper faculty and student engagement with Palestinian oppression. There is thus a powerful, if not painful irony in attempting to index the unique insights of an intellectual who has dedicated his life's work to making these connections—to the point that the University acted on its authority to discipline, invoking the flimsiest and consequently one of the most dangerous pretexts as its justification: "civility."

The third reason is that the damage inflicted by the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaigns’ so-called “unhiring” of Steven Salaita extends beyond the grave material implications of loss of employment: it also assumes intellectual proportions, thereby raising the stakes for what would otherwise seem a rather mundane undertaking moved by the motor-engine of academic rote and ritual. Indeed, one of the more subtle effects of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign’s decision to rescind Salaita’s job offer in 2014 due to donor pressure has been to detract from serious academic engagement with his scholarship. While Zionists and Zionist-sympathizers on the “pro-firing” side continued to dig through Tweets and half-read quotes from texts to find evidence of bigotry (or litter Amazon with a flurry of one star reviews), activists and academics who recognized UIUC’s transgressions defended Salaita’s academic freedom and right to free speech. In both instances, the substance of Salaita’s actual work, not just in the sense of lines in a *curriculum vitae*, was eroded as the battle for his livelihood wore on.

To be clear, I do not offer this as a critique of all who defended Salaita. These were commendable and valiant efforts, and an important refusal of the so-called “objectivity” prized by the colonial-corporate University. My point is simply that the effects of UIUC’s actions can also be reflected in the marginalization of Salaita’s critical interventions as a scholar. What follows, then, will be a humble attempt to offset some of this damage through an academic assessment of Salaita’s output to date, with particular emphasis on his contributions to Indigenous Studies (a field, I feel compelled to note, that is not my own, though I hope my own training as a comparativist with a grounding in American/comparative Ethnic studies as well as research interest in Arab America/Palestine will partially compensate for this deficiency).

While I will not spend too much time on Salaita’s first published text, *Anti-Arab Racism in the USA: Where it Comes From and What it Means For Politics Today* (2006), particularly as it does not foreground questions of Indigeneity and settler-colonialism in the systematic ways that would become more pronounced in *The Holy Land in Transit* and onwards, I open with a brief reference to *Anti-Arab Racism* because I believe it establishes what would remain key conventions of Salaita’s output: a blending of intellectual analysis and autobiography; an attempt to combine two seemingly discrete forms, the research article and the personal essay (rather than sacrificing one for the other); consistent attention to “popular” news sources and commentary; and, along with this penultimate point, the refusal to obfuscate quotidian phenomena with academic terminology. We can see this methodology operative in Salaita’s justification for avoiding the use of the term “Orientalism” when analyzing the particular strain of racism plaguing Arabs in the US:

Orientalism has been remarkably useful as a descriptive critique of phenomena ranging from misconceptions of Arabs to foolhardy foreign policy, and has seen its use (quite justifiably) increase among Arab Americans in the post-9/11 United States. The term, however, is weighted with considerable theoretical and historical baggage, rendering it, at least in some intellectual circles, oblique or ambivalent. Given its layered connotations and the controversies over its denotation, we can sense in its usage the potential for slippage or a rhetorical imprecision born of a correspondingly ambivalent or oblique authorial/oratorical intention. Most important, though, *Orientalism* isn’t entirely appropriate when we consider

the effects of stereotype and bigotry on Arab Americans who, in a much different way than their brethren in the Arab World, need to be located in a particular tradition of which they have been a partial inheritor. That tradition, uniquely American, includes the internment of Japanese Americans during WW II, institutionalized anti-Semitism until the 1960s, and a peculiarly durable xenophobia spanning decades, with, at times, acculturated immigrant groups directing it at newer arrivals. This tradition, of course, has as its partial inspiration a corresponding tradition, that of garrison settlement, slavery, and Messianic fervor, a tradition that has evolved into detectable features of modern Americana that, unlike immigrant histories, do in some ways affect Middle Eastern Arabs. This corresponding tradition has inspired the premillennialist overtones so evident in American foreign policy. (14)

While scholars such as Andrew Rubin, Sarah Gualtieri, and Michael Malek Najjar have revealed how *Orientalism* in fact emerged from Said's early work for the Association of Arab American University Graduates (AAUG) documenting the pernicious representations of Arabs in US media, Salaita's point is well taken. Focusing on anti-Arab racism as an outgrowth of Orientalism, while not conceptually inaccurate, may at times detract from engagement with the particularities of American racism and white supremacy, which include "garrison settlement, slavery, and Messianic fervor" (ibid). This "Messianic fervor" would constitute the subject of Salaita's second published text, *The Holy Land in Transit: Colonialism and the Quest for Canaan* (2006).

It is with *The Holy Land in Transit* that we begin to engage the question of Salaita's contribution to Indigenous Studies. As Salaita himself notes when explaining the inspiration behind the text (which began as his dissertation), while there was no shortage of comparisons made between Palestinian and Native American struggles against ethnic cleansing (often by the affected populations themselves, which Salaita claims only encouraged his interest in the topic), a sustained scholarly analysis of such a connection had yet to be formulated, for "Although references to commensurate situations in the Americas and Palestine are often made, nobody has produced a detailed comparative analysis" (14). *The Holy Land in Transit*, then, is intended to serve as a corrective to this deficit.

The book aims to diagnose the "identical discursive methods" (3) informing the settler-colonization of North America and Palestine. Salaita identifies both processes as defined by what he terms "the quest for Canaan" (23), the Biblical narrative of Chosen People claiming a land ordained for them by God. However, in both the religious narratives and their settler repurposing, the land is not empty, as the presence of the Canaanites in the original Exodus story reflects. Salaita draws and elaborates upon the work of Robert Warrior, who parallels Native Americans with the Canaanites in his essay "Canaanites, Cowboys and Indians" (and who also points out that even the original Biblical narrative featured an imperative by Yahweh to exterminate the Canaanites) in arguing that the fate of modern Palestinians is also implicit in Warrior's argument. As Salaita writes:

Modern Natives and Palestinians... can be brought together despite obvious differences because of the specific narratives so deeply

marking their lives, narratives that have spent so much time
traversing the space between the New World and the Holy Land.
(37)

Salaita's careful perusal of American and Israeli colonial narratives shows Palestinians and Native Americans alike variously constructed as Amelkites/Amalek, Canaanites, and "noble savages" (3), as well as references to "Jewish cowboys and Arab Indians" (57). Such constructions are by no means fleeting. Yet they are also not mere comparisons, as the Quest for Canaan is more than just a common feature among otherwise discrepant settler-colonial nationalist ethos—it is a binding thread in a symbiotic, even co-constitutive dynamic, which Salaita illustrates through reference to mimesis:

It should not be insinuated that these instances of colonial discourse simply exist parallel to one another... I think imitation best contextualizes the type of rhetorical interplay with which I am concerned. More than that, however, "mimesis" also connotes a transferal of text from one object onto another; such a transferal appropriately symbolizes the dynamics of the covenant settlers have for centuries carried across the ocean, with each group copying onto foreign land the stories employed in another foreign land... Their mimesis, however, is not merely parallel, but confederated. Zionists drew inspiration from American history in colonizing Palestine, and American history also shaped the outlook of American leaders toward the Near East. (56)

This theorization of the dynamic interchange and mutual composition between the covenantal discourses informing Zionism and "New World"/North American Settlerism lays the groundwork for Salaita's ultimate, provocative contention that the settler-colonization of Palestine would have been unthinkable without North American conquest, as "American settlers filled with religious talk were one step ahead of Arthur James Lord Balfour" (80). The United States and Israel, then, share far more than a strategic relationship defined by aid and the exchange of military and security tactics and technologies. Far from merely a militarized proxy state acting as a forceful representative of the US's geo-imperial designs, Israel is a *partner* to the US in a relationship that transcends the spoils of war profiteering and the tactical dimensions of securing of global hegemony. Salaita's text demonstrates that this relationship also assumes existential proportions: both Israel and the US are militarized settler-states that justify conquest and ethnic cleansing through the trope of the Quest for Canaan, which comes to undergird even the allegedly secular outgrowths of settler-patriotism such as "democracy," "enlightenment," "civility," so on and so forth. For whether or not it assumes explicit religious overtones, only an assumption of pre-ordainment/entitlement to another peoples' land can offset the breakdown of two contradictory accounts of settlement: one of uninhabited, arable land awaiting beleaguered settlers, and another that acknowledges, with extreme reservation, a preceding Indigenous presence (though often of populations who were unaware of how to "develop" the land in question to its full potential). Palestinians and North American Natives have been and remain subjected to variations of these two accounts.

The health and vitality of the modern nation-state thus becomes directly continuous with the completion of Indigenous dispossession and ethnic cleansing, as Indigenous ties are counterposed to a settler teleology of "progress." Despite their differing timelines of ethnic cleansing

(having only declared “independence” in 1948, Israel is presently engaged in a form of garrison settlement that the US has well surpassed), one settler-state’s ability to fully realize its goal of unmitigated expansion and complete Indigenous erasure assumes a prophetic function for the other. This is why interrupting such a process through the demystification of shared ideological investments comes to assume such urgency for Salaita. As he notes,

Forging connections across the shadow lines drawn by imperialist artisans is a healthy way to ensure that occupiers of native lands do not evade their history as conquerors in today’s culture of decontextualization . . . As invaders and occupiers continue the quest for Canaan, it is essential to ensure that Canaan is never found. (80-1)

Divergent timelines in the process of settler-colonialism between the two nation-states might in some ways make Israel seem a more straightforward example of a contemporary settler-colonial project driven by messianic imperatives—especially to scholars and activists who take the completion of the US’s settler project for granted. Various constructions (and even validations) of US settler-colonialism as a past event rather than an ongoing process is a tendency heavily criticized by Salaita, and one that he finds prevalent not only among activists for the Palestinian cause who see no issue with invoking the values championed to justify ethnic cleansing and even genocide in one settler-nation—“colonial values framed in a vocabulary of enlightenment and civility” (3)—to criticize another’s subsidized colonial project, but also the wider American Left, for whom the status of the US as a “post”-colonial nation often seems a given. This is due to the fact that

narratives of conquest have been transformed into national imagination. . . That Natives are still alive in large numbers and struggling in myriad ways to regain stolen land and attain self-determination is even less important. Decontextualization has played an enormous role in the success of American colonial discourse. (51)

Any truly liberation-focused scholar and activist, then, must remain consistent. To criticize settler-colonialism in one nation-state while uncritically undermining Indigenous claims and resistance upon the stolen land of another is the height of hypocrisy.

To my mind, Salaita’s contributions to American Indian/Indigenous studies would already have been guaranteed had his text solely focused on the shared messianic conceits informing the settler-ideologies of the US and Israel. But he makes another significant move in his second chapter, “The Holy Land in Transit”: making the case for Palestinians as Indigenous, a term that denotes “non-Western, agrarian and communal worldviews fitted to specific parcels of land. . . Not only are the Palestinians indigenous to this land [“the Holy Land”], they are by all accounts the Indigenes of this land—whether Muslim, Christian, Druze, or Jew” (42). Salaita also notes that Palestinians themselves would welcome this designation due to its fidelity to their “social systems and geographical location, and because of its political implications,” and that scholars of Palestine in turn have a responsibility to explore the potential of the concept of Indigeneity as well as the intelligibility between Palestinian and North American Native struggles against settler-dispossession as a way of more fully understanding and elaborating Palestinian claims to the Holy Land—even insofar as this entails contending with the implications of a pre-colonial past (ibid). These observations, particularly the emphasis on the “political implications” of

Palestinian Indigeneity, put Salaita in conversation with scholars of Palestine such as Rabab Ibrahim Abdelhadi, who in the essay "Palestinian Resistance and the Indivisibility of Justice" argues that a paradigm of Zionist settler-colonization and Palestinian Indigeneity can revitalize an anti-colonial framework that recognizes present day Israel as occupied Palestinian land in addition to the Occupied Territories, and acknowledges that all Palestinians share an equal stake in and claim to liberation regardless of present location (60).

Furthermore, Salaita is a scholar interested not only in patterns of oppression, but also methods of resistance. And so, the text contrasts its analysis of the discursive commonalities of both settler-states against the ways in which North American Native (specifically Anishinaabe) and Palestinian authors "write back" against colonial dispossession. Salaita uses the term "reciprocal intercommunalism" to ground this comparative approach to global Indigenous literary resistance, or "counternarratives" (61), as well as to accommodate various moments at which Palestinians and North American Natives invoke one another's liberation struggles as a way of contextualizing their own (21). Salaita's training as a literary scholar offers a pragmatic explanation for his focus on literary forms of resistance, but this focus also illuminates the significance that narratives themselves hold for settler-projects, a significance reflected both in the aforementioned narratives of divine preordainment used as justification for ethnic cleansing as well as colonial attitudes and policies toward *Indigenous* narratives. For:

Ethnic cleansing is the removal of humans in order that narratives will disappear... [necessitating] a blinding of the colonial imagination so colonial history will be removed along with the dispossessed... The narratives and counterhistories produced by the dispossessed therefore assume great significance. (62)

Yet even when an intercommunal dimension is not explicitly elaborated either in Salaita's own critical schematization or in the literary work under scrutiny, *The Holy Land in Transit's* formidable conceptual framing makes it impossible to read any text in isolation. For instance, it becomes difficult to consider Salaita's fourth chapter, "Digging up the Bones of the Past: Colonial and Indigenous Interplay in Winona LaDuke's *Last Standing Woman*" about how the characters in LaDuke's novel "fight to reclaim the bones of their ancestors, which were unearthed and sent to various East Coast museums or forgotten in the rush of modern construction" (85), without understanding desecration of burial sites and even grave robbery as a broader aspect of settler-colonial erasure. Though not mentioned in the chapter, Israel's bulldozing of Palestinian grave sites to construct museums and national parks is an association made possible through Salaita's intercommunal groupings.

The converse is true for chapter five, "The Kahan Commission Report and *A Balcony Over the Fakihani: A Tale of Two Fictions*," which analyzes two different texts related to the Palestinian struggle. Salaita's title suggests that the report authored by the Israeli Kahan Commission regarding the extent of the Israeli Occupation Forces' involvement in the infamous Sabra and Shatila massacres of 1982 is no less "fictional" than a literary work by a Palestinian novelist spanning the same period. Both, that is, are guided by particular strategies of representation, elision, and the attempted cultivation of readerly sympathy, factors that Salaita groups under the determining rubric of "perspective" (113). But only one of these fictions is geared toward exculpating the public image of a colonial government and military.

Media coverage of the Sabra and Shatila massacres, which took place during the Lebanese civil war (1975-1990), constituted a veritable puncturing of the hitherto manicured image of Israel fed to Western, particularly US, news audiences. Unmediated accounts of the IOF's participation in and facilitation of the slaughter of Palestinian civilians by Lebanese Phalangists, often from reporters directly on the ground, precluded a complete denial of Israeli violence. And so, Salaita notes, the authors of the Kahan Commission Report partially admitted responsibility, conceding that violence had been perpetrated, but that it was done in spite of Israel's best interests and intentions. The reception of this strategy in Western outlets was overwhelmingly positive, with sources hailing the report for demonstrating a "new lesson in democracy" (116). Salaita argues that this strategy would have been inconceivable were Palestinian barbarity and inhumanity not taken for granted within these very outlets (117). In a gesture that would be taken up again in a slightly different context in *Israel's Dead Soul* (2011), Salaita here uses the Kahan Commission Report to demonstrate how colonial conceptions of humanity allow for the colonizer to deploy and interpret violence as a means of existential redemption, whereas the Indigenous/colonized are merely passive objects to be acted upon as part of this process of auto-actualization. The colonizer's violence is never taken at face value (either denied outright or explained away through appeals to a greater complexity), whereas the colonized are over-determined with associations of "violence" that precede any direct action and obviate the possibility of exhibiting an untroubled innocence. As with the fourth chapter of *The Holy Land in Transit*, it becomes difficult to read this episode and analysis in isolation, so that the Kahan Commission Report's strategy of absolution-through- (partial) admission takes on a deeper resonance as a larger tendency within the psychology of settler-colonization.

Salaita's sixth chapter, "Reimagining the Munificence of an Ass: The Unbounded Worlds of Gerald Vizenor and Emile Habiby," analyzes how the trickster/"tricksterism" (147) figure into the novels *The Trickster of Liberty* by experimental Anishinaabe author Gerald Vizenor and *The Secret Life of Saeed, the Ill-Fated Pessoptimist* by Palestinian author Emile Habiby. Both novels, Salaita shows, employ trickster discursive strategies that undermine dominant "biblical narratives of settler-colonialism" (142). Yet both authors' stylistic post-modernism and subsequent dedication to troubling overly-facile borders and boundaries also translates to humorous critiques of hyper-romanticized conceptions of anti-colonial resistance. Salaita carefully lays bare how both texts offer an incisive refutation of forms of Indigenous resistance that unwittingly reinforce the settlers' terms and frames, whether it be tacit acceptance of colonial distortions of Indigeneity in the case of Vizenor's novel (159), or uncritical/reactionary resistance and redeployment of the colonizer's language of "democracy" for Habiby's (164-5).

Salaita's conclusion, "Dreamcatchers on the Last Frontier," is a powerful personal testimony of the author's experience living in Shatila refugee camp in Lebanon in the summer of 2002 and teaching Palestinian students about Native American history, culture, and resistance. While their knowledge is far from complete, Salaita discusses how the Palestinian refugees of Shatila in general possessed an awareness of Native dispossession and suffering that exceeds the average American student's. Such an awareness, Salaita concludes, is certainly informed by their own deprivation as refugees and subjects of ongoing settler colonization. But it is also coupled with a profound reverence. "In the refugee camps," Salaita writes,

Natives are considered to be decorated veterans of resistance, people who understand the horror of displacement and

dispossession... As people who have experienced ethnic cleansing, it is neither unreasonable nor surprising for [Palestinians] to focus on others who have suffered the same fate. (172)

This seems an especially apt conclusion for *The Holy Land in Transit* despite its transcendence of the literary—perhaps even because of it. For if the stakes of reciprocal intercommunalism are as high as Salaita would have his readers believe, then it must have purchase that extends from literary-critical spheres to the quotidian. In addition to references in poems and novels, reciprocal intercommunalism encompasses Palestinians reduced to the bare life of an overcrowded refugee camp, denied the right to travel or return to their homeland and deprived of meaningful employment in the country of relocation (Lebanon), who nevertheless turn to the struggles of Native Americans as reminders of the need for tenacity and the rightfulness of resistance.

2007 also saw the publication of Steven Salaita’s first monograph on Arab American literature, *Arab American Literary Fictions, Cultures, and Politics*. This work is irreducible to a single hermeneutic category of interpretation, and by design: Salaita rejects flatly homogenizing ideas of Arab American “identity” and literary form in favor of plurality, multiplicity, and hybridity—necessary critical signposts in the era of a derealized “War on Terror,” in which reductive dehumanization of Arabs is a crucial component of perpetual imperialist warfare and aggression abroad and justifies domestic surveillance and suspension of civil liberties. While Arab American literature cannot be reduced to one genre or function, part of its import lies in the ability to scramble propagandistic caricatures and racist stereotype.

I will not spend too much more time on *Arab American Literary Fictions* due to my primary concern with Salaita’s interventions into American Indian/Indigenous studies. However, it is worth noting that in addition to early scholars of Arab American history and culture, Salaita cites Native American/Indigenous studies scholars as his primary influences for the type of classifications and analysis he is attempting to perform in this work. Despite the publication of new works on the subject, Arab American Literary Studies remains a developing field—Salaita referred to it as an intellectual “teenager” in his 2011 reprisal of this text, *Modern Arab American Fiction: A Reader’s Guide* (3-4). That Salaita consciously grounded one of the earliest monographs on the subject within the influence of Native American/Indigenous studies scholars out of an ethics of the need for interethnic awareness and reciprocity is not merely an intriguing piece of literary-historical trivia—it is a testament to the often inherently comparative origins and methodologies of field-formation, and a proud rejection of ethnic solipsism.

Published in 2008, *The Uncultured Wars: Arabs, Muslims, and the Poverty of Liberal Thought* is a collection of essays on topics ranging from “terrorism,” teaching, the life of the mind, and even the TV show *Jackass*. In some ways, *The Uncultured Wars* serves as a continuation of some of the conceptual fixations evidenced in Salaita’s earlier works—for instance, the fascination with contemporary pundit/politico culture and the overlooked character of liberal racism were topics of concern for Salaita stretching all the way back from *Anti-Arab Racism in the U.S.A.* And yet, Salaita’s explicit attempt to engage the essay form in this collection marks somewhat of a departure from his earlier writings, one that anticipates the character of 2015’s *Uncivil Rites*.

“An essay,” Salaita writes in the introduction to the collection,

is eternally versatile: it can do and look like almost anything. An essay can cover any length, from the minimalist to the exhaustive.

It can be prudent or cantankerous, often simultaneously. It can be stunningly revealing or majestically impersonal. It is a fun and rewarding genre, but not an easy one. (2)

Salaita then goes on to observe that the essay has a rich history in Arab American literature, and informs the reader that he will be “concerned in many of these essays with morality,” which in his usage is “coterminous with a committed accountability to comprehensive human wellness” (2). It is difficult to read the forthcoming *Uncivil Rites* as anything but a book of essays similarly committed to a “committed accountability to human wellness,” even as it also explores the personal dimension of Salaita’s struggles with the UIUC administration. Despite the dated status of some of the content of *The Uncultured Wars*, then, its value lies in the way it presaged certain tendencies of Salaita’s later output. Further evidence of this can be found in the essay “The Perils and Profits of Doing Comparative Work,” in which Salaita revisits *The Holy Land in Transit* and remarks that the text’s extensive focus on the shared colonial language of Israel and the US meant that Salaita “ended up privileging the [colonial] agents” (104) rather than resisting Indigenes. Salaita’s most recent work, *Inter/Nationalism: Decolonizing Native America and Palestine* might be read as a corrective of sorts to this dilemma, given the text’s preoccupation with the extant forms of and future possibilities for North American Native and Palestinian resistance.

The aforementioned essay in *The Uncultured Wars* is further notable for clearly elaborating an underlying ethics to Salaita’s comparative methodologies. Salaita writes that he advocate[s] comparative work most avidly around the potential it creates for political collaboration, although intellectual collaboration is highly appealing and indivisible from the political. These categories, in any case, don’t make much sense and only retain their use based on a decidedly politicized, albeit supposedly neutral, Western taxonomical paradigm [under which] the political becomes anything that threatens the status quo. It is for this reason that I deem the political in Indigenous Studies coterminous with useful intellectual work. I don’t want to encourage the retention of binaries, but there is no way to evolve Indigenous studies in an acceptable fashion without threatening the academic status quo... If the emergence of comparative work can link various communities into a common set of ambitions, then it will be one of the rare instances in which scholarship actually performs a vital role in the world and influences more than two dozen people. (111)

While Salaita may not be an outlier in his insistence upon the necessity of linking scholarship to community uplift, or his critique of the charge of “political” scholarship as coded censure for a certain *type* of political work, these concerns are here focalized through the act of comparison. Reading the literatures and struggles of Palestinians (and, at times, Arabs more broadly) alongside and through those of North American Natives becomes more than an interesting intellectual exercise. It is an act infused with the possibility for honing and revitalizing articulations and patterns of resistance. It is, furthermore, an act that must be committed in opposition to “the academic status quo” insofar as that status quo normalizes the confusion of colonial epistemologies with a “neutral” or “apolitical” positioning.

Israel's Dead Soul (2011) shows Salaita returning to and expanding his critiques of the limitations of liberalism and multiculturalism. Specifically, Salaita takes issue with the discourse of multiculturalism's accommodation of Zionism, an accommodation made possible through multiculturalism's avoidance of the systemic causes for deprivation and exclusion. As Salaita reveals, it is by no means an anomaly that Zionism and multiculturalism subtend one another, for “the two phenomena are so readily conflated because they represent the same ersatz righteousness, arising from the same unexamined ubiquity of colonization and structural power imbalance” (4). Multiculturalism's obfuscation of various forms of systemic subjugation through a hollow performance of uncritical representation in turn catalyzes the propagandistic conjoining of Israel and Zionism with Jewish identity, a move that “relies on a host of unsustainable assumptions and dubious colonial mythologies” (9). Such a gesture is dangerous not only because it presumes an identity-based consensus on colonial nationalism that erases vibrant historical and present debates about the rightfulness of Zionism as a solution to anti-Semitism, but also because it erases Palestinians “legally and historically from the physical and emotional spaces of their very constitution as a discrete national community” (ibid). In his second chapter, “Is the Anti-Defamation League a Hate Group,” Salaita demonstrates how the multicultural juxtaposition of Jewish identity and Zionism facilitates the ability of organizations such as the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) to assume the title of a civil rights group while a) being primarily concerned with the unquestioning protection of Israel's image amidst its brutal practice of garrison settlement (44), b) engaging in ethically questionable practices such as working with law enforcement to surveil individuals and organizations (predominately Muslim) it deems “extremist” (54-5) and c) contravening academic freedom by spying on professors it deems insufficiently supportive of the US-backed Zionist colonization of Palestine (58-62).

Chapter five, “The Heart of Darkness Redux, Again” returns to the issues Salaita explored in his analysis of the Kahan Commission report in *The Holy Land in Transit*. This time, however, he engages in film analysis to situate the notion of violence against the colonized being displaced through performances of redemption as a defining trope of colonial modernity. Salaita analyzes three films: *West Bank Story* (directed by Ari Sandel and written by Kim Ray and Sandel), *Munich* (directed by Steven Spielberg and written by Tony Kushner and Eric Roth) and *Waltz With Bashir* (written and directed by Ari Folman). Though stylistically rather divergent, Salaita argues, all three are connected in the denial of complexity to Palestinian characters and the use of violence against Palestinians as a mere backdrop for the staged anguish of the colonial psyche. This is “the Heart of Darkness Redux,” the returns of a phenomenon first exposed by Chinua Achebe and here repurposed by Salaita to accommodate the Palestinians as colonial subjects: the colonized exist only as passive and disposable catalysts of the colonizer's painful journey towards greater self-awareness—even, dare we say, “enlightenment.”

To return to the issue of irony raised in the introductory paragraph, there is a rather staggering quality to realizing how attentive Salaita was to all of these matters well before UIUC's rescinding of a tenure-track position for his political Tweets. Then again, a more generous reading might substitute irony for prescience in this instance, as the preceding paradigm of academic “neutrality” makes it possible to read such actions as praxis meeting theory—as the standard workings of the already-named “status quo.” This is, in any case, the attitude with which we are confronted in *Uncivil Rites: Palestine and the Limits of Academic Freedom*. A systemic contention with how academe is implicated and complicit in the violence attendant

colonial modernity precludes individualization of regulatory disciplining. Thus, while Salaita does not shy away from exploring the personal impact of UIUC's unethical conduct, he also refuses to exceptionalize his case, opting instead to tell "an autobiographical story that is anything but personal" (4).

In fact, in a move that is reminiscent of his earlier texts, Salaita not only refuses to exceptionalize his case, but seeks to transform it through the act of writing into a narrative with galvanizing potential for academic and extramural modes of dissent:

If I could convey a single point about the experience of being fired and ending up a news story, it would be that oppressive institutions can never subdue the agility of mind and spirit. Humans can be disciplined, but humanity comprises a tremendous antidisciplinary force. (ibid)

True to this paean to human steadfastness against structural coercion, *Uncivil Rites* moves across a range of topics, refusing to be limited to a despairing obsessiveness about the circumstances of Salaita's firing by UIUC (though such a move would obviously be warranted, given the circumstances). Naturally, Palestine features rather prominently: the first essay, "Tweet Tweet," is both a frank refutation of criticisms (including those of UIUC administration and donors) of Salaita's Twitter use and an exploration of the comprehensive nature of Israeli colonial violence and racism. In a Fanonian move, Salaita grapples with the question of Israeli violence by insisting upon the need to acknowledge the colonial paradigm structuring Israeli/Palestinian relations:

...skirmishes and clashes exist within a paradigm of colonization... I wouldn't argue that all Palestinian resistance is ethical or prudent, but it's important to remember that it's the violence (and often nonviolence) of the colonized party. Moral and legal frameworks underlie this reality. Israel, on the other hand, is the colonial power. As such, its mere presence is an act of violence. (17)

As with Salaita's earlier analysis of the Kahan Commission Report, "violence" here becomes rearticulated as a systematic (and systematizing) force of colonial subjugation rather than the *a priori* condition of the colonized. The second piece, "Palestine, (un)Naturally," engages the spatial and geographic dimensions of settler-colonization. The piece begins with a consideration of Palestine as religious synecdoche rather than inhabited place. Salaita notes that this confusion of categories is precisely what facilitates the process of ethnic cleansing, for "Settlement and myth are symbiotic" (19). Following this, the essay moves to a broader consideration of how the curation of settler-colonies necessitates the reinvention of characteristic environments and topographies. Salaita uses Los Angeles as an example. While not indigenous to the city, palm trees were imported by settlers who "wanted to brand the region" (ibid). Many of these early settlers were "Spaniards with a religious mandate," so palm trees were selected due to their association with "the Holy Land" (20).

Settler "place" is thus made through the de-familiarization of Indigenous place. And as settlement gathers momentum and support, space itself is weaponized: "Though it doesn't physically disappear, Palestine is forever shrinking" (ibid). However, Salaita dialectically situates the land as both an instrument of colonial erasure as well as resistance. As he notes,

"animals remain. Olive trees still age for centuries. Perhaps *this* is the natural history of Palestine: the unbelievable endurance of its flora and fauna... and the persistence of its Indigenous despite the captivity of occupied space" (26, emphasis in original).

In keeping with the methodology informing Salaita's previous works, *Uncivil Rites* exhibits a comparative approach to Indigenous struggles, extrapolating upon Indigeneity and settler-colonialism by way of alternating reference to an American Indigenous context as well as Palestine. Chapter sixteen, "The Chief Features of Civility," takes UIUC's "retired" mascot, Chief Illiniwek, as the subject of an extended meditation upon settler distortions of Indigenous identity. These distortions provide the underlying logic for a pageantry of racist symbolism, a slew of arbitrary signifiers cobbled together that reflect nothing "authentic" save for the narcissism of all indignant about the Chief's "retirement." As Salaita explains, the issue is precisely that non-Native indignation is prioritized over Native arbitration in representational authenticity: "[Chief Illiniwek] is meant to honor Natives, but in reality his function is to reaffirm the emotional desires of whiteness" (138). It is not Native realities, but the psychic investments of power and privilege that become the determining factors of representation, for "Mascotry is an issue of the settler's psychology" (141).

Salaita also constructs the mascot as the embodiment of "civility." The rationale for his termination, under Salaita's analysis, civility is revealed to be a cosmetic emphasis on respectability that invisibilizes the institutional racism that thrives on campuses such as UIUC, and stigmatizes the attempt to name this and related patterns of oppression and exclusion common to the experiences of society's variously subaltern populations. Civility, Salaita cautions us, is not harmless politeness, but power, power that marshals "the unnamed violence of bureaucracy and tradition" (145). As it becomes so normalized into the very workings of tradition, exposing this violence is "necessarily uncivil" (ibid). The Chief is thus the perfect representative of civility because, just as Natives are afforded no say in matters of authenticity, civility is the etiquette surrounding the ability to establish convention at the direct expense of the marginalized.

The fifth chapter of Salaita's most recent text, *Inter/Nationalism: Decolonizing Native America and Palestine*, reexamines the issue of his firing by UIUC through a colonial lens. Specifically, Salaita argues that the paternalism at play in the administration's refusal to consider the American Indian Studies department's support for his appointment reflects the devaluing of American Indian/Indigenous studies departments and scholars, a devaluation that is inseparable from the larger denial of Native sovereignty and agency (137). This chapter also considers the relevance of American Indian/Indigenous studies to Palestine studies and Palestine solidarity activism (which Salaita willfully conflates out of a refusal to relegate "scholarship" and "activism" to neatly separate spheres of activity). Ultimately, Salaita maintains that Palestine work, whether scholarly, activist, or a blend of the two, must systematically take up American Indian/Indigenous studies in order to craft a truly comprehensive vocabulary and program for decolonization (136-7).

The text is in many ways both a return to and departure from the insights of *The Holy Land in Transit*. For instance, Salaita's neologism, "inter/nationalism," is intended as a partial corrective to the phrase "reciprocal intercommunalism" that he had previously used to capture the mutuality

of reference and invocation informing Palestinian and North American Native elaborations of struggle. As he explains, while the former term rightly emphasized “reciprocity,” it did “not expressly underscore the nation” (xvi). As I understand it, Salaita’s repurposed phrase is politically multivalent. On the one hand, it is intended to preserve the idea of a mutual legibility and referentiality between Native/Palestinian struggles. However, it also builds on the pronouncements of scholars such as Audra Simpson, Glen Coulthard and Penelope Kelsey in simultaneously capturing and evoking the possibilities for global solidarity *and* work with, among, and between Native peoples and nations for sovereignty and restitution upon the stolen land of settler-nations. Salaita engages this latter possibility through considerations of how the 2005 Palestinian call for Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) can be more explicitly attuned to North American Native struggles. Salaita argues that BDS in fact already implies North American as well as Palestinian decolonization due to the fact that it “undermines American state power in addition to the militant colonialism of its Israeli client” (28). BDS thus already performs inter/national work. A comprehensive ethics of decolonization would develop this potential even further, so that the practice of BDS can entail both an insistence of Palestinian freedom as well as “an articulation of Native sovereignty” (ibid).

UIUC may have hoped its actions would end Steven Salaita’s scholarly career, but *Uncivil Rites* and *Inter/Nationalism* prove this to be far from true. The spirit and intent of both works suggest that Salaita, who has already made great innovations in American Indian/Indigenous studies through the comparative establishment of Palestinian Indigeneity and deconstruction of the religious tropes animating US and Israeli settler-colonization (not to mention being one of the sharpest social critics presently writing about the university as a site of colonial/capitalist normativity), is far from finished. The intellectual richness and political ethics that inform Salaita’s texts up to this point make the prospect of continued output truly enticing. Whatever form these future works may take, however, I hope they remain “uncivil.”

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Both North and South of the Great Lakes, literary critics and thinkers such as Julian NoiseCat and Madeline Sayat have been hailing a “New Native Renaissance.” Yet, while whitestream U.S. theatres have recently been waking up to Indigenous playwrights such as Larissa FastHorse, Mary Kathryn Nagle, and DeLanna Studi, play development, production, and publication in Canada has long been ahead of their southern counterparts, as evidenced by the output of Playwrights Canada Press. Even so, the press’s recent publications particularly demonstrate the variety and strength of current First Nations, Inuit, and Métis playwrights.

Medicine Shows: Indigenous Performance Culture, by Métis playwright / dramaturg / director Yvette Nolan, provides a critical counterpart to these plays, demonstrating the web of interconnections between artists, development processes, and production companies as a fractal of “the interconnectedness of all things.” After all, as Nolan writes, Indigenous theatre calls attention to connection, and *reconnects* “through the act of remembering, through building community, and by negotiating solidarities across communities” (1-3). As Nolan draws upon her prodigious memory as a longtime participant and former Artistic Director of Native Earth Performing Arts, she navigates the web of genealogy of young actors who become playwrights, young playwrights who become leaders, and transcultural failures whose honesty encourages new and more informed attempts. Her approach contextualizes contemporary dramas by Indigenous playwrights within the playwrights’ own cultural systems, but also acknowledges

both the incredible diversity within the “Indigenous” category, and the diversity of dramaturgical methods employed by contemporary Indigenous playwrights. Nolan’s critical overview of contemporary Indigenous drama eludes some of the stereotypes common in a settler lens, instead organizing her chapters around concepts such as “survivance,” “remembrance,” “ceremony,” “making community,” and “the eighth fire”: this last title designating Nolan’s vision of the next task as reciprocal and informed collaboration between Indigenous and arrivant artists. Nolan exemplifies her description of the Indigenous artist as “a conduit between the past and the future,” and both past and future loom large in these recent plays (Nolan *Medicine Shows* 3).

For instance, *Two-Spirit Acts: Queer Indigenous Performance*, edited by Jean O’Hara, includes new solo work by Spiderwoman co-founder Muriel Miguel (Kuna / Rappahannock), as well as by Kent Monkman (Cree), and Waawaate Fobister (Anishinaabe). O’Hara’s introduction and Tomson Highway’s foreword, “Where is God’s Wife? Or is he gay?,” delineate the existence of queer Indigenous community, and encircle that community (or, more accurately, communities) within the broader community of Indigeneity. Miguel’s *Hot ‘n’ Soft* begins with a quilt backdrop, like many of Spiderwoman’s performances, but quickly departs into a romp of lesbian discovery, where a hairy woman’s body reminds Miguel of bored Coyote, and female Coyote sends the performer back to a giggling telephone flirtation. Miguel simultaneously embraces her role as Indigenous theatrical elder and refuses to let that role predict her body or her life. Meanwhile, Kent Monkman’s diva drag persona Miss Chief Eagle Testickle dons stilettos and feathers to directly address enduring misrepresentations of Indigenous peoples by holding a *Séance* with painters Eugène Delacroix, Paul Kane, and George Catlin, where she first eviscerates them and then invites the audience to “bring back” the “dance to the Berdache,” or Two-Spirit, in club-track remix. In *Taxonomy of the European Male*, as the title suggests, Miss Chief flips the script to reveal the absurdity of supposedly scientific racialization.

As for the more recent past, of course the dominance of the “Truth and Reconciliation” process that shadows all recent discussions of Indigeneity in what is currently known as Canada spills into Indigenous theatrical creations. After all, while Canada’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), convened as a result of the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement of 2007, “concluded” in 2015 with a lengthy report, Indigenous playwrights have long been grappling with the ongoing colonial legacies of the residential school system. Nolan calls the school system “an identifiable villain with a contained timeline,” not separate from the larger effects of colonization, but more “obviously intentional and institutionalized” (Nolan *Medicine Shows* 13). Judging by the recent publications of Playwrights Canada Press, however, recent plays by First Nations, Inuit, and Métis playwrights make those connections between current issues and intergenerational trauma, particularly from residential schools, even more explicitly.

Theatre has often played a role in the difficult processes of restorative justice instigated by TRCs around the world. Art has the advantage of taking multiple approaches to testimony, as well as experimenting with multiple reactions, as Jane Taylor has noted in reflecting upon her play *Ubu and the Truth Commission*, created with Handspring Puppets for the South African TRC. Even within the collection *Indian Act: Residential School Plays*, edited by Donna-Michelle St. Bernard, styles and approaches run a wide gamut: from Nolan’s *Dear Mr. Buchwald*, both a multimedia documentary of Nolan’s mother’s life and a bitterly blunt account of their family’s

struggle to receive her survivor settlement; to Michael Greyeyes' (Plains Cree) *Nôhkom*, another first-person, yet lyrical effort to recover what he can of his grandmother's story from scraps and memories; to Tara Beagan (Ntlaka'pamux)'s *They Know Not What They Do*, where characters both testify as elders and dramatize their early childhood experiences; to the naturalistic young group casts of Larry Guno (Nisga'a)'s *Bunk #7*, set in a residential school in the 1960s, and Curtis Peeteetuce (Cree)'s *kihēw*, set in 2007 in the shell of an old school, where teens find more than they bargained for looking for ghosts; to the most naturalistic and yet stunningly open-ended two-person confrontation between former student and former teacher, *God and the Indian*, by Drew Hayden Taylor (Ojibway).

God and the Indian encapsulates many pitfalls and doubts inevitable in a reconciliation process that relies upon memory and the trauma inherent in describing trauma. His title refers to the play's only two characters: a boarding school survivor who traces all the pain of her life to her abuse at school, and a now-celebrated priest whom she believes to be her abuser. At the same time, the title points to the duo's imbrication in a huge system and a long history of church-driven cultural genocide. Taylor skillfully draws the audience into the survivor's hope that truth will lead to reconciliation and peace; instead, as the priest insists that it wasn't him, she starts to question her own memories, and we as audience start to question whether any resolution could be possible. We become complicit in the desire for story patterns and tidy endings, for reconciliation at the expense of restorative justice. Taylor leaves us as unsettled as history.

Tara Beagan and Yvette Nolan's contributions to the anthology exemplify the power of multimedia technologies in performing archives. In *They Know Not What They Do*, Beagan's actors play their characters both as small children and as aged survivors - except for the children who did not live to age. The cruelties of inspections, hair cutting, stern incomprehensible speeches, punishment, and suicide play mostly through multimedia images. Although moments of theatrical beauty intercut these horrors (notably an aurora borealis springing forth from a suitcase), the play's tone remain elegiac from the children's first day of school through their testimony. As one says, "Seems unfair to be sitting here telling my story when so many never will. But... hopefully our telling will honor them somehow. ... Those schools did what they were supposed to do. Took us from home. ... For good" (St. Bernard 157-9). Beagan's stage directions actually include the directive "hammer home some archival images," and her play ends with "Harper's apology on sardonic loop"; after the testimonies of what can never be undone or returned, the repeated "And we are sorry. And we apologize" rings bitterly (St. Bernard 159). Within the students' survival, though, and their telling, live their ancestors' stories. What they need, what these plays provide, is the "string to build [their] stories on" (St. Bernard 152).

Meanwhile, Nolan makes use of projections to share documents and photographs in counterpoint with her letter to the lawyer who worked with her family to secure her mother's settlement as a residential school survivor. Commissioned by a graduate law students' association from Native Earth Performing Arts, the spoken letter draws attention to the years-long process of securing the settlement, and to the system that creates even greater obstacles to families with fewer resources, a system that continues to make money "off the First People of this land, still, after all this time, all the while complaining that we should just get over it, pull ourselves up by our bootstraps, and stop being a drain on the resources" (St. Bernard 353-4). It's not about the money, Nolan's

speaker insists, she's given away her share, and yet the money exemplifies the ongoing exploitation of her family. Meanwhile, the archival projections also insist that it's about the people: photographs of her mother insist upon her unique humanity, from her teenage years to her young wedding to her status card to her young children to her grown children. The projections also allow educational text to intersperse with the reading of words from the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, summarizing the TRC process and its findings, and the four principles for "basis for a renewed relationship: recognition, respect, sharing, and responsibility." Nolan's play, and the anthology, end with "The Road Forward" (also a chapter heading in *Medicine Shows*). The Road Forward, Nolan's projected photos insist, includes Indigenous people, living and working and being in the present in all their variety. As her stage directions celebrate, "there are so many of them" (St. Bernard 355-6).

Like many composers in a non-mainstream, or non-whitestream community, Indigenous playwrights have to attend to insider and outsider audiences - or make an intentional decision to let non-Indigenous audiences not understand. Nolan describes the course of Indigenous art about the residential school system as a "long and often painful process of education for a Canadian public that was largely oblivious of its existence" (Nolan, *Medicine Shows* 14). The plays included in *Indian Act* anticipate a spectrum of audiences, working toward healing and community building all the way around the eighth fire. Editor St. Bernard highlights the international responsibilities of settler-colonial governments by including the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, Article 11, in the collection's appendix. In this context it serves as both documentation of Indigenous rights and a call for settler readers to continue their education and work for equity beyond the limits of the official TRC process. The title, meanwhile, refers to the Indian Act of 1884 that created the residential school systems. The titular play on words gives agency to the Indigenous actors but also calls up the long stage tradition of redface, acts of representation whose stage popularity affect the treatment of real Indigenous people in daily life. Editor Donna-Michelle St. Bernard prefaces the collection with a thoughtful meditation on what she didn't learn in the Canadian school system as a young immigrant, what she didn't know even as an adult theatre practitioner, yet what she now sees continuing in, for example, "the short life and tragic death of Tina Fontaine while in government care," proving that "while the language of the Indian Act policies have been revised and redacted, the institutional culture they represent is implicit, pervasive." As a non-Indigenous ally, St. Bernard wields her "we" gloriously, speaking to her fellow arrivant Canadians (and by extension North Americans), "Maybe we can all excuse ourselves for what we weren't told, as a child nation. Also, maybe it's time to grow up, to take responsibility.... What happened here is part of our story, a part that is context to all other struggles in this place" (St. Bernard x-xi). She acknowledges survivors' right to their silence, and the generosity of their testimony and their research. In a "dialogue" preface, Daniel David Moses (Delaware / Tuscarora) declares that the collection's plays can "show us how to heal" (St. Bernard vii).

Melanie J. Murray (Métis) particularly connects contemporary lives with historic injustice by beginning with a protagonist who doesn't even know her Indigenous ancestry. In *A Very Polite Genocide or The Girl Who Fell to Earth*, Josie has an unexpected emotional response when giving her university research paper on "The Devastation of the Métis"; her slow process of reconnecting with her birth family parallels her grandfather's reticence to lead as an elder, and in overlapping time periods, her grandparents' childhood at residential schools, her grandfather's

post-war PTSD, her grandmother's addiction after losing her children, her uncle's sexual abuse and depression. Josie's character embodies generational isolation, but as Yvette Nolan notes, the play "makes ... a community... that has been shattered and dispersed by residential schools, the 1960s scoops, and internalized racism born of shame and dislocation." The time travel, or time-mashup, works with Josie to "make the connections to become whole again," until in "the final scene of the play, the playwright makes a community of a group that has until now not known its connection. ...three generations are connected, listening to one of the oldest stories" (Nolan *Medicine Shows* 83-4, 87). With the help of a Rougarou, "a shape-shifting supernatural creature that keeps nudging the reluctant student to look at the things she has been avoiding or denying all of her life," Josie unites pieces of self, pieces of community, and pieces of stories, "making connections about her own history and the history of the country in which she lives" (Nolan *Medicine Shows* 86, 84). Josie's and other characters' repeated insistence that they "don't know" and aren't up to the task dramatizes the need for everyone to begin somewhere in grappling with the past and its legacy.

Therefore, Murray's contribution to *Indian Act* bridges to other crises to which North American settler governments are slowly waking up, such as the decades-long crisis of Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women, Girls, and Two-Spirit People, a movement that has done much awareness-building through art and online with the hashtags #MMIW, #MMIWG, and #MMIWG2S. Tara Beagan, who attends to child characters in her boarding school play, gives all of her wrenching drama *In Spirit* to direct address by a "fictionalized" murdered girl "inspired by all too many true stories" (Beagan iii). *In Spirit's* epigraph connects #MMIWG2S to history of cultural genocide, declaring, "A missing child is an unquantifiable symptom of the greed and corruption of society. ... This play is for those children who bear the weight of the ways in which this world has failed them" (Beagan i). *In Spirit* provides an exquisite example of finding broad applicability through the specific. Beagan uses Ntlaka'pamux words, and notes that the play is meant to honor a specific loss, with the permission of the lost girl's mother, but she changes names and identifying details. Here again, video and sound augment the raw simplicity of solo performance - sometimes providing flashbacks of happier memories, sometimes demonstrating the distortion that young Molly experiences as she tries, post-mortem, to remember what happened to her. Molly speaks directly to her audience, but doesn't know why they are there any more than she knows where she is. Her "Do you see me? Feels like you're looking about me. But not really at me" speaks to the potential voyeurism of the audience relationship as well as the way that individual lives dissolve into the statistics (Beagan 6). Molly literally pieces together her smashed bike while telling stories about her family and her dog and her friends and her birthday - the kind of stories a not-quite-thirteen-year old girl tells, about her plans for holidays and how she and her best friend will live in a house together when they grow up. Molly doesn't realize that the bike she's reassembling is her own, but bits of the story of the man in the truck who asked her questions keep surfacing to puncture her young happiness. She tries to hide from sounds of her attack but keeps finding the bravery to pick up the bike pieces and tell her strange quiet adult audience about how her friend with brothers taught her to "become dead weight" to stop somebody from fighting them. Molly, however, knows more than one wants a not-quite-thirteen-year-old to know. She knows that "That's only if someone's worried about getting in trouble.... Some people don't care about trouble. That's when you have to be really, really, smart and brave" (Beagan 15). Consequently, the horrific reality of GIRL's death - inevitable as any plot - softens enough to withstand its telling, but also lands all the more

painfully because we see it land on her, a girl we now know. As Molly spins her tales of family and friends, she illustrates Nolan's point about community. The loss of Molly will resonate through a long network. Molly's spirit, though, draws upon that network in death just as she did in life: just as she dealt with racist teachers by laughing about how adults can be dumb, just as she notes that dogs and people only grow up to be mean if someone was mean to them, just as she cried hardest when she realized that each of her run-over dogs were run over by people who chose to leave them. Remembering how her Yuh'yuh (Grannie) told her that everything has spirit, and that a funeral would help her let go of her dog, even though she was sick of funerals, remembering how they told stories about the dog, and then the wind "went shwushhhup the trees," that "Yuh'yuh said it's [his] spirit going. Freefree," and then she went about her daily routine missing him but that each day got easier (Beagan 36). That understanding, that reassurance that Molly's spirit gives back to her audience, that validation for the telling of stories of the lost, brings Molly to recognize her bike, and to tell what happened to her, even to see her body. On the video screen, Molly remains "lifeless on the ground... as live Molly walks away" (Beagan 39). Beagan's play manages a tone both tender and brutal, funny and childlike and devastating. It allows Molly, standing fictionally in for so many real lost children, to be a child, and to craft a full life in stories even in the shadow of her death. It provides a ceremony for letting go, but its last sounds, of the truck on gravel, refuse to suggest any false resolution for an ongoing epidemic.

Similarly, Cliff Cardinal's dually-published solo pieces, *Huff & Stitch*, allow their young characters their childhood, drawing strength from the space of the play to... well, *play*. By speaking directly to the audience, Molly and *Huff's* Wind and *Stitch's* Kylie conjure what is lost, what is constantly being lost, what could have been and could be salvaged, protected. Yet where Beagan maintains a mostly gentle touch, Cardinal thrusts his audiences into a brittle, devouring world. *Stitch* begins at Kylie's job acting in porn videos; more specifically, it begins with Kylie proclaiming, "You're sick. ... But the ugly truth is that I need you. ... I won't be asking much of you. Just do what you always do. Watch" (Cardinal 59). Although she addresses an internet audience, she literally addresses the theatre audience, who see behind the scenes of her life, but also must watch all of her pain, her addiction, her struggle for custody of her daughter, her dangerous and humiliating jobs, and her personified persistent yeast infection. *Huff* also "implicates" the audience in its first moments, as the lights come up on a young man with his hands tied behind his back and a plastic bag over his head; he asks audience members to help him remove the bag, ensuring that from the beginning, the audience must face the consequences of their own lack of action.

Like Beagan, Cardinal worked as an actor before writing, and his early experiences included working with Nolan and with Native Earth Performing Arts. He had performed in the successful one-man piece *Tales of an Urban Indian*, and Nolan notes that his *Huff*, written ten years later, echoes that earlier "story of survival" but with "even more harrowing" stakes (Nolan *Medicine Shows* 28). Once again, the young protagonist Wind, who stops his own suicide attempt in the first scene, has his own very specific memories to share, but once again his life is entangled in historical and social forces. Even the kids on the bus know that "the statistical rate of suicide for First Nations living on the reserve is the highest in the world," so Wind knows that his mother's and brother's suicides connect to the problems of their school system, his other brother's Fetal Alcohol Syndrome and sexual abuse, his father's violence, and all three brothers' huffing of gas

(Cardinal 26). Wind assigns the audience the role of “imaginary friends who exist as a result of self-asphyxiation, gas huffing, Lysol, or a combination of all three” (Nolan *Medicine Shows* 29). Nolan admits that *Stitch* must be driven by a magnetic performer in order for its power to cohere. The same can be said of *Huff*, but its rhythms and shifts between roles, its understanding of spare production flexibility and audience interaction speaks to Cardinal’s deep knowledge of shared emotion and energy. Perhaps it’s Cardinal’s time inhabiting *Huff* as performer that yields such a muscular, lean, charming yet brutal portrait of the play’s resilient boys. Cardinal has said that he wants *Huff* “to inspire hope, not hopelessness” (Nolan *Medicine Shows* 30). While the play’s dark content makes hope feel unlikely, the energy and love of a great solo performer can bring it back, as can the brothers’ relationship as described by Wind. Huff’s scared gift was that he could “make people feel love just by blowing. Like this: Whoosh,” and at the end of the play, when Wind seems once more lost beyond all hope, the whoosh returns to him, and he removes his handcuffs and the plastic bag, choosing hope, inspired by brother’s memory preserved in story (Cardinal 7). Even with only one body onstage, Indigenous storytellers have long known how to embody community.

Nolan’s own play, *The Unplugging*, and Keith Barker’s *This is How We Got Here* present survivor stories as well, but in some senses more whimsically. In dialogue that hews between realism and fable, these two plays dramatize community more than identifiable issues or identities. *The Unplugging* presents a post-apocalyptic, post-electric landscape; its co-protagonists, two women in their fifties who’ve been exiled from their community because of their age, learn to live on their own through memories of grandmother’s teachings, and then must decide whether to share their knowledge with their banishers. The characters’ Indigeneity emerges in small pieces, like remembering how to set a trap, then remembering the word for rabbit. Yet its humor, its validation of elders and long memory, and its concern with relationships emphasize Nolan’s points about making community. As Rachel Ditor’s introduction points out, the play addresses both “small, domestic negotiations between people and the vast landscapes of our negotiations with nature. . . prompt[ing] us to think about our relationship to the land, our relationship to knowledge and how we acquire it and to the construction and nurturing of community” (Nolan *Unplugging* iii). In *Medicine Shows*, Nolan quips that she wrote *The Unplugging* “to see if [she] was still a playwright” as she left her administrative home. She identifies its “starting point [as] an Athabaskan story, which was told by Velma Wallis and published in 1993 as *Two Old Women*, about two women who are exiled from their community and must remember their traditional knowledge in order to survive” (Nolan *Medicine Shows* 88). While the original was set in precontact times, Nolan’s resetting continues to think into the time of the eighth fire.

Barker’s *This is How We Got Here* contains even fewer overt markers of Indigeneity, yet it too stages remaking of community as survivance. In fact its title could easily match the last chapter of Nolan’s essays, *This Is How We Go Forward*. Barker (Algonquin Métis) follows up his first play, *The Hours That Remain*, which dramatized #MMIWG stories, with another dexterously woven exploration of trauma’s repercussions on a family in *This is How We Got Here*. As the anniversary of their son Craig’s suicide approaches, a family fights the disintegration of their relationships with each other in scenes that alternate with a tale of a storytelling fox who goes in search of his own forgotten story. The fox interludes both parallel and ground the swirl of human anger and loss, connecting to happy memories of Craig’s childhood books and to a present-day

fox who lingers in the backyard, who Craig's mom believes to be his spirit. The first scene opens with Craig's father and uncle looking for Craig's mom, who has gone missing. Only as the following scenes jump back and forth does the exposition unfold, how the mystery of Craig's suicide one year before sent fractures of blame and grief between his parents and their best friends. The final scene returns to the search but finds Craig's mom watching the body of the fox in the road. As the parents plan to bury the fox, they "lean into each other" again, and as the lights fade, the audience hears Craig's voice for the last and only time, his last voicemail message, a "slice of life, casual, everyday message" that his mom has been grasping as tightly as she grasps a mysterious egg brought to her by the fox (Barker 86). While the play resonates with the pain of broken connections and bad medicine, it also takes time for spirit, and for humor, notably when Craig's aunt tries to shoo away the fox, yelling

AND JUST BECAUSE I'M YELLING AT YOU DOESN'T MEAN I THINK YOU ARE WHO SHE SAYS YOU ARE, 'CAUSE YOU'RE NOT! Yeah yeah yeah, tilt your head, you smug little... What do you want from me? ... there's nothing left. You've taken it all away, and now it feels like...like I loved you too much... I am so mad at you and I have never been mad at you in my whole life ever. ... WELL DON'T JUST STAND THERE, SAY SOMETHING, WOULD YOU? ... Yeah, you're nothing but a fox (Barker 70).

While Barker doesn't identify his characters as Indigenous, he writes from intimate knowledge of the youth suicide epidemic in Indigenous communities, and like Beagan and the playwrights in *Indian Act*, Barker creates ceremony of collective grief in the name of collective healing. The play's ceremony reminds us that we all carry stories of each other, as Barker's fox story elaborates:

And when the sun returned the next morning, life continued as it always had, and stories continued as they always do. For you see, the fox did not understand that our stories are not just ours to tell. Other people tell them too, for our stories live in the people around us. And when we lose our way, when we feel like we can't remember our own story anymore, and that it might be coming to an end - that everything is going to be okay: because when we can't tell our own story, the people in our lives tell our story for us. (Barker 80)

In past decades, Nolan found that whitestream audiences complained about feeling sad and guilty during Indigenous plays, and the few successful plays seemed "to be reinforcing the same theme: First Nations are damaged, and even within our own communities, we cannot heal." Yet these recent plays offer a way forward indeed: telling the stories together, around the eighth fire.

Although Indigenous stories and people are so much more than traumas, Nolan gives the TRC, along with Idle No More, some credit in starting the discussion about the relationship between Indigenous communities and settler and arrivant communities "to work together to achieve justice, to live together in a good way." She declares that "Indigenous performance offers one of the most generative means for Indigenous people and Canadians to explore their shared history and work towards some kind of conciliation" (Nolan *Medicine Shows* 117, 17). With Nolan's

historical and conceptual guide, these recent plays offer all of North America a remarkable reading and viewing list.

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Review Essay: **Duane Niatum: A Retrospective**

Duane Niatum. *Earth Vowels*. Mongrel Empire Press, 2017. 96 pp. ISBN 978-0997251760.
<http://mongrelempire.org/catalog/poetry/earth-vowels.html>

In 2017, Duane Niatum (Jamestown S’Klallam) published *Earth Vowels*, at least his 21st book. I say “at least” because it is genuinely hard to count the number of full-length books, self-published chapbooks, and anthologies Niatum has produced since *After the Death of an Elder Klallam* (1970), which most sources call his first book.¹ This prolific poet has also placed countless pieces in Native Studies periodicals including *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, literary journals like *Prairie Schooner*, and mass-market magazines like the *Nation*. Additionally, he had a unique position as the editor of a short-lived Native American authors series at Harper & Row,² for which he produced two major anthologies: *Carriers of the Dream Wheel* (1975), updated as *Harper’s Anthology of 20th Century Native American Poetry* (1988). These were field-defining collections on a par with Geary Hobson’s *The Remembered Earth* (1979) and, now, Heid E. Erdrich’s *New Poets of Native Nations* (2018).

Niatum has been justifiably lauded: the Before Columbus Foundation gave him an American Book Award in 1982, and the Native Writers Circle of the Americas gave him the Lifetime Achievement Award in 2019. And yet no one has given Niatum’s work a critical study, though at this point a book-length examination of his career would reveal a great deal about the growth of Native American and Indigenous poetry over the last five decades, and perhaps just as much about our field’s responses to it. Disappointingly, he has not been much reviewed outside of Native Studies publications like *SAIL*, *American Indian Quarterly*, and *Wicazo Sa Review*, or regional journals like *Western American Literature* and *The Raven Chronicles*. *SAIL* published two reviews of *Digging Out the Roots* (Harper & Row 1978), one by Maurice Kenny and another by Patricia Clark Smith. Kenny, being the poet that he was, focused on Niatum’s mastery of form: “To him a poem is the sum of its parts, not chopped prose lazily reclining for verse” (39). He also, along with Smith, pondered the relationship between the poet’s Klallam heritage and his education in Western traditions. For Smith, this was off-putting; she praised the Indigenous-themed poems as “sensuous” and transparent (they “don’t send a stranger to Klallam life scuttling guiltily to the library to read up on Pacific Northwest shamanism”), but criticized him for sometimes relegating content to form: “flashy and unnecessarily obscure imagery, where emotions and events are described so obliquely as to seem almost coy” (47). Kenny was less bothered by these alleged inconsistencies, stating simply that the poetry “is as much a product of European as of Klallam influence” (39).

Reviews of Niatum’s poetry—and, one would have to admit, of poetry by other Indigenous people and writers of color—continued in a similar vein over the years, oscillating between ambivalence about the “purity” of cultural expression and matter-of-fact acceptance that the poet could be and do many things at the same time. *SAIL* published no fewer than three reviews of *Songs for the Harvester of Dreams* (U of Washington P, 1981), all by major writers, all proclaiming Niatum’s tremendous productivity and *stature*. One was a delightfully idiosyncratic piece by Carter Revard, which mainly complained about Niatum’s love poetry—something most reviewers, in fact, seem to dislike. Joseph Bruchac put his fellow poet on a par with Simon Ortiz,

Leslie Marmon Silko, and James Welch, expressing amazement that Niatum had not by then received more critical attention. In Bruchac's evaluation, Niatum drew nimbly on a variety of sources, including Indigenous oral traditions, Eastern thought and Japanese poetry, and western classical poetic forms. He observed, too, that Niatum tended to return consistently to several themes, including "kinship with American Indian ancestors, both genetic and spiritual" ("Offering It All to the Sea" 14). Jarold Ramsey, meanwhile, lavished high praise on Niatum's talent and accomplishments, while railing against a critical establishment that kept refusing to accept American Indian poets into the ranks of "major" writers. Defensively, then, though he acknowledged Niatum's "delicately rendered" adaptations of traditional Salish songs, he was also at pains to insist on the poet's "growing *urbanity*" (9). The effect, in the end, is a review that belabors the "circumstantial remoteness of [Niatum's ancestral heritage] from his everyday life" and "the prospect of utter deracination" (10). These reviews, particularly Ramsey's, recall the literary criticism of the period, which was deeply preoccupied with debates over "mixed-blood" identities, hybridity, and ambivalence.

But perhaps a few decades of tribalcentric and sovereignty-minded literary criticism make it possible now to read Niatum differently. In *Earth Vowels*, a slim volume published in 2017 with Mongrel Empire Press, Jeanetta Calhoun Mish's independent outfit in Oklahoma, he is still working many of the same topics and forms noted by previous reviewers. There are the natural landscapes of the Pacific Northwest; Klallam ancestors and kin; urban settings; poetic mentors and inspirations (Roethke, Bashō); and family relations, including broken relationships with children and romantic partners. He has been working this terrain, it's worth noting, since well before the Jamestown S'Klallam received federal recognition in 1981 and began their own tribal resurgence; and he has remained active in his tribal community, including work with tribal youth on illustrations *Agate Songs on the Path of Red Cedar*, published by the tribe in 2011. Perhaps, today, we can understand Duane Niatum's work as always already what Heid Erdrich hails as "poetry of a new time—an era of witness, of coming into voice, an era of change and of political and cultural resurgence" (ix).

For example, Niatum has long joined other Pacific Northwest Indigenous writers in acting as a steadfast witness for salmon, both as image and as kin. To Jamestown Klallam people salmon is more than traditional sustenance; it is a material and spiritual "catalyst that brought [the people] closer together, a way for the people to maintain a continuance, a hold on their identity, a gathering sign, cause for celebration, a means of survival, a physical link to their heritage" (Stauss ix). Among the more powerful poems in *Earth Vowels*—and indeed among the more powerful ecocritical poems anywhere—is "The Disappearance of the Duwamish Salmon":

How long have they laid buried
 in the sludge and grime of industry
 erasing the river's breath

and almost erasing the Duwamish people
 who once paddled their canoes down
 its current swift as the wing of kingfisher?

Walking beside the river in 2009 you can

still hear the dreams and laughter
of children picking serviceberry

with their grandmother teasing a crow
stealing berries from her basket.

If Patricia Clark Smith were to review these words today, my guess is that she might call our attention not so much to its “sensuous” or romanticized imagery, but to the political history of the Green-Duwamish Waterway, which empties into Elliott Bay in Seattle and is now a major [Superfund](#) site. Despite a century of industrial pollution that is choking the life out of the water (“erasing the river’s breath”), both the salmon and the Duwamish people continue to inhabit and use these waterways. They are only “almost erased.” I take those children’s and grandmother’s “dreams and laughter” to be not only concoctions of the poet’s imagination, but realities—or at least literal possibilities, since Duwamish people have been actively working on river, plant and wildlife restoration (“Environmental Justice”). They are re-indigenizing the river and Seattle. Decades ago, Jarold Ramsey and other scholars seemed to understand “urbanity” and “Indigeneity” as more or less opposed, but today they would likely intuit a much more syncretic relationship between the two in Niatum’s apostrophe to that city:

Seattle, too easily the age slipped a false-face
mask on you, a glass and concrete fashion cone
to give roaches the run of skyscrapers.

Although an alien in Salish country,
you were destined to become Raven’s cousin,
Killer Whale’s distant, ambivalent friend. (17)

In stanzas like these, urbanity and Indigeneity are not so much antithetical as they are palimpsestic, with images of ancient Pacific northwest art and garb glimmering, holographically, through modern edifices. As the alliterative invasion of cockroaches implies, the battle between the human and the other-than-human is far from over. So, too, is the settler colonial project. Seattle, the poem reminds us, well pre-existed its Space Needle; it endures as Indigenous space, even if the new relations (cousin, friend) produced here are often distant and ambivalent.

Niatum loves a stanza; throughout his career he has used boxy sonnet-like forms; longish narrative free verse; and three-, four- and five-line stanzas, often numbered. The effect of these, as Maurice Kenny described it, is a balance of control and “form emancipated from strict structure,” as in the title poem of *Earth Vowels*:

Truth glows in the flaws of earth stone.
 A purple finch rises
from the dream nest,
 ignites yellow violets with song.

The creature with yielding sight
 opens the hour to its cave drawings,

a rider of need balances our own,
now the racer, now the raced upon.

This wanderer from the sky blanket
streaks beyond our eyes,
disappears in the dream-wheel's hues,
cross-stitches us into the day's vowel basket. (56)

Superficially, Niatum's lines can appear quaintly imagistic, but they often make surprising associations: truth "glowing" in rocky cracks; a bird's vision "yielding"; "us" (and who exactly are we?) being "cross-stitched" into a "basket" of sounds. Some earlier reviewers (e.g., Smith) complained that this strained their patience; but perhaps, as readers of this literature have matured along with this poet, we can see the urgency of such defamiliarizing tactics. Reviewing *The Crooked Beak of Love* (2000), which uses very similar forms and images, Margaret Dwyer found that Niatum was "ask[ing] readers to examine the world they pass through daily, and to find the spirituality and beauty of the environment there. The water we take for granted, the trees, plants birds and human elders we largely ignore, are avatars of a world much older and richer than we realize" (32). That world, of course, is also now facing catastrophe. So perhaps today we can see in Niatum's poetry an argument that is being more insistently articulated by more and more Indigenous activists and scholars: that nature has *agency*, that the Earth in fact *speaks*.

In a similar vein, the exploding canon of Native American and Indigenous literature might also help us read this long poetic career anew. The dream-wheel, for instance—into whose hues that purple finch disappears—is a trope that has appeared in Niatum's poetry for decades, indeed in the title of his first anthology. Some reviewers have found the image elliptical, including Bruchac, who felt it evoked roulette (18). However, a character in Richard Wagamese's 2016 novel *Dream Wheels* suggests a more useful, pan-Indian understanding of this term: it's "the sum total of a people's story. All its dreams, all its visions, all its experiences gathered together. Looped together" (320). *Earth Vowels* reads like a reprise of the dreams, visions, and experiences that Niatum has long been gathering: ancestral villages in old cedar forests ("S'Klallam Spirit Canoe"); treaty violations and the persecution of tribal leaders ("To Chief Leschi of the Nisqually"); seasonal change ("Ode to Winter Shoots"); or the pleasures of visiting Europe ("On the Streets of Paris"). That last poem is a villanelle whose refrain, "the time for dreaming isn't merely for the young" returns us to the dream-wheel, a loop of experiences that are collective rather than individual.

This collective, cross-temporal orientation is true, maybe, even of those love poems that so irritated early readers including Carter Revard, who was bothered that he couldn't tell whether a given poem was actually a "myth-poem," or just a really vague love poem. Admittedly, Niatum's voice tends to be a bit incantatory even when he is writing apparently autobiographically:

I will not deny as a young man
with a keg of testosterone, I imagined
myself troubadour Crow of sex and play (53).

Later in life, though feeling more reflective, his tone still gestures toward the status of myth. But that may be purposeful. Consider a poem to his estranged son, which hopes that

before I'm but a memory horn in the night
 I count on us becoming friends
 . . . while nerves swim like fish in hope's pond (33).

This self-consciously lyric voice can actually heighten the heartbreak, especially if we read such poems as a "loop," as the "sum total" of many Indigenous families' stories, not just Niatum's. Read those lines, for instance, alongside the deathbed scene of "The Story Our Mother's Absence Left Us":

We, your four children, sit with you like death clerks;
 pretend none of us will choke
 on this confusion clot.

While sinking into the last coma,
 you told me you hated your mother for abandoning you,
 your brother and two sisters.
 A teen-ager hungry for revenge, you ran
 from your father's house dreaming of the street
 drama to be found along the labyrinth
 of the city of plenty, plenty clams.

Read together, these stories about broken relations between parents, and between parents and their children, start to feel less like confessional poetry and more like a dream-wheel of intergenerational trauma. What is newer about the "relationship" poems in *Earth Vowels* is a greater emphasis on healing and reconciliation, even if the reconciliation is itself only a dream. After his mother's death, her sister Pearl redeems her with a different story:

She whispered that no matter what went wrong
 in your lives, what tantrums or screams filled the air
 with the sound of smashed toys,
 grandma loved the difficult daughter with a heart
 the swallow-tail butterflies in grandpa's rose garden
 courted each spring.
 . . . Wrapped in your mother's shawl,
 with rivulets of salmonberry dew down
 her cheeks, she spoke of your mother's jokes,
 laughing and teasing the family into not collapsing
 inward on themselves. (37-38)

Aunt Pearl's gift is tremendous: a story that restores love and kinship in the very telling. And told by "we," the stunned "death clerks," to "you," the larger-than-life mother chasing her dreams in the city's labyrinth and her sister with the salmonberry-dew tears, this poem really does read like "the sum total of a people's story."

In a much-quoted statement, Niatum once disavowed the idea of a Native aesthetic (“On Stereotypes” 554). The master of transmotion himself, however, caught Niatum out in a contradiction, noting that in his intro to the Harper’s anthology, he also described Native poets as sharing a “spirit of a common cultural heritage” (x). “The simulation of a ‘common cultural heritage,’” Vizenor wryly remarked, “suggests a literary nuance but apparently not a discrete native aesthetics” (8).

Perhaps by now Niatum will have changed his mind, or finessed his remarks; or perhaps tussling over tribal specificity versus pan-Indianism versus universality are simply an enduring feature of this literature and its discussion. In 1982, Ramsey and his colleagues were worrying about what appeared to be the central conundrum of Native American poets at that time: the desire to be accepted as great poets without being relegated to the margins of “Indian poetry.” In 2018, Heid Erdrich is to some extent confronting the same conundrum; but she and her colleagues seem able to write, at least, without fears of “utter deracination.” If poets like Layli Long Soldier can write confidently from positions of Lakota language and experience, and if poets like Tommy Pico can write from city spaces while still being considered irreducibly Kumeyaay, perhaps Duane Niatum can now be (re)read as a resolutely S’Klallam writer who has been steadily contributing to and paving the way for that broader Indigenous poetic resurgence.

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Notes

¹ He published at least one earlier; for example, many bibliographies list an experimental verse drama called *Breathless* (1968), but this is no longer available. Despite the dearth of criticism, biographical essays about Niatum are numerous; see for instance (Lerner) and (Niatum, “Autobiographical Sketch”)

² Often referred to as “controversial.” The only person I can find to address these controversies in print is Joseph Bruchac, who in 1982 questioned where the profits from the series were actually going, and noted that at least one talented poet he knew would have been eligible for the “Indian” series but not for the “regular” publishing stream (“A Good Day to Be Alive” 3).

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Review Essay: **On Disenrollment**

David E. Wilkins & Shelly Hulse Wilkins. *Dismembered: Native Disenrollment and the Battle for Human Rights*. University of Washington Press, 2017. 208 pp. ISBN: 9780295741574.

<http://www.washington.edu/uwpress/search/books/WILDIS.html>

A snowy, icy workday in Anishinaabeki. The headquarters of the Lake Matchimanitou Band of Anishinaabek. Tribal council chambers. The seven tribal council members sit on an elevated platform behind a large table, with the tribal chief executive, Ogema AJIJAAC, sitting in the middle. Several dozen tribal citizens and employees sit in the audience at attention. AJIJAAC pounds a gavel.

Ogema AJIJAAC: Aaniin. Let's call the meeting to order. We have an important action item to consider today. I know there will be much to say today. We have on the agenda a draft resolution proposing disenrollment of the Waabshkaande and Old Woman siblings' families. Is there a motion to approve the agenda?

Councilor MUKWA: So moved.

Councilor MESHIIKE: Seconded.

AJIJAAC: So the agenda is approved. The legal department drafted the resolution at the request of the enrollment office. Legal?

Tribal General Counsel OGITCHIIDAA: (dryly) The resolution is approved as to form.

AJIJAAC: Hah! Well, you wrote it. You should know.

Nervous laughter in the audience. None of the other council members are amused. A few audience members hiss.

AJIJAAC: Seriously. Can you explain the resolution please?

OGITCHIIDAA: Yes, of course. Ten years ago, the council enacted resolution number 2009-1074. That resolution altered as a matter of law the blood quantum of Agnes Old Woman, listed on the Dupont Roll of 1864 as a quote half-blood Indian. Then-councilor Mamengwa Old Woman advised the council at that time that Agnes was full-blood and asked the council to make the correction.

MUKWA: I don't know that we need to name names.

OGITCHIIDAA: I am merely explaining the facts, Councilor Mukwa.

AJIJAAC: Please continue.

OGITCHIIDAA: The council adopted the resolution. The impact of the blood quantum change to Agnes Old Woman extended to 129 individuals who were one-eighth Indian blood before the resolution and became one-quarter Indian blood after the resolution. All of them were descendants of Agnes' children, Waabshkaande, Old Woman Jr., and Ki-Chmookmon-Innini. As a result, all 129 petitioned for enrollment shortly thereafter. The enrollment office quickly enrolled 14 of the 129 on the basis that they lived here on or near the reservation, within the four county service area. They were all descendants of Waabshkaande and Old Woman, Jr. The enrollment office declined to immediately enroll the remaining 115, and passed the decision on to the tribal council for final determination. The basis was that the Ki-Chmookmon-Innini family had moved to Ohio

in the late 19th century and did not live here anymore. The council at that time declined to act on their petitions. The 115 were not enrolled. A year later, the 115 filed a class action lawsuit in tribal court. *Ki-Chmookmon-Innini v. Tribe*. The plaintiffs argued that the refusal to enroll them violated the equal protection clause of the Indian Civil Rights Act. The argument was that the 115 were similarly situated to the 14 people who were enrolled. The argument was a sound one under the law. At the request of council, the legal department tried to have the case dismissed on sovereign immunity grounds (Wilkins and Wilkins, 103). The tribal court, as you all know, declined to dismiss the action. After a hearing, Judge Waabigwan ordered the enrollment department to enroll the plaintiffs. Judge Waabigwan extensively quoted *Dismembered* by David and Shelly Wilkins in their opinion. *Dismembered* contains a lengthy description of several federal and tribal court cases on disenrollment matters (Wilkins and Wilkins, 102-141). Upon the order of the council, the enrollment director refused to comply. Judge Waabigwan held the enrollment director in contempt and threatened to jail them. The council in 2011 then removed Judge Waabigwan. The council amended the judicial code to strip the tribal court of jurisdiction to hear enrollment matters.

AJIJAAK: I recall the 115 sued us in federal court?

OGITCHIIDAA: Yes. They sued the United States as well. The court held that under *Santa Clara Pueblo v. Martinez* that it had no jurisdiction to hear tribal enrollment matters. The case was dismissed. (Wilkins and Wilkins, 63, 303).

AJIJAAK: OK. Continue, please.

OGITCHIIDAA: A few months ago, the tribe received a letter from the Department of the Interior questioning the tribe's enrollment decisions. It is a true that the federal government has no power to overturn tribal enrollment decisions. But the letter also raised concerns about the council's removal of Judge Wabaunsee. The government is threatening to pull some of our 638 contract funding, saying the tribe is using federal funds to violate the Indian Civil Rights Act. They did something like this before, in the cases of the Nooksack 306 and the Cherokee Freedmen.

Councilor WAABIZHESHI: That's the gummint for you. Always interfering with internal tribal relations. Tribal citizenship matters involve the internal powers of Indian tribes. The federal colonizers have no business in our business. Someone should tell the Wilkins' that.

OGITCHIIDAA: Perhaps. But there is more to the letter. The government is also asking whether we use federal money to provide services to persons who are not actually eligible for tribal membership. That would be, I think, a reference to the 14 persons enrolled in 2009. Actually, the government is demanding we prove the 14 are eligible for membership.

AJIJAAK: Can we?

OGITCHIIDAA: On the facts. Maybe. Maybe not. We'd have to hire an expensive expert witness to prove the Dupont Roll was incorrect. The historical evidence is not conclusive at all. Typically, the government agent just asked an ogema who was in their families and the blood quantum of each family member. The ogema could say anything they wanted. Our best argument is the one raised by Councilor Waabizheshi, that the government has no authority to overturn our decision. But the government could still cut our funding under Public Law 638. We could sue the government over that, but the cost of the litigation will be massive.

AJIJAAK: What about Congress? Could the Indian Civil Rights Act be amended to allow federal courts to review disenrollment decisions?

OGITCHIIDAA: Yes, in theory. Congress has plenary power in Indian affairs. They could adopt the American Indian Legacy Act, too, the law proposed by Laura Wass (Wilkins and Wilkins, 159).

AJIJAAK: I wondered about that idea, too. How would that work? What if a tribe, oh I dunno, say, this tribe, raised traditional and cultural defenses?

OGITCHIIDAA: I see where you're going. So if a disenrollee used the legacy act to access federal court, one question is how a federal judge would apply Indigenous customary and traditional law? Perhaps, for example, a defense rooted in the Seven Grandfather teachings?

AJIJAAK: Exactly.

OGITCHIIDAA: I suspect the judge's analysis would be the epitome of absurdity.

AJIJAAK: Is there any risk to our decision today being reversed by the federal government in any way?

OGITCHIIDAA: Well, only if a federal judge decides to intervene. That decision would most certainly be reversed on appeal. In other words, almost no chance at all.

AJIJAAK: And so that brings us to the resolution. We disenroll the 14.

MUKWA: Hear hear.

WAABIZHESHI: Let's vote.

AJIJAAK: Call the question?

Councilor WAAWAASHKESHI: A moment please. If we have an equal protection problem with keeping the 14 in, why don't we solve the equal protection problem by admitting 115 instead? I read *Dismembered*, too, and I support a rule that once a person becomes a tribal citizen, they become a family member. We should never disenroll anyone.

There is a long pause in the room.

Councilor BINESHI: I support that solution. I do believe this is far more than a mere legal problem.

Councilor MAANG: I really do hate to bring this up, but how will that affect the bottom line? If our tribal membership balloons by 115 people, that's another 115 people who will share in the tribal gaming per capita distribution.

There is a murmur and a commotion in the audience. Several council members pound the table with their hands.

AJIJAAK: I suggest we move immediately to executive session.

MUKWA: So moved.

WAABIZHESHI: I second.

The council chambers are cleared. The council exits the room and enters a smaller chamber, along with the general counsel. Nearly an hour later, Ogema AJIJAAK reconvenes the public meeting.

AJIJAAK: Boozhoo. Aaniin. I call this meeting to order again. Apologies for the delay. But we seem to be at an impasse. As you know, under the tribal constitution, the ogema is authorized to vote on matters only in the event of a tie between the six other council members. And, as many of you know, I am a traditional and ceremonial person, first degree Midewewin. I am a learner, it is true. But I am knowledgeable enough to know that the tribal constitution is an American legal construct (Wilkins and Wilkins, 43-59). This simple majority requirement is not how we governed ourselves historically. And it is not how we should be deciding this matter today. I refuse to vote to break a tie, especially in a matter involving disenrollment, and what some call dismemberment. I have asked the council to return to the council chambers to convene a talking circle. Everyone present here is entitled to sit in the circle. And everyone in the circle is entitled to speak without interruption. They may speak about anything they see fit and for as long as they wish. The only rule, if it could be called a rule, is that we must all behave in the spirit of mino-bimaadiziwin, and with respect to Anishinaabeki and the Seven Grandfather teachings. I turn to my left, to our youngest council member. Councilor MUKWA?

MUKWA: I represent the protectors, the Bear Clan. We watch for danger. I see danger here for our tribal community. We have made a mistake. We allowed in persons who are far too distantly related to our own people. We elevated some people and excluded others without justification. By doing so, we exposed ourselves to this Indian Civil Rights Act lawsuit. It is a time to speak with Debwewin, truth, one of the gifts of the Seven Grandfathers. Miigwetch.

WAABIZHESHI: I speak today as a member of the Marten Clan, the warriors and hunters. I speak today with an eye toward Aakode'ewin, or bravery, one of the gifts of the Seven Grandfathers. The things I say now are not easy to say. We are not a wealthy tribe. The federal government shutdown hurt us badly. We don't have much money. Our casino per caps brought us from abject poverty to lower middle class. But a few bad months at the casino might be enough to force us to shut down the health clinic, or the Head Start school, or the police department. It is irresponsible for us to artificially grow our tribe to benefit the few, at the expense of the tribal citizens who meet the citizenship criteria. My clan is charged with ensuring the community has food and supplies. I have no choice, really, but to make this argument.

BINESHI: I speak for the Bird Clan. Like the Marten Clan, my concern is for the internal affairs of this tribe. We are a tribe of limited resources. Our people are not wealthy. The per caps are a huge help for the membership, especially those members who do not work for the tribal government or the enterprises. People depend on that money. But these enrollment decisions are divisive. Families are torn apart. Feelings are hurt. Sides are drawn. There is anger and jealousy. Eventually, we will have threats and then violence. I acknowledge those harms. I speak with Minaadendamowin, respect, one of the gifts of the Seven Grandfathers. I do not know the proper answer. But I have tried to see both sides.

MESHIIKE: I speak for the Turtle Clan. Yes, I am named for the mud turtle. Lots of jokes about that growing up. But our clan are healers. There is medicine in the mud, in nature. I look around the room and I see a lot of injury, and anger. There are decisions that must be made today, decisions rooted in the terrible history of this tribe. Of all tribes. In the mud, in the dirt, in the rocks, you see the impact of time. It was the United States that first insisted we draw up a roll in the 19th century. It was the United States that demand we create classifications of our own family members based on Indian blood. It was the

United States that invited us to dissolved our traditional governments and replace them with American style governments. This circle today is a good first step toward healing the injuries inflicted upon us by the Colonizers. This circle today is a good first step toward healing the injuries we, in turn, inflict on ourselves. I speak today with Zaagi'idiwin, love, one of the gifts of the Seven Grandfathers. I have love for all my relatives here today. Whatever choice we make must be made with love.

MAANG: I represent the diplomats, the Eagle Clan. Migizi can see far. Migizi is charged with communicating with outsiders. And, yes, our clan has been accused of perhaps talking too much, and talking out of turn. I, too, studied *Dismembered* carefully. The disenrollment of tribal citizens from their communities for political purposes, or because of greed, or because of personal politics, is catching the attention of outsiders. Federal judges, the Department of the Interior, human rights watchdogs like David and Shelly Wilkins. They are all watching and judging. Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe disenrolled Indian people that had walked on decades ago in order to legally disenroll living members. (Wilkins and Wilkins, 127-28). Everyone believes they did it because of gaming revenue per caps. The Cherokee Nation tried to disenroll the descendants of the Freedmen. And they failed (Wilkins and Wilkins, 130-131). But everyone believes they did it because of racism. Whether they did it for moral reasons or legal reasons or reasons of sovereignty doesn't really matter to observers. It looks wrong. It looks wrong because it most likely is wrong. We must ask ourselves in the spirit of Gwayakwaadiziwin, honesty, one of the gifts of the seven grandfathers. And we must answer in the spirit of honesty. Are we disenrolling the 14 in order to preserve our share of the per caps? To get reelected? Or are we disenrolling the 14 for the right reasons? Frankly, I'm not sure there are right reasons anymore.

WAAWAASHKESHI: Well, I'm last, so I guess that makes me the oldest. I am Deer Clan. We are spiritual advisors to the tribe. Like the Turtle Clan, we are healers and we are teachers, but we are also gatherers. I've been around a long time. I was here when we sent our ogema to Washington, D.C. in the 1950s to fight termination. I was here when we filed the lawsuit to preserve our treaty rights to hunt and fish in the 1960s. I was here in the 1970s when we opened up the first Indian casino in Anishinaabeki. We were always fighting. There never seemed to be time for a rest. What modest material goods we have now, we fought for. Now we fight each other. I spoke up earlier about admitting the 115 rather than disenrolling the 14 because I believe strongly that all views should be heard. Maybe it's a good idea. Maybe not. But we at least should discuss it. I speak today with Nibwaakaawin, wisdom. Or at least I try to. Sometimes when I try to think about Nibwaakaawin, I think about how my ancestors would think about Nibwaakaawin. And then I wonder if the decisions I help this tribe make would make my ancestors proud. Would they make my descendants proud? The Americans often talk about being on the right side of history. That's where I want to be. Our ancestors made great sacrifices to negotiate treaties and survive an apocalypse. This disenrollment decision seems petty compared to those sacrifices. That's all I have to say.

AJIJAAK: I'm Crane Clan. I'm also the youngest here. I speak from deepest humility, Dabaadendiziwin. I learned a great deal today from these teachings and from my peers on the council. I believe the decision is made. The council is adjourned. Baaniimaa'apii.

Matthew L.M. Fletcher, Michigan State University

Alexis C. Bunten and Nelson Graburn, editors. *Indigenous Tourism Movements*. University of Toronto Press, 2018. 268 pp. ISBN 9781442628298.

<https://utorontopress.com/ca/indigenous-tourism-movements-2>

The edited book is divided into three distinct components in the study of Indigenous tourism movements: identity, political, and knowledge movements. The introduction does lay the foundation for the book in a concise manner. While I feel that it overstates the contributions the edited book offers and the scope of the gap that exists, I agree that most volumes on the topic have more of a business or tourism management focus rather than a critical social science approach. The authors identify two missing elements or limitations of their collection: a lack of Indigenous contributors, and no analysis from Indigenous Asian perspectives. I would also add that no contributions were made from Indigenous European perspectives either, although this is addressed somewhat in the epilogue. The authors state that even though Indigenous scholars were approached to contribute to the volume, for various reason they did not. I found this aspect troubling and it also relates to what I consider a significant weakness of the volume – the lack of Indigenous voices. I will provide a brief overview of each section and each chapter before returning to an overall assessment of the collection.

Identity Movements

Chapter 2 (Alexis C. Bunten)

This chapter is a reprint from an earlier book chapter. It focuses on the Tjapukai Aboriginal Cultural Park in North Queensland, near Cairns, Australia. The author unpacks the relationship between the tourist gaze and the host's manipulation of it. It is outlined upfront that the chapter does not draw on established relationships with local Djabugay people. Nor, it is also acknowledged, does it present the views of park employees or management staff, who in part decide on the representational imagery presented at the park and enact these cultural representations on a quotidian basis. The chapter is based on the author's own experiences as an ethnographic researcher at Indigenous tourism sites, which admittedly is extensive. Methods utilized were analyses of the park's website and reviewer comments on *TripAdvisor* forums. Two references, a total of two lines in the whole chapter, were from Indigenous employees from the site. Bunten clearly spends some time connecting localized issues to broader challenges faced by Indigenous tourism sites and the global market spaces that they are competing in. The author discusses how playing to the tourist imaginary can be an implicit form of acceptance of the narratives of conquest that are perpetuated through and by colonial repression. She also demonstrates how within any Indigenous community there are also those who consider cultural tourism sites as educational opportunities to open up dialogue and engage with tourists, and importantly, debunk stereotypical representations of Indigenous cultures in Australia. Bunten views these tourist locations as powerful sites of cultural exchange and a means for local peoples to change perceptions of Indigenous peoples. As with Chapter 9, on Inuit experiences in Canada's north, I would have liked to see an emphasis on how this is especially the case in rural and remote contexts where there are fewer opportunities for local peoples to engage with non-

Indigenous peoples and international tourists alike, at least in situations where community members remain in control of their cultural representational productions.

Chapter 3 (Salazar)

Chapter three provides a brief history of the Maasai peoples in Tanzania and also includes the contemporary issues impacting communities, some of which are directly related to the growth of tourism industries. Although methods are presented overviewing participant observation and the interviews conducted through ongoing work with the Maasai, no Indigenous voices are present in the text nor is there content from interviews integrated. The chapter reads more like a literature review of works that assess the issues the Maasai face, heavily drawing from the author's previous work. However, the chapter does provide an interesting discussion about the mobility that tourism industries in east Africa offer to some Maasai who are benefitting financially from the commoditization and globalization of their culture. Salazar spends some space debunking myths around the temporalized, pastoral Maasai warrior, who is untouched from modernity, contemporary land use changes, and new tourism economies in East Africa. In this aspect, the chapter was effective.

Chapter 4 (Stocker)

Chapter four is based on fieldwork conducted in 1999 and 2009 in rural Costa Rica. Although participant observation and interviews are profiled in a description of methods, this chapter mostly draws on anecdotal information presented by the author from research trips to Chorotega communities. The main premise of the chapter is that during a period of cultural revival, local peoples used imagery that is connected to other Indigenous communities in Costa Rica, or more broadly throughout Central America, in order to meet tourists' expectations of Indigeneity: thus cultural alchemy becomes an impetus for cultural revitalization. Stocker states that efforts were made to display Indigeneity easily recognized by outsiders. Throughout the chapter there is an uncomfortable tension around "authenticity." The author seems to oscillate between celebrating the Chorotega's ingenuity for engaging with diverse forms of Indigeneity and then critiquing the "authenticity" of their use of cultural insignia during this revival. As an example, Stocker describes that the tradition of using Jaguar themed tattoos or symbols had lapsed, so it had to be reinvented in the region, and that the increased visibility of this practice was partly due to the community's interaction with local tourism economies. However, the Jaguar, as an apex predator, of course would have featured prominently in Chorotega imagery and oral testimony even though local or regional populations of the predator may have declined significantly. I am not sure the author relates this local history of the Jaguar as this alone may explain, or at least in part, the decline and rise of its use in tattoos. Stocker does not reveal the meanings that were generated from these cultural symbols, even if they are not "authentic" from her perspective. Instead of using an anthropological lens to investigate the level of "authenticity" of the cultural symbols, it would have been much more effective if the author had asked local peoples about their perspectives and presented the findings in their own words. Furthermore, this type of borrowing of global Indigenous imagery occurs on a daily basis in Indigenous tourism sites internationally. The author demonstrates this by including her descriptions of children "playing Indian" and drawing from global popular forms and stereotypes of Indigeneity in ways that shaped local identity production. The most interesting component of the chapter is the

efforts of local Indigenous peoples to recognize the value of their cultural practices and pursue new economic opportunities with non-Indigenous tourism providers. By relying on symbolism of a pan-Indian nature, the Chorotega created capital with regional tourism producers as they were offering a product that had value to them. In this manner, as the author argues, performances of Indigeneity became meaningful for both insiders and outsiders.

Political Movements

Chapter 5 (Theodossopoulos)

This chapter considers the potential of Indigenous tourism sites to shape the political representation of Indigenous communities by assessing how the formation of national parks and related tourism opportunities have facilitated the Embera in Panama to remain on their lands. The research is based on 17 months of fieldwork spread over 7 years (2005-2012). The author discusses how, in response to the hunting and cultivation restrictions that came with the 1985 park formation, communities turned to tourism to replace subsistence practices that would have occurred inside the newly created park boundaries. Tourism economies provided opportunities for communities to regularly engage in cultural practices that in some cases had lapsed, and to reinvest not only in cultural performances such as traditional dance and regalia, but also Embera oral histories. Theodossopoulos argues that tourism not only allowed local communities to escape the poverty instituted by national park restrictions, but also to position their cultures as an important part of the national tourism strategy as well as to produce an alternative source of economic growth. Ironically, their role in national tourism could facilitate negotiations for expanded land rights and access. Although perhaps covered elsewhere by the author, it would have been interesting to include a discussion of the types of impacts the displacement had in the community, or at least cover this literature from other international examples. While I realize the author's fieldwork began after the initial displacement, this is not simply a case where some forms of subsistence and cultural practices are replaced by tourism economies. The histories of Indigenous peoples in or around national parks globally are filled with marginalization and cultural loss precisely because subsistence practices of hunting, fishing, gathering, and sometimes agriculture, are the basis of oral histories and many other forms of linguistic or cultural practices. Interestingly, in this case, not having access to traditional territories and sacred sites through displacement has engendered this loss, but it has also allowed communities to remain near their lands, as opposed to relocating to impoverished Latino communities in regional urban centers.

Chapter 6 (Giraud)

This chapter profiles cultural tourism in San communities of Botswana. After a succinct history, the author includes a helpful section on the evolving discourses of Indigeneity in Africa. Importantly, Giraud outlines why African experiences vary from those in settler-colonial states while also being impacted greatly by destructive European influences on the continent in how post-colonial African nations have defined, and continue to define, Indigeneity. The author then profiles the opportunities brought by tourism and the types of San representations desired in these new economies. Other than some references to newspapers and government documents, there is no discussion of methods or methodologies. Similar to the previous chapter, this work

describes the national government's interest in growing the cultural and Indigenous tourism sectors which has provided some communities with new opportunities and encouraged the government's rethinking about how it defines Indigeneity and relevant policies that impact communities. This is a clearly written and valuable chapter.

Chapter 7 (Douny)

This chapter centres on Dogon peoples of West Africa in Mali. The author concentrates on the processes by which authenticity is altered through the commodification of Dogon cultural identities in performance for tourism industries. This chapter is basically an investigation into the "authenticity" of the performances and art provided for, and presented to, tourists. Observations from the author are drawn from fieldwork conducted from 2003-2011. Once again, no description of methods or methodologies is included. It would have been interesting to learn more about how the Malian political crisis of 2012 impacted the region's tourism industry and how the Dogon have adapted to the absence of these relatively new economic streams of revenue.

Knowledge Movements

Chapter 8 (Bunn-Marcuse)

This chapter explores how Indigenous artists exploited the growing tourism economies of southeastern Alaska in the late 19th century. By examining the actual artworks and the circumstances of production through the journals of travelers to the region, the author outlines some of the strategies that artists employed to benefit from these new economies. These strategies are described as cross cultural encounters mediated by consumer demand. Bunn-Marcuse contends that Indigenous perspectives are missing from the historical record and admits that much more work is needed with oral histories. This suggests that evidence or oral testimony can be vital to a more comprehensive understanding of these encounters. In this regard, the chapter does little to address this gap in scholarly knowledge. However, the author's work does present new perspectives on the production aspects of the art to complement the literature that is dominated by the consumption or collector side. The chapter reveals that the tourism literature of the period presented Alaska's Indigenous population as part of the "natural" landscape and a key element of experiencing the "wildness" of America's newest acquisition. Describing the complex engagement in these industries by Indigenous peoples, Bunn-Marcuse states: "The reality was much more complicated, demanding a careful maneuvering between colonial demands, tourist expectations, and kinship obligations in order to navigate the colonial economy and chart the course for economic and cultural survival" (184-185). Towards the end of the chapter, the author connects how forms of colonial repression impacted artists and performers who participated in the tourism industry.

Chapter 9 (Graburn)

In this short chapter, the author argues that there has been a breakdown of former colonial roles and hierarchies in the Indigenous tourism economies of Canada's Eastern Arctic. The chapter does offer some interesting analysis of Inuit tourism as well as the shifting dimensions of tourism

in Canada's north. As the number of Inuit who live and work outside of Nunavut are increasing, they now comprise a significant portion of the visitors who tour the region. Although still informative, the sections on Inuit hunting and fishing tourism economies, ecotourism, and park development are certainly outdated. This is particularly the case in the descriptions on conservation hunting of polar bears and Indigenous protected areas formation, as there are several new updates on policy and community-based conservation models that would have been critical to include. For example, Torngat Mountains National Park (2008) is referenced as the newest national park, but there have been numerous park developments of significance since then. The chapter does provide a solid history of Inuit arts and crafts, but the methods outlined, the analysis of brochures created by the tourism industry and opinions of other non-Indigenous scholars doing research in the region, are problematic. When referring to early tourism initiatives and the key roles of Quallunaat (Euro-Canadians) Graburn states: "these people were able to override rules and pull strings to get things done, but none of them did it for their own monetary profit" (215). No non-Indigenous tourism entrepreneurs exploited Inuit labour as carvers, performers, and service providers in the whole territory? This statement is incredibly naïve and contrary to the findings of previous research. Unfortunately, I find this chapter outdated and severely lacking in Indigenous perspectives.

Chapter 10 (Palomino-Schalscha)

This chapter argues that it is through tourism organizations that Mapuche/Pewenche peoples in Chile have defended their rights to their territories while adapting to neoliberalism and its impacts on local ecosystems. It is through tourism that these Indigenous communities are making visible connections to traditional territories, asserting their rights, and reaffirming their knowledge of the land, including its human and non-human actors. The author provides a detailed discussion of the Chilean government's contradictory approach: implementing policies of development and poverty relief while simultaneously criminalizing Indigenous protest and neglecting Indigenous rights to lands and resources. Readers will appreciate the history of natural resource extraction industries and the conflicts with Indigenous communities. While profiling broader political movements that impact Indigenous peoples, including legislation for the rights of nature in Ecuador and the rights of Mother Earth in Bolivia, the author links these issues to the localized context in Alto Bío Bío. Three quotes from community members were provided, but there is no methods section with any detail. At least some evidence of Indigenous voice is in the chapter, but there is no indication of how this evidence was collected or shared. Palomino-Schalscha asserts that through tourism, community members have increased their abilities to make visible and actualize their ways of knowing and producing new alternatives, or ways, of imagining their lands and their related cultural connections. Overall, it is an effective chapter.

Epilogue (Graburn)

The epilogue begins with an interesting overview on the production of Indigeneity in both Russia and China. These are subjects that have received very little attention by scholars. Graburn then discusses why only one Indigenous scholar (the co-editor) was able to contribute to the ten chapters in the book. He suggests that it is the double burden that some Indigenous scholars bear by doing both traditional academic work and community-based contributions to either the Indigenous communities they come from or others that they have relations with. While I agree

with this point, I also suggest that the orientation of the book on a certain type of Indigenous tourism is an issue and perhaps too narrow of a disciplinary focus may not have attracted Indigenous scholars who work in this area, but are not necessarily anthropologists. There is also a lengthy discussion that profiles Indigenous anthropologists who have received some recognition in their work over the last couple of decades and this will be informative to many readers. The epilogue does effectively summarize the contents of the collection.

The biggest critique that many scholars will have of this volume is the overwhelming lack of Indigenous voice or perspective, not just the lack of Indigenous academics that have contributed. The chapters rarely present perspectives of Indigenous community members, participants or collaborators. For example, numerous contributors profile their extensive experience (sometimes many decades) of working at community levels, but where is the voice of the peoples they collaborate with on their research projects? Why are collaborators and participants not made co-authors or authors of their own chapters? I view this as an outdated way of doing anthropological work or research with Indigenous communities and peoples. Over the last few decades, there are collaborative ethnographies emerging from the discipline that are much better models of doing research for and with Indigenous communities.

The other critique that I have of the volume is that it suffers from an absence of methods or methodological descriptions throughout. Many of the chapters force readers to take all information at face value as very little evidence is actually presented, other than referencing key works on the subject. I found this surprising and, at times, not very convincing. This is especially the case when the focus of the book is to examine the multiple challenges Indigenous communities encounter through their involvement in global tourism structures.

However, this edited collection does expand the scope of analysis on Indigenous tourism movements, which is dominated by settler-colonial nations, especially Canada, the United States, Australia and New Zealand. The concentration of the book on Central and South America (Panama, Costa Rica and Chile) and the African continent (Mali, Tanzania and Botswana) does support geographic and cultural diversity in Indigenous tourism scholarship. Due to the variety of case studies presented, the volume will have appeal to both general and academic audiences, although it is better suited to the latter. I anticipate that it will be of use as a course text for senior undergraduate and graduate classes, particularly with its international scope and the ways that the researchers profile and situate diverse Indigenous communities.

Despite a few shortcomings, some of which I emphasize above, the book does uncover some of the mounting tensions and pervasive discontinuities in global Indigenous tourism movements. Consequently, the book makes a significant contribution to the literature on Indigenous tourism, colonial histories of cultural repression, the production of Indigeneity, nationalism, and the inequitable of political power structures that continue to marginalize and disadvantage Indigenous communities internationally.

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Richard M. Hutchings. *Maritime Heritage in Crisis: Indigenous Landscapes and Global Ecological Breakdown.* Routledge, 2016. 144 pp. ISBN: 978-1-62958-348-8.

<https://www.routledge.com/Maritime-Heritage-in-Crisis-Indigenous-Landscapes-and-Global-Ecological/Hutchings/p/book/9781629583488>

Richard Hutchings' *Maritime Heritage in Crisis* speaks out against the destruction of Indigenous heritage landscapes, tracking the ways in which rising sea levels and population growth have wreaked havoc to the coastal lands of the shíshálh First Nation people located in the Pacific Northwest, as well as the shortcomings—even harms—of external cultural resource management (CRM). The author posits that as society expands, heritage control becomes sought after and subsequently commodified as part of the neoliberal state's broader capitalist project. In addition, Hutchings takes into consideration the relationship between archaeologists and native peoples, acknowledging that the relationship has been and remains to be one fraught with the trappings of settler colonialism (112). The work's critique of both CRM and the field of archaeology alongside the emphasis on Indigenous rights to collective land management all set this book apart from others on the subject of climate change and coastal landscapes.

The first chapter outlines the problem of the global crisis along the coasts beginning with the post-1950s *Great Acceleration* of late modernity into the present (6-7). Hutchings lays out his argument that, in addition to global capitalism, archaeology and CRM are complicit in the ongoing attack to maritime heritage landscapes (1, 7). Chapter Two shifts to looking at the primary mechanisms of the crisis: coastal population sprawl and rises in sea level (19). The author shows the changes these two ongoing problems have caused to the Salish Sea and their impacts on the Indigenous peoples of the region (35-36). Chapter Three explores the external responses to climate change and coastal erosion, namely CRM (42). The author connects both archaeology and CRM to the neoliberal mission of the state to maximize capitalist production—which necessitates the privatization of land for development (51). Chapter Four focuses specifically on the shíshálh people and the changes to their lands, specifically Sechelt, Halfmoon Bay, and Pender Harbour (59, 76). He tracks the tribe's responses to the ecological crisis, as well as effects of continued development—often occurring without the consent of the tribe (86-87). Finally, Chapter Five looks more closely at the relationship between the settler state and CRM, while Chapter Six concludes the work in retrospective (93, 106).

Situated along what is currently known as the Sunshine Coast, the work excels when offering a critique to the broader field. Hutchings is at his best when linking archeology and CRM to attempts at disconnecting Indigenous people from their land (103). At their core, the dual truths that the land is intrinsically Indigenous and conversely, that Indigenous people are impossible to decouple from their land heritage, undermine settler development. This is true in ways both big and small: Hutchings notes how the new name "Sunshine Coast" was an attempt to increase home purchases in the region—for even the renaming of Indigenous places aim at driving development (1, 11; O'Brien 2010: 202). As for bigger ways, he notes that responses to climate change significantly differ, dependent upon who is most at risk, acknowledging the environmental injustice faced by vulnerable Indigenous peoples and people of color (43, 23).

This slow violence against at-risk communities is not limited to the Pacific Northwest but endemic to Indigenous peoples worldwide; during the 2016 protests against the Dakota Access Pipeline, in an effort to halt production, sacred burial sites were outlined by the Standing Rock Sioux tribe in court documents, only for the sites to be destroyed during a holiday weekend by the construction company, Energy Transfer Partners (95; Colwell 2016). The effort at protecting the sites in the mainstream manner required led to their untimely destruction. Hutchings argues that the management component of CRM and private archaeology dovetail into “resourcism” and the conversion of heritage spaces into resources to be developed rather than strictly conservation (92). His case is not subtle. He goes as far as to link the number of archaeologists directly to decreases in “intact Indigenous heritage landscapes” in what he coins the “Heritage Landscape Destruction Paradox” (112). The author is compelling in his calls for “radical engagement” with Indigenous groups as the only means to prevent the crisis from progressing further (115).

One of the most striking moments comes from an anecdote shared early in the book. Indigenous participants on a panel alongside the author left prior to the end of the panel (and the author’s presentation), significantly shifting the conference space to one comprised primarily of non-Indigenous researchers (xii). They had come to be heard, rather than defend a position they well-knew to be true: that the destruction of their heritage spaces is ongoing (even, at times, beneath the guise of conservation). The author reflects on the dismissive attitude of the audience to the Indigenous presenters’ position, but the incident speaks to another issue: the expectation that Indigenous peoples and people of color must defend their position on behalf of not only their own best interest but on behalf of the broader public’s needs. For example, coverage of controversial pipelines, including Keystone XL Pipeline and Dakota Access Pipeline, frequently depicts Indigenous participants as serving the greater good against impending climate change, when they are not beholden to do more than protect themselves and their lands.

Rather than relying strictly on Indigenous efforts, *Maritime Heritage in Crisis* is the author’s own call to arms. The work is part philosophical outcry, part academic plea, and while the author is deft in his use of history and philosophy to make his case, he is just as comfortable explaining the technicalities of climate change and population statistics in a way that makes the work accessible to non-specialists. Hutchings’ Chapter Two data offers proof for those who would still deny what’s increasingly undeniable (25, 33-34). The manner in which he offers the facts prior to any other argument reflects the premise of Chris Andersen and Maggie Walter’s *Indigenous Statistics*, in that data when used judiciously can be to the benefit of Indigenous peoples (2013). In this way, he is speaking to the scientific community in their language, making his case in all forms. However, in the end, the work comes down to the moral argument of the necessity for change in the face of dire circumstances: “Globally, Indigenous peoples are fighting to maintain these connections and are insisting upon control over their resources and places that matter” (108). Ultimately, the book’s case study and argument speak to the current situation faced by many Indigenous peoples around the world, from the Kiribati in the South Pacific to the Inupiat of Shishmaref, Alaska—the type of situation only radical engagement could hope to stem (Caramel 2014; Kennedy 2016).

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Elizabeth Harney and Ruth B. Phillips, editors. *Mapping Modernisms: Art, Indigeneity, Colonialism*. Duke University Press, 2018. 456 pp. ISBN: 978-0822368717.

<https://www.dukeupress.edu/mapping-modernisms>

Mapping Modernisms: Art, Indigeneity, Colonialism is a timely collection of fourteen well-argued essays assembled and introduced by University of Toronto and Carleton University art historians, Elizabeth Harney and Ruth B. Phillips. The essays are written by an international team of art historians and focus on the production of artists working in the early twentieth century in post- or neocolonial countries formerly under British and French domination as well as in the United States. Emerging out of the 2010 Clark Art Institute colloquium, *Global Indigenous Modernism: Primitivism, Artists, Mentors*, the essays explore the aesthetic practices of specific Indigenous and colonized artists, hitherto largely, if not entirely, excluded from discussions of early twentieth-century modern art. Deemed to fall outside of the definitions of modernism as propounded by such influential scholars as Roger Fry, their forms of visual expression were rendered invisible, as the authors rightly assert, not only in art history's modernist discourse in academia, but in museum exhibitions as well.

Whether categorized by others as, for example, Aboriginal, Haida, Inuit, Maori, Melanesian, Nigerian or Zulu, the authors argue that the modes of visual expression produced by the artists they discuss share something fundamental. And that is precisely the artists' engagement with modernity, meaning a rapidly changing world brought about by the forces of nation-building, industrialization, urbanization and material changes (i.e., the introduction of, for example, the automobile, airplane, refrigerator, telephone, radio and a host of other electrical devices) that impacted peoples' lives across the world.

But, as the authors of *Mapping Modernisms* underscore throughout, engaging with modernism for the artists in question (and others who shared in their predicaments) also meant dealing with the structures and legacies of colonialisms and contemporary artistic currents as well as, for some, playing with the very idea of primitivism. Collectively, the authors argue that between the late nineteenth century and the Cold War, modernity was a transnational phenomenon and global artistic practice, however varied its local and Indigenous manifestations. By arguing for specific Indigenous and colonized artists' place within art history's modernist discourse, the authors aim to re-conceptualize the art historical narratives of modernism.

To lay the groundwork for the essayists' individual case studies, Harney and Phillips' cogent introduction discusses the evolution of art history as a discipline in terms of its complicit history with colonialism, imperialism and nation-building. The very Western powers which forced peoples into enslavement or indentured servitude or to otherwise live as colonial subjects well into the twentieth century, mapped Indigenous and colonized artists out of the art historical canon, as they literally remapped the world by laying claim to remote regions. Western powers asserted the universal principles and values of art while simultaneously removing subjected peoples from canon and physical spaces, thereby denying the very humanity, intellect and creativity of these people, among them Indigenous modernists. As the editors stress, the West needed concepts like "native," "Indigenous" and "primitive" to support their imperialist ambitions, and the use of these terms shunted the artists under discussion to the margins of art

history. In their introduction, Harney and Phillips also discuss the growing awareness of this complicit history within the disciplines of anthropology and, more slowly, art history. In so doing, they outline the epistemological biases encountered by art historians, such as those contributing to the volume, as parallel (in a fashion) to those faced by the Indigenous and colonized artists they discuss. In this spirit, the book, while rigorous in its scholarship, reverberates with a dual sense purpose.

The essays are organized into three parts. Broadly speaking, the five essays in Part I explore how definitions of primitivism often relegated the artistic practices of twentieth century artists of Zulu, Inuit, Haida, Kwakwaka'wakw and Māori heritage to “folk art” or “craft.” The categories denoted that the works were neither that pure form of expression created by their ancestors and influencing Cubists and Surrealists, nor anything remotely akin to the sophisticated art of those Western modernists. While arguing against the general assumption that all Indigenous and colonized artists existed outside of modernism and contemporary artistic currents, the authors explore the challenges that Indigenous modernist artworks have posed, not only for the discipline, but also for their creators themselves. The four essays in Part II examine issues of transcultural exchange, identity and hybrid creativity. They discuss, for example, the evolution of subject matter in individual artist’s modes of visual expression and how stark subject matter (e.g., contemporary political events and changes in the lives of women) seep into their work. In other words, the authors explore how the artworks narrate aspects of modernity and “the passages from colonialism to decolonization” (Thomas 172). Finally, the five essays in Part III explore Indigenous artists’ overt engagement with cosmopolitan life and vanguard artistic currents and, for some of them, the importance of artistic collaborations. *Mapping Modernisms*’ chapter contributors are Bill Anthes, Peter Brunt, Karen Duffek, Erin Haney, Elizabeth Harney, Heather Igloliorte, Sandra Klopfer, Ian McLean, Anitra Nettleton, Chika Okeke-Agulu, W. Jackson Rushing III, Damian Skinner, Nicholas Thomas and Norman Vorano.

There is no question that the art world is grappling with how to rectify its exclusionary practices towards Indigenous and colonized artists, modernist or not. On February 5, 2019, the Museum of Modern Art in New York City announced that it will close its galleries for four months this summer to feature more works by “historically under-recognized Modern and contemporary artists” (Kenney 2019). Hopefully, it will include works by modernist Indigenous and colonized artists. However, a number of controversies have swirled around major art museums in recent years, and some of them speak to the landmines they face as they try to incorporate the art of Indigenous and colonized artists—and their histories—into their displays and narratives. In 2017, for example, Walker Art Center in Minneapolis came under fire from Dakota activists for its installation of the sculpture “Scaffold.” The sculpture evoked the 1862 hanging of 38 Dakota men and was made by the non-Native artist Sam Durant. In 2017, both the Walker Art Center and the Whitney Museum of American Art were challenged over their Jimmy Durham retrospective, “Jimmy Durham: At the Center of the World.” Native American activists have challenged Durham’s self-identification as Cherokee (Slenske 2017). In addition, and most recently, the Metropolitan Museum of Art has been denounced by Native activists for its inclusion of sacred and sensitive objects among the Native American objects displayed in its redesigned American Wing (Angeletti 2019). Such efforts to promote, in this case, Native American visual forms of expression as art alongside that of Western art are long overdue, but clearly fraught with risk. Blindsided, art museums are, it seems, treading into unknown territory, literally and figuratively.

The strength and scholarly contribution of *Mapping Modernism* is that, in each of its essays, the authors ground the aesthetic practices of the artists they study firmly in the complexity of modern worlds they experienced by demonstrating how those artists negotiated their place in the world—through their chosen modes of visual expression. Dispelling assumptions of the past, the authors reveal the artist to be as cognizant of the exigencies of their complicated histories and lives, as they are in command of their expressive forms. *Mapping Modernism* sheds much needed light onto the artistic production of modernist artists living in post- and neocolonial countries in the early twentieth century.

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Anna Hudson, Jocelyn Piirainen, Georgiana Uhlyarik, editors. *Tunirrusiangit: Kenojuak Ashevak and Tim Pitsiulak*. Art Gallery of Ontario; Goose Lane Editions, 2018. 160 pp. ISBN: 9781988788029; 9781773100913. <https://gooselane.com/products/tunirrusiangit>

We were trying to get some things in there that challenge the whole system of museums vs Indigenous people. Historically, there's been a lot of tension in that relationship.
– Taqralik Partridge (Commanda)

Tunirrusiangit: Kenojuak Ashevak and Tim Pitsiulak is not your typical Inuit art show, and neither is its resulting catalogue. Even if you are familiar with both artists—especially Kenojuak who has become an icon of Inuit graphic arts—you might not expect to be moved so far from firmly rooted curatorial habits. It's not so much an exuberance in the concept or design, but a quiet, profound, long-lasting epistemological revolution, probably the first of many to come. Don't search for a thematic organization, for it often tends to erase the fundamental interrelations between humans and non-humans by separating beliefs, daily activities and animals. Don't even try for a chronological survey, despite the fact that the exhibition is a double retrospective. And don't yearn for an academic essay that will recount the story of James A. Houston and the beginnings of printmaking in Kinngait [Cape Dorset] for the umpteenth time. While there remain answers still to unearth in this matter, another project is taking place here. The ambition of the curatorial team has consisted of confronting norms and preconceptions by shifting discursive modalities, relocating Inuit art in the spectrum of Indigenous knowledge, values and decolonial thinking. With this in mind, *Tunirrusiangit* is both addressed to Inuit and Qallunaat [white people], celebrating the legacy of two brilliant artists who paved the way for Inuit resilience and whose contribution plays a part not only in Indigenous, but also Canadian and international art history, as the authors underline.

Tunirrusiangit, which means “their gifts” or “what they have” in Inuktitut, was held at the Art Gallery of Ontario (AGO) during summer 2018. The museum is known for its important Inuit art collections, part of them originating from the gift of Samuel and Esther Sarick. Dedicated exhibitions are not rare at the AGO, but they aren't often accompanied by a catalogue for they mainly consist of small focuses on artists or communities. The last major event related to Inuit art dates back to 2011 when Gerald McMaster and Ingo Hessel co-curated *Inuit Modern*. Seven years later, what changes have been brought to the way Inuit art exhibitions are conceived? While the subject of *Tunirrusiangit* might seem conventional—a retrospective of Kenojuak Ashevak (1927-2013) and her nephew Tim Pitsiulak (1967-2016)—its curatorial treatment is not. Indeed, as a sign of their willingness to acknowledge and “commi[t] to Indigenous voices and expertise” (23), the AGO asked four Inuit artists and curators to team up with two of their non-Inuit counterparts.

In the field of First Nations art, the presence of Indigenous curators has become more common. From veteran Gerald McMaster (Cree) to rising figure Candice Hopkins (Carcross/Tagish), who has been involved in the most prestigious international art events, it seems inconceivable today to do without Indigenous actors. The same cannot be said for the Inuit art world where similar standards are taking much more time to be instituted. Even though exhibitions have been curated by Inuit since the late 1990s-early 2000s (by, e.g., July Papatsie, Barry Pottle, Laakkuluk Williamson Bathory), they have suffered from poor visibility—or to be more precise,

unwillingness to give them a sufficient place in the art world. Emerging Inuit scholars and curators such as Heather Igloliorte have been bringing about a major change for the past few years, but an equitable balance between Inuit and non-Inuit involvement still remains to be reached. Put another way, having a curatorial team predominantly composed of Inuit members—a choice also followed by the Winnipeg Art Gallery for its Inuit Art Centre—is a strong ethic and a political commitment, especially when it offers unprecedented insights into the exhibited works. Let us remember that in 1994-1996, when Odette Leroux curated *Isumavut: The Artistic Expression of Nine Cape Dorset Women* at the Canadian Museum of Civilization and asked the artists to work with her on the presentation, description and titles of their works, she was greatly criticized. The Inuit involvement was said to devalue the role of the [Qallunaaq] curator, which says a lot about the low value granted to Indigenous knowledge and capacity to manage their own artistic productions. Fortunately, in 2017, things have changed and are asserted as such from the first pages of the exhibition catalogue: the names of the Inuit curators are put first while the non-Inuit are presented as allies.

Before focusing on the content of the catalogue, it is useful to say a few words about the curators. Koomuatuk Curley is a sculptor, director and videographer from Kinngait. He is particularly known for his monumental works and his video interviews of artists. Taqralik Partridge is a spoken word performer, writer, poet and curator from Kuujjuaq who currently lives in Norway. Her work has been translated into several languages and her performances held in several countries. She has recently been named editor-at-large for *Inuit Art Quarterly*. Jocelyn Piirainen is an Inuk curator and artist based in Ottawa. She has notably curated *UnMENTionables: Indigenous Masculinities* in 2015 at the Asinabka Film & Media Arts Festival and *Neon NDN: Indigenous Pop-Art* in 2016 at SAW Gallery. Laakkuluk Williamson Bathory is a Kalaalliq [Greenlandic Inuk] performer, dancer, musician, actor, writer, spoken word poet and curator based in Iqaluit who has been incredibly active for several years—in 2004, she curated *Inuit Art in Motion* and *Ilitarivingaa? Do You Recognize me?* at the AGO. More recently, she has collaborated with musician Tanya Tagaq and co-founded the “Qaqqiavuut! Society for a Nunavut Performing Arts Centre.” Finally, Georgiana Uhlyarik is the Canadian Art curator at the AGO while Anna Hudson is a professor at York University specializing in Canadian art and Indigenous studies who led the Mobilizing Inuit Cultural Heritage project.

The strength of the *Tunirrusiangit* project lies in the complementarity of these multi-disciplinary profiles. Each of the curators mobilized their proficiencies to serve the exhibition and propose a curatorial pattern that differs from most Inuit art exhibitions. Not only did they select and show the works in accordance with what they “liked as Inuit and thought that people should see and appreciate” (Commanda), but they also provided personal works that could both be regarded in and of themselves and understood as “interpretational strategies” (Myers). The exhibition opened with *Silaup Putunga*, a 25-minute immersive film installation by Laakkuluk Williamson Bathory and Jamie Griffiths that plunged the visitor into the vitality of the Arctic land through images of Nunavut, *katajjaq* [throat singing] by Celina Kalluk and *uajeerneq* [Greenlandic mask dancing] performed by Laakkuluk herself. This work, far from being apolitical, set the tone of the show as it contextualized Inuit art in Canadian colonial history and asserted Inuit sovereignty. Taqralik Partridge, for her part, created a *qarmaq* [sod house] covered with old newspaper articles being prejudicial against Inuit. She used it as a place to perform storytelling. As for Koomuatuk Curley, he conducted a series of interviews with Kenojuak Ashevak and Tim Pitsiulak’s relatives

and community members that offered inside perspectives on their artistic practice. Additionally, quotes by all the curators were featured on panels and written on the walls throughout the exhibit space, adding curatorial insight to specific works.

A catalogue, though, is never the same as the exhibition. Translating any scenography into a printed medium and following the original arrangement of the works is not an easy task—considering you would even want to do that. However, the main spirit of the project usually remains while essays complement and extend the curatorial intention. The editors made the choice not to reproduce the installations of the curating artists: probably because they would only help to document the exhibition and not effectively deepen the understanding of Kenojuak Ashevak and Tim Pitsiulak’s work. On the one hand, such visual additions would have made the works part of the “catalogue” itself and obscured the focus of the exhibition. On the other hand, it was a stronger gesture to turn the norms of the exhibition catalogue inside out: by replacing academic essays, that often aim at achieving an objective point of view, with engaged essays spoken from one’s individual experience, Inuit epistemes are being put on the forefront. Indeed, knowledge, according to Inuit, consists in the sum of diversified expertise rather than generalizing remarks.

Hence, the catalogue is divided into two parts—the first being dedicated to Kenojuak Ashevak, the second to Tim Pitsiulak—punctuated with essays or poems by the curators (some of which could be heard in the exhibition) and equally interesting short comments on the artists’ works. All along, the authors endeavour to erode the colonial gaze and stereotypes, exceed expectations of what Inuit culture can be and bring to light the artists’ proper concerns. In her opening essay, “Gracious Acceptance of Their Gifts,” Jocelyn Piirainen remembers the many discussions necessary for the project to take shape and connect “the old traditions with new conventions of discourse” (21). She particularly stresses how Kenojuak and Tim’s achievements have been inspirational to the curatorial team: “We came to a collective realization: these two artists were encouraging us to think about and reflect on our selves, our pasts, and our futures, as well as challenging our ideas about who they were and what they achieved” (21).

It is not only Kenojuak and Tim’s part in history, but also the role that they will keep playing in the future for generations of emerging Inuit artists, writers, curators, scholars and more, that is thus one of the key ideas of the retrospective: the level of excellence that they set helps Inuit recover a self-esteem that was devalued by colonialism. Anna Hudson and Georgiana Uhlyarik’s following essay underlines, in the same way, that in culture “resides a sense of collective identity, social support, and a sense of belonging grounded in positive relationships” (23). They acknowledge then the necessity for Qallunaat to understand that “practices of collection, research, and curation involving Inuit culture require honesty, humility, openness, patience, and a willingness to listen, learn, and experience new perspectives” (23).

Laakkuluk Williamson Bathory’s literary contribution introduces Kenojuak Ashevak’s chapter. Her poem in two parts, “I am the light of happiness,” is named after the words of the artist. Kenojuak was born in 1927 in Iksiraq, Baffin Island, Nunavut and soon became a major artist. She was included in Kinngait’s inaugural print collection in 1953, had a film dedicated to her in 1963, received the Order of Canada four years later; this was followed by many more distinctions until her death in 2013. Her iconic *Enchanted Owl* (1960) was sold for \$216,000 in

2018, which is the highest amount paid for a print by a Canadian artist at auction. As an art historian, I often enjoy telling my colleagues how she reversed the gender hierarchies and used to sign her husband Johnniebo's works to make them more valuable—something hardly seen in Western art history. These exploits of Kenojuak's, Laakkuluk Williamson Bathory all knows them too well, and it is with much intelligence and sensitivity that she pays them homage. But she does not confine herself to singing the artist's praises, she most importantly challenges a decontextualized, depolitized, approach of Kenojuak's art. This poem might become one of the new major texts of Inuit art history since it brings attention to several important facts and issues. Laakkuluk recalls the imperialist context in which the works were born and how they contributed to build resilience: "She used art to heal," she writes about Kenojuak (30). She also addresses the occultation of the role played by Inuit art in the assertion of Canada's identity during the postwar years:

*There was no such thing as Canadian art before Qinnujuaq.
Canada is hand-drawn by Qinnujuaq (31)*

Inuit art, indeed, became the marker of Canadian modernity to the rest of the world when the Group of Seven looked too old-fashioned to the eyes of the European avant-gardes. Exhibitions travelled to Ibero-America, Africa, Asia, Pacific, Europe, even crossing the Iron Curtain, from the 1950s to the 1970s. The cultural face of Canada *was* Inuit, and it is a story that tends to be forgotten.

Laakkuluk makes a strong gesture when she writes Kenojuak's name "Qinnujuaq," which happens to be its proper Inuktitut transcription. By doing so, she alludes to the multiple appropriations and deformations that have peppered Inuit history and led to consequences such as the application of the disc number system (due to the incapacity of transcribing Inuit names and regulating the population, the federal government identified every individuals with a number engraved on a medal). Learning how to pronounce Qinnujuaq's name might be a first step towards reconciliation.

The catalogue of Qinnujuaq's works that follows is of interest for any admirer of her style, should they be novice or expert. Prints, ironically, have long been considered more valuable than original drawings in the field of Inuit art and the curators, without ignoring some of the artist's famous works, consequently also chose to draw the attention to her drawings and her diversity of techniques: coloured pencil, felt-tip pen, ballpoint pen, graphite and ink. Rare works from private collections and West Baffin Eskimo Co-operative's consequent loan to the McMichael Canadian Art Collection are also being reproduced. One of them, started in 2012, was even finished by her son, Adamie Ashevak. It is indeed impossible to understand Qinnujuaq's work without seeing her drawings, especially when one knows that she was very careful of the way they were translated into prints. The works are not presented chronologically, but rather by stylistic and thematic affinities which makes the reading appreciable by connecting the dots of her thought. Both the curators' and the artist's quotes, for their part, provide additional insights: how art gave Qinnujuaq the opportunity to support her family, how such a talent in a left-handed person is perceived by Inuit, what the return of the sun after winter means in the Arctic, etc. More still, it is the authors' own fascination for Qinnujuaq that signals her legacy in the Inuit society and contributes to the writing of an Indigenous art history.

Tim Pitsiulak, Qinnujuaq's nephew, told me in 2010 that his aunt was his "hero": "She's a big part of my life and she's my inspiration" (personal interview). Born in Kimmirut, Tim first started working with jewellery before moving to Kinngait and participating in the annual graphic art collection. His work is characterized by very large, meticulous drawings addressing both the old and modern ways, changes in Inuit history and the legacy of shamanism. As a hunter, animals have a special place in his work. This is not uncommon: many male artists are hunters too and anthropologist Nelson H. H. Graburn has shown the similarities between carving and hunting in the Inuktitut vocabulary (Graburn 49). It is this very closeness that sculptor, hunter and curator Koomuatuk Curley emphasizes in his first-person account: "Carving is like hunting money, hunting food. Carving became my hunting" (89). The reader is led to understand that the talented artist shares the same qualities as the successful hunter: patience, adaptability and capacity of observation. Both men also shared the will to seize "new opportunities" (90) and show unexpected works by Inuit artists. As Tim used to say: "People around the world don't know what we have up North. I want [artists] to show the other people what we do up North" (personal interview).

Tim Pitsiulak's catalogue shows not only his technical skills as a drawer, working notably with pastels or coloured pencils on black wove paper, but also the complexity of his approach. His depiction of animals, especially walruses and whales, is intertwined with hunting scenes and motifs from the Thule culture (which he borrowed from books) from which the spiritual significance cannot be removed. Playing with transparency, multiplying the points of view, going from landscapes to heavy equipment, the body of works chosen by the curators shows the artist's constant audacity and his promotion of Inuit traditional knowledge and values [Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit] such as sharing or being innovative. Tim's work can also be said to be critical, not only because it destroys the preconception of the "barren land" or the loss of traditions among Inuit, but also because it comments on the Western infantilization process that denies Inuit the capacity of derision or irony. *Hero 4* (2015) is a clever pun: the artist shows a tiny camera—his GoPro Hero4—approaching a couple of massive walruses while the photographer is left out of the frame. The whole scene gives the idea of courage a hilarious twist and asserts once and for all the critical intelligence Inuit demonstrate through laughter. Some of Tim Pitsiulak's overtly political works are not included here, but it only gives the reader the occasion to look deeper into his career.

The exhibition catalogue finally closes with Taqralik Partridge's poetic contribution. *Kuujjuatuqaq* and *after an argument* speak of everyday life in Arctic communities and the connection to the land through its most subtle details.

*i can tell you that quiet is not silent
but yields to gentler sounds* (153)

As for *two poems*, it weaves links between allies whose philosophies escape from Western capitalism. Taqralik's work, quite similarly to Isuma Productions' films, forces Qallunaat readers to follow Inuit's rhythm, to give up both their authoritative framework and pace to acknowledge Indigenous ways of understanding, to pay close attention and learn from observation as Inuit education recommends.

In conclusion, *Tunirrusiangit* is a statement, or even better, a manifesto. Like the preview of the show opened with the sharing seal meat to honour the artists in the traditional Inuit way, the catalogue relocates their works into Inuit knowledge and asserts the pertinence of Indigenous expertise. It does not mean, as many have feared before, that non-Inuit are not allowed to study or curate Inuit art anymore, but that the involvement of Indigenous peoples in the museum should become the standard instead of an exception. It particularly means that the Qallunaaq art world should accept to trade its anonymous, hegemonic voice for a situated, biased point of view—one among the others, with no more authority than the others.

Without a doubt, readers' perspectives will be enriched by this catalogue. Not only is it a fine book, beautifully illustrated with reproductions of works, portraits of the artists and photographs by Tim Pitsiulak himself, but it is also an inspiring project that will convince anyone of how strong Inuit culture has remained through time, despite the suffering caused by colonial history. Such a celebration of two major graphic artists in the global art history contributes both to decolonizing minds and spreading a sense of pride among young Inuit, in order to prevent further intergenerational trauma. In other words, *Tunirrusiangit: Kenojuak Ashevak and Tim Pitsiulak* is a necessary book that has probably already gained its place in critical history.

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Gloria Elizabeth Chacón. *Indigenous Cosmolectics: Kab'awil and the Making of Maya and Zapotec Literatures*. University of North Carolina Press, 2018. 243 pp. ISBN: 978-1-4696-3679-5.

<https://www.uncpress.org/book/9781469636795/indigenous-cosmolectics/>

The slim size of this volume belies the immense amount of research that went into its creation. Gloria E. Chacón offers a look at Maya and Zapotec literature through the lens of kab'awil, an Indigenous paradigm that takes into account both the past and the future. In spite of her detailed scholarship, Chacón writes clear prose that will enlighten the specialist and student.

Chacón approaches Indigenous literatures from her perspective as an immigrant and academic in the United States with Indigenous and campesino roots. She creates her own term to describe this study, cosmolectics, which she describes as “tying together the fundamental role that the cosmos and history, sacred writing and poetry, nature and spirituality as well as glyphs and memory play in articulating Maya and Zapotec ontologies” (12). Chacón bases her cosmolectics on kab'awil, an Indigenous concept from the early classical period. The complexity of kab'awil – portrayed variously as a preclassic Maya glyph with a smoking mirror, a postclassic god of divination, a god and then devil during Catholic conversion, and a double-headed eagle in Guatemalan textiles – serves the author well as a way of seeing that is not limited to the binary.

Borrowing the image in textiles as a god with two faces (16), kab'awil becomes Chacón's metaphor for a way to read contemporary Indigenous literature without ignoring the past. By employing kab'awil, she is able to overcome not only temporal limitations but spatial ones, since the concept spans the arbitrary boundaries of nation-states thereby linking Indigenous communities. This guiding metaphor also questions the categories of genre and gender. The authors Chacón studies blur the lines of the oral and written and criticize sexist practices while acknowledging a debt to their cultures.

In spite of the complexity of this premise, Chacón writes not to elude the reader but to be understood. She begins each chapter by explaining what she intends to show and ends with a conclusion that reiterates her insights and connects them to the following chapter. Throughout the book, the author uses kab'awil as her method as well, reading broadly across geography, time, and genre in order to present a more well-rounded view of Indigenous literature. In Chapter One, “Literacy and Power in Mesoamerica,” the benefit of kab'awil hindsight demonstrates that literacy did not originate with colonization. In addition to hieroglyphs and an oral tradition, Maya and Zapotec have a long-standing alphabetic writing tradition. In other words, contemporary authors don't have to ignore or supersede previous practices but can instead connect to a rich legacy. All the while, the author forces us to rethink how we anthologize and read Latin American literature.

Chapter Two, “The Formation of the Contemporary Mesoamerican Author,” reads short stories and their authors through the lens of kab'awil. Just as she argued in Chapter One that the imposition of literacy can be seen as a way to homogenize culture and reduce cultural and linguistic complexities, Chacón shows in Chapter Two how education can be used to assimilate Indigenous communities. Never willing to flatten human ingenuity, however, she acknowledges that Indigenous writers have taken advantage of literary grants and language classes without

forsaking the oral tradition or other legacies. That's because the authors in question don't necessarily see the past as disconnected from the present. This also informs Chacón's reading of how communal voices supposedly transformed into individual authors, since writing continues to serve both functions. And, she argues, it is their refusal to settle for simplistic categories that makes their writing dynamic: "They vehemently contest the entrenched historical and cultural opposition of tradition versus innovation, written versus oral expression, modern versus premodern. These issues generate significant tensions in their literary productions" (67). Chacón proves herself to be a careful reader of literature since she doesn't simplify or flatten character, plot, or description. In the process, she complicates our understanding of what constitutes Indigenous literature.

Chapter Three, "Indigenous Women, Poetry, and the Double Gaze," forms the heart of the book. Since it's the longest chapter, Chacón has the opportunity to analyze poetry in detail and also to show how these poets are living out kab'awil cosmolectics. According to intersectionality theory, women Indigenous poets could be seen as the perfect victims. They have been deprived of educational and economic autonomy while at the same time being asked to carry the burden of preserving a monolithic Indigenous image. But the kab'awil perspective turns this victimhood on its head: "Symbolically, then, women's ancestral authority trumps dominant and uninformed claims of the linguistic inferiority of Indigenous languages. The double gaze allows them to revisit the past in order to change the present" (75). For example, Maya poet Enriqueta Lunez Pérez dares to awaken God in her poem "La jti jbe' svayel kajvaltik/ Depserté a Dios." In contrast to a Christian conception which requires the intervention of a male priest, here a female poetic voice bargains with God in words and actions reminiscent of the reciprocity of Maya spirituality. Writing gives them the power to change the present without ignoring the past.

Chapter Four, "Contemporary Maya Women's Theater," explores Indigenous theatre and performance. Just as Chapter Two debunked the myth of literacy as a fruit of colonialism, Chacón shows that performance existed before plays were imported to make converts to Christianity. But she is equally concerned with how theatre as a living and spontaneous art form can operate to change harmful conditions. Like literacy education, state-sponsored theatre has been a tool to reinforce ideology. But the genre also gives playwrights and performers the freedom to contest stereotypes and develop human potential. Of the group *Fortaleza de la Mujer Maya* (Maya Women's Strength) or FOMMA, Chacón says: "The 'double gaze' activated in the plays allows FOMMA to engage with city and countryside, land and body, men and women, past and present" (112). While modern nation states often limit Indigenous power by attempting to relegate them to the past, the raw spontaneity of theater reveals culture and community in the present without ignoring complications and conflicts.

Chapter Five, "The Novel in Zapotec and Maya Lands," begins by examining the role of the indigenista novel and critiquing its limited way of portraying Indigenous people by looking down upon them from the outside. These novelists often had a political agenda but, while they decried exploitation of Indigenous people, they left no room for those same people to cross national or temporal boundaries. Meanwhile, emerging Zapotec and Maya novelists become agents of change via writing that refuses to buy into traditional political systems or national agendas. Yet, Chacón is not unrealistic about what literature can do to achieve its far-reaching goals: "Both novels postulate that real autonomy will have to come from Indigenous

communities and not as dictates from political and economic models of either the first or second worlds. And yet, these novels can only point to the absence of alternatives, since autonomy is still in the making” (150). Once again, a kab’awil stance allows novelists the creative flexibility to question genres and genders, tradition and innovation in ways that reflect the complexity of their lives.

Throughout the book, Chacón also educates the reader on Indigenous languages and literacy. As she points out, Indigenous writers are almost always required to be their own translators. But the process of self-translation does not occur in a clear-cut way. Some poets learned Spanish before their Indigenous language; others create simultaneously in two languages. Once again, Chacón honors the complexities of cultures and of human beings. Though she analyzes the production of various Maya and Zapotec writers in detail, she does not claim that they represent Indigenous people or even their own language group. Their individuality is also a source of power and creativity. As such, she introduces voices that have gone unnoticed in international letters and even in their own regions. While she recognizes the diversity among languages and even literature written in a given language, she does not have the space to analyze these languages in depth or even to point out the vast difference between languages in a given family, such as Valley and Isthmus Zapotec which are not mutually intelligible (although she mentions such distinctions in a note). Still, she translates all the literary selections and quotes into English herself, using her knowledge of the Maya Yucatek language and Zapotec and Maya culture to elucidate these selections.

In *Indigenous Cosmolectics*, Chacón displays a wide knowledge of what’s happening in contemporary Indigenous literature, but her limited focus on several Maya and Zapotec authors allows her to examine these texts in detail and depth. I am immensely grateful for her exhaustive research and clear writing on a topic that I have only begun to explore and that should be shared with literary students and scholars on an international level. Like kab’awil, the story of this book looks both backward and forward, and ends where it began, questioning how literature and politics at once restrict Indigenous writing and allow it to grow.

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Lisa Brooks. *Our Beloved Kin: A New History of King Philip's War*. Yale UP, 2018. 448 pp. ISBN: 9780300244328.

<https://yalebooks.yale.edu/book/9780300244328/our-beloved-kin>

What makes Lisa Brooks' *Our Beloved Kin* so engaging (and essential for scholars of Early American and Indigenous Studies) is the studied manner in which it extracts new narrative light from an old forest, disentangling Indigenous stories, concerns, and agendas from the mire of colonial documentation and religious orientation that has, up until this point, shaped and defined the way the 1675-77 colonial conflict known as King Philip's War has been understood. Having sifted through many of these primary materials myself, I know this is no small task. Settler-colonial history has a way of snowballing, beginning in a neatly packed ball of claims and assumptions but gaining mass and momentum as it rolls, becoming an engine of its own making. While it might be constantly added to, it remains difficult to get out of its way, or to trace the impression it has left back to the top of the hill and ask "what if we had rolled the ball this way instead?" In a sense, this is the project of decolonization - to devise strategies for recovering Indigenous lives and histories from the accumulated mass of colonial documentation and placing before us a path, a history, a world that we have essentially been denied as a result of the racial biases so firmly packed into the known historical archive.

Drawing upon many of the strategies and critical interventions used in her first book, *The Common Pot: The Recovery of Native Space in the Northeast* (2008), Brooks' study covers the events surrounding King Philip's War from an Indigenous-centered perspective. For Brooks, who is Abenaki herself, the key to gaining entry into this newly configured network of stories and landscapes is the notion of kinship. Most histories of the war struggle to take into account the bonds, obligations, and extended familial relationships that informed Indigenous lives in the seventeenth-century Northeast. By beginning to trace the threads of those relationships, one also begins to apprehend the geographical connections and commitments by which Native space was ordered and defined. To acknowledge and honor these connections allows for a narrative that stands largely in opposition to the claims forwarded in the opaque and spiritually dense parcel of colonial documentation by which the war has been known.

At the center of Brooks' narrative are not the familiar cast of characters - the self-fashioned frontier hero Benjamin Church, Puritan preacher to the Indians John Eliot, or even, for the most part, the Wampanoag leader King Philip himself, although certainly they all play a part. Brooks is more interested in understanding the lives of Indigenous figures who, until very recently, stood at the furthest margins of the historical narrative; figures such as the Nipmuc James Printer who was "indentured" into the colonial printing trade as a young boy but later becomes part of the resistance, his brother Job Kattenanit who found himself thrust into the role of colonial spy in order to ensure the safety of his family, and the *saunkskwa* of the Pocasset, Weetamoo, who must find a way to protect and preserve her community through the trials of war. Although Weetamoo's influence as a leader of her people was only vaguely understood by Puritan chroniclers of King Philip's War (and even less so by later historians), she was recognized by the Wampanoag sachem Ousamequin (more popularly remembered as Massasoit) as the "true heir" to the Pocasset sachemship, "our beloved cousin" and "kinswoman," the "Beloved Kin" of the book's title (4).

Brooks is able to trace some of this history by paying close attention to the names and relationships outlined on treaties, petitions, and land transactions struck between the colonists and their Indigenous neighbors. From these documents we see how certain colonial agents, who in past histories appear animated by a public-spirited cry for self-defense, turn out, perhaps not surprisingly, to be stakeholders in aggressive Puritan landgrabs (115-118). But Brooks' reading of these documents also helps clarify the way Indigenous leaders were also attempting to shape and interpret the nature of these agreements. For seventeenth-century Natives, treaties were beginning to complement the traditional practice of wampum exchange to seal and record diplomatic agreements. In their proceedings with the colonists, Native leaders followed traditional wampum protocols, as Brooks tells us, explicitly "invoking bonds of kinship" which also "drew bounds around the land," marking the territories to which they lay claim and those recognized as belonging to others within the larger kinship network. Transactions that colonial brokers broadly interpreted in their own favor, were understood differently by Natives such as Ousamequin who reproaches the Puritans at one point, for wrongly claiming land on Pocasset Neck belonging to one Namumpum. Namumpum, Brooks informs us, was the name by which Weetamoo went prior to the outbreak of war. Ousamequin cautions, "I Never did nor intended to put under plimoth [Plymouth Colony] any of my kinswomans land but my own inheritance and therefore I do disallow of any pretended claime to this land" (29).

Ousamequin, like other Indigenous leaders of the time, exerted what control he could over these difficult and coercive processes, but it's small wonder that such interventions often go overlooked in an archive where names are either frequently changing, misspelled or misidentified, Native women leaders are not recognized as powerbrokers, and the documents themselves are meant to provide legal cover for fraudulent claims. Bad faith practices like the one referenced above were a staple of colonial interactions with the Natives and were a large reason why war between the two groups became inevitable.

In the same way that Brooks allows for a rereading of treaties by mapping them out on the ground, and through hard-to-divine kinship ties, she teases out a fresh interpretation of the ensuing war, drawing upon narratives such as Mary Rowlandson's 1682 *Sovereignty and Goodness of God* in a way that privileges the epistemological worldview of the Natives who accompanied the captive Puritan goodwife on her famous "removes." Rowlandson was led by her Wampanoag, Narragansett and Nipmuc captors deeper and deeper into what seemed to her a "howling wilderness." For the Natives, however, this was 'a valley of horticultural hamlets, long inhabited by 'mobile farmers' who cultivated some of the most fertile fields in the world" (271). Understanding an Indigenous archive of the land itself helps the reader break through the forest *primaeval* conjured by the distressed Rowlandson in her narrative and become witness to a transformed landscape with a deep storied history of occupation and usage. The stories, themselves, offer a framework for comprehending how Native people understood their relationship to the land and the obligations they sought to bring the Puritan colonists in line with as humans sharing this space. Rowlandson's worldview, shaped by cosmological Puritan extremes of perceived good and evil, projected biblical language upon her environment that helped feed the cultural imaginations of future generations of settlers. As Brooks, however, comments, "although Rowlandson imagined she 'wept' by the "river of Babylon," she remained on the central Indigenous highway of Kwinitekw [the Connecticut River] but she could see only "Wilderness and Woods" (279).

Jill Lepore, Neal Salisbury, Michelle Burnham and others have unpacked the reversal of gender roles encountered by Rowlandson, as well as the misreadings of Indigenous motives and incentives relayed by Rowlandson and others, but few have managed to ground them so persuasively in a world of Indigenous logic, memory, and custom. By bringing these misunderstood or poorly interpreted impulses to life, Brooks also heightens our notions of the human drama of these events, what was at stake for Indigenous peoples swept up in the conflict of King Philip's War, and how much was lost. For many, like James Printer and Job Kattenanit, the war was one in which brother fought brother. Native individuals newly converted to the Christian faith were asked to prove their loyalty in unimaginable ways and exercised agency under the most dire of circumstances in trying to safeguard their war-dispersed families. Some of these Natives, because of religious training administered by their settler neighbors, were able to read and write and so left a scattered trail of documents detailing their trials and interventions. Even in these traces, Brooks notes, Native authors were aware of having to demonstrate "fidelity to multiple relationships and to each other in order to renew the trust among them and achieve the possibility of peace. They also had to demonstrate their trustworthiness . . . that they would convey messages with integrity and accuracy . . . to demonstrate that they would act like kin" (297).

Finally, Brooks helps to clarify certain events that have appeared mysterious or difficult to interpret as the war began to grind down. Her research suggests that Indigenous leaders began to broker a truce in May of 1676 and proceeded under the assumption that both the settlers and Natives would return to their homes in time to plant for spring. Mary Rowlandson's release from captivity was one of the terms of that truce. But the colonists, sensing that their Native neighbors had let their guard down, betrayed the terms of that negotiation, attacking a Native fishing village of mostly women and children at Peskompscut, a location known today as Turner's Falls, Massachusetts, after the colonial captain who led the ensuing massacre. With this vicious betrayal, the war was back on and, although both Philip and Weetamoo would be killed in the months ahead, Brooks argues that the war actually raged for another year at least, as Abenaki and other Natives north of the Massachusetts border continued to fight for their territory and their way of life.

Our Beloved Kin brings these dramas to life with both rigor and imagination. Brooks' ability to retain focus on Indigenous lives, despite the colonial packaging of these archival events always seeking to intrude and take over the narrative, is in itself a remarkable accomplishment. At times Brooks offers passages that attempt to take us into the perceptual worlds of some of the historical figures, cultivating, as she says, a "sense of embeddedness" that helps situate the reader within the world of her Indigenous subjects (15). Such brief interludes are punctuated, however, by new scholarly revelations and, most importantly, new interpretive frameworks that will assist general readers and scholars in their attempts to extricate themselves from a history that has been too long colonized. It should also be noted that Brooks has developed a website which serves as companion to the book, offering high resolution maps, deeds, and images that bring the reader directly to the source material and help them visualize the world Brooks has so generatively (and lovingly it might be said) labored to recreate and reclaim on the printed page.

<https://ourbelovedkin.com/awikhigan/index>

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Andrew Cowell. *Naming the World: Language and Power Among the Northern Arapaho*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2015. Pp. x + 296 pp.
<https://uapress.arizona.edu/book/naming-the-world>

Linguist Andrew Cowell's *Naming the World, Language and Power Among the Northern Arapaho* follows on the heels of his previous book *Arapaho Stories, Songs, and Prayers*. While *Arapaho Stories, Songs, and Prayers* will prove to be of utility to those Northern Arapahos striving toward strengthening their competency as speakers of Arapaho, *Naming the World* is a bit of a mixed bag. Linguists will find particular merit in it, though passive Arapaho speakers should also find some benefit, as might advanced second language learners, should they begin to emerge. This last comment finds its basis from Andy Cowell's introduction, regarding the concept of continuity and discontinuity being problematic. While Cowell points to the benefits that linguistic resources bring to the table, it is in fact elements of language discontinuity and a lack of language continuity that continues to fulfill the prediction of language demise and loss that Michael Kraus wrote about in the 1970s. Discontinuity is also reflected in what Cowell wrote about naming. Here it was noted how young people just want a name and how *neniisih'eih*i (the one who names) stated that there was more to it than that, thus reflecting the discontinuity in understanding what it means to receive a name and to have a name. This was something I experienced firsthand when my son asked that I name his daughter (my granddaughter), and while I always call her *Yeiyinisei*, I have not once heard him call his daughter this. What then tends to happen with those who have been named is over time through a lack of continuity and use the name fades into disuse and the ability to say it forgotten. This concept of continuity and discontinuity is further raised when Cowell elaborates more with his discussion of a Northern Arapaho society in and around the reservation. Tangentially I found it odd that "Helen" was shown to use a man's word *hiiko* - no (page 20) instead of a woman's word *gus*, which may also add to the discussion about naming and how these examples illustrate that there is more to language than just naming words.

In chapter 1, readers are led through a series of topics that touch on pre-reservation era, importance of age, reservation era, band and tribe, ceremonialism and tribalism. In addition to this Cowell also introduces topics of Communities of Practice, and language shift, stating that a focus of the book is to investigate causality of language shift among the Northern Arapaho. A point Cowell brings up regarding language shift causality is a tension between language learners as performers of language, and Elders as speakers of Arapaho, an issue that has some complexity in a worldview where Elder speakers of Arapaho have shifted to become MTH (More Than Human) wielding power through language. Here Cowell proposes that language learners see symbolic capital (here I would prefer importance or significance) through language performance irrespective of grammatical errors while Elder speakers are viewed as having language capital that gives them control. Here I would also consider whether within a worldview where language has power and is Sacred, Elders may be more concerned about what might result from language spoke improperly. In support of this, I refer to chapter 2.

In chapter 2, Andrew looks at how metaphors have been used by speakers of Arapaho. Here he introduces the importance of maintaining exact phonological forms of names (p. 53), without which leads to loss of meaning and connection to language and history, and a concept of power. Drawing from "A Man and His Two Sons", which was the third story my daughter learned from me, Andrew discusses two words *no'otehiit*, and *no'o'* that he connects with power. Referring to

no'o', I have seen this word spelled three different ways; once as nooo', another as no'oo' and now as no'o'. Because Arapaho is tonal lacking written diacritics to show this can result with the word not being said properly by someone who has never heard it spoken. For instance, when teaching my daughter the story I came upon this word and "3iewono." I didn't recognize these words so I asked a few older speakers about them both, which they also didn't recognize. I eventually realized that I was pronouncing 3iewono as it was written and that it was misspelled, it should have been written 3iiwono. The same was true of nooo'. Without pronouncing a missing medial glottal and not rising tonally at the end, the word was mispronounced and unrecognizable. And, with the word spelled no'oo' not pronouncing the ending glottal and not rising the tone on the last vowel the word then sounds like no'oo (mom). Similar issues are presented near the end of the chapter under the heading of "Student Discourse on the Arapaho Language," where he gives mention to language shifts that move closer to European concepts of language (pg. 72).

In chapter 3, Cowell discusses names and power that connect to landscape. The chapter touches on areas such as: landscape descriptors; land areas and features that resemble a physical item - such as the north slope of Longs Peak of Colorado that is called ce'einoonoohoet (rawhide dish); names of areas based on some event acted upon by the Arapaho, or some aspect of use done by the Arapaho. While linguists should find this chapter particularly useful, it may also be found useful by Arapaho students as it discusses structural meanings and global patterns of place names. Here Cowell brings up an important point (p. 98) with regard to addressing Arapaho quests for knowledge, something that struck me while teaching my "Indian Culture as Expressed Through Language" class back in 2009. I had written on the board *niicoo'owu*. What struck me was the end sound, which referred to a state of liquidness or body of water. Weeks later while on the Wind River I asked an Elder speaker what the word meant and was told—salt. I responded, "I know that, but it carries another thought. At the end it refers to something in a liquid state." The Elder, getting a bit impatient with me stated it means salt. With my mind racing, when I asked "what is the name of that lake in Utah?", he dropped his head and quietly said *niicóð'ówu'*. This immediately gleaned the following. The word for pond is *coo'óðwúse'*, but if the front is a variant of *ní'coo'*, which refers to something that tastes good, then metaphorically it could refer to a body of water that carries some aspect of being good. It also means the transference of the word to apply to European's salt recognized some similar quality. Beyond this, the word suggests the Arapaho may have recognized the relevance of salt as something that was good for the body, which Dr. Batmanghelidj's recognizes in 22 different ways in his book, "Water: Rx for a Healthier Pain-Free Life".

Chapter 3 winds down with discussions on "Place Naming, Power, and Modern Arapaho Society", "The Ironic Response" and "Place Names in Contemporary Usage." With regard to an ironic response, but from a different perspective that Cowell would appreciate, is something Ambrose Brown told me back in 1994. In his generation the town of Dubois was said something along the lines of Niisoo honoh'ehih'o' (or shortened, Niisonoh'oho'), because they thought Whites were saying "two boys". Another thing Ambrose told me, which is similar to this but working the other way, was that Black Coal's name was actually Be'xou—Red Fox (fox = beexou), but when soldiers heard this they thought Arapahos were saying black coal, which provides a segue to chapter 4.

In chapter 4, Cowell delves into the topic of personal names and naming, name usage, and toward the end of the chapter sections on change, and Hollywood names. The chapter begins with some linguistic analysis of form and structure of names as they once were and how that

structure has been maintained through personal names. One of the topics brought up is “Change and Phonological Rigidification and how a non-speaker may often garble the pronunciation of their own name into something meaningless or something that has some similar nominative English sounding words. In this instance when Nii’eihii 3i’ok (Sitting Bird/Eagle) was asked what his name was, he said “Hey that buck.” Another example relates to rigidity of use to what one would think of in English as a nickname. This tends to happen when a person’s name has been shortened. When the individual, however, is told their full name they may insist that this was not the name given them. Several years back I was asked to tell a person what their name meant and the person pronounced the name as See3tei, I said it couldn’t make out what it meant. When I told person I thought the name was See3cei, the person insisted that wasn’t their name and that their grandmother had given them the name See3tei. This name unfortunately has no real meaning, where See3cei refers to pine pitch or sap, which makes sense as a name.

Chapter 5, Folk Etymology and Language Purism moves through several subjects, such as; “Practice and Ideologies”, “Trickster and the Whiteman”, “Creation and Origin Stories”, “Ethnicity and Identity”, “Being Arapaho”, “Etymology and Authority”, and “Power and Irony” that discuss how these areas symbolically and metaphorically connect to etymology. In the section on “Practice and Ideology” Cowell turns to an analysis of Hosei’oowu, which he informs readers means Offerings Lodge. While this meaning is also found among the Cheyenne, Cowell says the term derives from hoseino (meat), which we are informed gives reference to where one gives away or sacrifices (hosein). I find this analysis quite surprising because I never heard the Lodge as an Offerings Lodge but understood that the name derived from hoseikuutii, which means to toss or throw away. If hoseino’ were linguistically linked to the Lodge as Hoseino’oowu the meaning would more closely resemble flesh Lodge. With the completion of the Sun Dance marking the beginning of a new year, then the last thing that occurs before its completion is the Dancers throwing away the things that held them back in the old year to freshly begin the new one, something that often pledgers are reminded of by the Grandfathers.

In the section on “Trickster and the Whiteman,” Cowell examines the word for Whiteman (Nih’oo3oo). While much of the discussion revolves around the word meaning Spider, the question with regard to why it came to represent Whiteman has no hard fast reason. Here Cowell notes that the same person can invoke different meanings for the same word, leading to more than one etymology being seen as true. To this I would add one of the reasons I was told by an Elder when instructing me at an early age. When I asked why Whites are called Nih’oo3o, I was told it was because when Arapahos from a distance saw the tops of covered wagons stretching out across the plains as they moved, it reminded them of Spider filaments. Cowell then takes on a discussion about turtle (be’enuo). What is interesting here, from a comedic sense, is the question, which came first the chicken or the egg? This is raised because be’enuo also means fog, and to state it is foggy would be bee’enuoni. Thus because be’ and bee’ both mean blood, and with the discussion of turtle’s etymology being linked with blood, an interesting discussion would be how the etymology of fog connects with blood. A sidebar adding to a discussion on etymology, are two words I’ve presented to students to see if they derive any imbedded meaning from how they sound, which is the word prayer “howoyeitit” and dragonfly (Cii’owoyeihii), a symbol that is used in Sun Dance, which they are not told. Often students will link Cii’owoyeihii to something in a state of prayer.

Chapter 6, “Neologisms, and the Politics of Language Maintenance,” begins with examining names of animals and plants relative to movement out onto the plains. The section concludes with Cowell pointing out (p. 204) something that I have noted in my classes over the past 15 years, that Arapaho, with its avoidance of incorporating foreign words, exceptions being cîis and ceebini (Germany), is an example of language purity. In the section that follows, “Sound

Correspondences, Analogical Think and the Ideology of Neologisms,” Cowell brings up my name, Neyooxet (one day he might be interested to learn how my uncle had me accept that as my name.) He also mentions Cooxuceneihii (Meadowlark) a name I once metaphorically used for a talk; “Teaching Meadowlark’s Children Their Songs,” that focused on the work of the Arapaho language revitalization preschool I started in 1994 on the Wind River reservation. While the sections in this chapter will draw the interests of linguists, they will be very useful for students of Arapaho in understanding connections and underlying meanings imbedded within the language. A footnote to Cowell’s discussion about Meadowlark that I’ve noted on other occasions and in my Meadowlark talk, a longstanding tradition that rests on the belief that Meadowlark speaks Arapaho was to feed the tongues of a Meadowlark to a child whose speaking Arapaho was delayed to bring on the onset of speaking. Unfortunately, the last time I remember this being done by a parent to bring the onset of their child to speak was done for English, which clearly the Meadowlark does not speak. In *Naming the World* readers will find a treasure trove of linguistic analysis blended with transcribed speech that will prove to be beneficial Algonquian scholars and students of Arapaho alike.

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Marianne Ignace and Ronald E. Ignace. *Secwépemc People, Land and Laws: Yerí7 re Stsqéyís-kucw*. McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017. 624 pp. ISBN 9780773551305 <https://www.mqup.ca/secw--pemc-people--land--and-laws-products-9780773551305.php>

This collaborative and interdisciplinary work by Marianne and Ronald Ignace explores and documents Secwépemc history, from the Ice Age through to the present. The 588-page text is not only impressive and powerful for the sheer depth in which it introduces and documents Secwépemc history, enduring laws, language, and relationships to land, but also in the ways in which Secwépemc voices past and present are represented and foregrounded throughout. Structurally, the text is divided into 14 chapters; each chapter addresses a different aspect of Secwépemc history, culture, laws, or language. Together, the chapters progress chronologically from the Ice Age through to the present day, starting with Chapter 2: “Le Q7es te Tellqelímúcw (The Time of the Ancient Transformers)” and ending with Chapter 14: “Re Stsqéyís-kucw Wel Me7 Yews (Stories from the Past, Laws and Rights for the Future).” As a whole, this work is too complex, intricate, and multi-dimensional to discuss in its entirety here, so in this review I focus on prominent themes that run throughout the text or important questions that it, as a whole, introduces, such as: the enduring relationship between homeland and lifeways; how Secwépemc voices, scientific research, and written historical records are placed in dialogue; the embedded connection between Secwepemctsin language and homeland; and, lastly, why this book was created and who it is intended to be shared with and used by.

The most salient thread throughout each chapter is how Secwépemc homeland has and continues to shape Secwépemc lifeways, and in turn, how Secwépemc lifeways have, and continue to, shape their homeland. The majority of the chapters are written and compiled by Marianne and Ronald Ignace, however several chapters are written in collaboration with researchers from other disciplines, such as Chapter 3: “Re Tsúwet.s le Q7es te Stefex7éms-kucw (What Archaeology Tells Us about the Initial Peopling and Life of Secwepemcúlecw),” Chapter 5: “Re Styecwmenúlecws-kucw (How We Look(ed) after Our Land),” and Chapter 6: “Le Q7éses re Scwescwesét.s-kucw ell re S7eykemínems-kucw (Trade, Travel and Transportation).” The book also includes several pages of colour images of the Secwépemc territory, people, and culturally and historically relevant and referenced sites and objects. There is an extensive bibliography and reference index at the end of the text.

Marianne and Ronald Ignace start the book with “Yerí7 re sqweqwentsín-kt (An Opening Prayer)” thanking and acknowledging the Creator, Secwépemc land, elders, and language. This prayer reminds the reader not only of the physical importance of Secwépemc homeland and territory, but also that, as they continue reading, they are entering a space of Secwépemc history shaped and mediated by Secwépemc voices and others who collaborated to compile and share this knowledge. The foreword is written by Bonnie Leonard, Tribal Director of the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council, and she highlights that this work was created in order to outline the “shared wisdom of the elders” that is combined with “other more scientific aspects of learning, such as archaeology and ethnology” (xxxiii). Leonard underscores that this book “was never intended to be a comprehensive rights and title resource but is meant to serve as a tool that can be utilized by many to gain insights about and understandings of the values and cultural importance of the Secwépemc people’s connection to land and to their oral histories” (xxxiii). As

such, this text is quietly powerful in the ways in which it integrates Secwépemc oral history, traditional stories, and personal accounts with historic documentation and written archives, as well as with scientific research from archaeology, ethnobotany, linguistics, and historical geography, in order to illustrate that these ways of knowing and documenting are not in opposition, but rather can work in complement to share the history of the Secwépemc people as it has been told by them and as it has been understood by others.

Secwépemc voices anchor each chapter, and the discussion is framed by oral histories and traditional stories that have been passed down and shared by elders in their Secwepemctsin language, as well as more recent personal accounts from Secwépemc people that detail their own lived experiences and shared memories. As articulated by Leonard, the work as a whole does not explicitly argue for Secwépemc people's rights and title to land or other cultural or physical resources. Instead, it seems the goal of the book as a whole is to create a comprehensive resource about and for the Secwépemc people that uplifts and foregrounds Secwépemc voices and stories in order to illustrate and document the ways in which the Secwépemc people have maintained a connection with their homeland, laws, language, and lifeways despite centuries of oppression and territorial contestation.

A prominent theme throughout the text is the importance of Secwépemc language in telling and understanding Secwépemc stories, oral history, and intimate relationships with their land. Besides the Table of Contents and the List of Figures, the first section a reader sees is Table 0.1, which lists the sounds of the Secwepemctsin language written in the practical alphabet, followed by a section detailing the spelling conventions of the Western dialect of Secwepemctsin and providing a brief history of the orthography currently used to write the language. The placing of this section underscores the importance of the Secwepemctsin language in understanding and articulating Secwépemc ways of being and knowing, their relationship to the land, and their laws. When possible, Secwepemctsin is included before English translations or equivalents; the chapter titles and many headings—as well as the introductory prayer, traditional stories, and personal accounts—appear first in Secwepemctsin and second in English. When possible, locations are primarily referred to by their Secwepemctsin or Indigenous place name, and followed by the English place name in parentheses. Throughout the book, the Ignaces include tables highlighting how an understanding of the linguistic features of Secwepemctsin can provide additional insight into Secwépemc values, laws, and their understanding of and relationship to their homeland. For example, Table 5.3 illustrates how calendar and place names often index seasonal activities (196-197); Table 7.1 illustrates how Secwépemc place names often identify specific locations associated with specific natural characteristics, activities, or events that took place there (237-239); and Table 9.2 illustrates the meaning and importance behind personal names that are given and passed down through generations (355). The prioritization and use of Secwepemctsin throughout the text also reasserts that, although the book is written in English, it is grounded in Secwepemctsin language, oral history, and its intimate and enduring relationship to Secwépemc homeland.

Even though each chapter is densely packed with historical, cultural, and scientific information as well as explanatory images, maps, diagrams, and tables, there is something deeply personal about how this knowledge is presented and how it might be used. If the long-term goal of this work is not to create a document that overtly argues for Secwépemc rights and title to land or

documents the oppression Secwépemc people have endured, then it opens up the possibility that this text, in fact, was not produced to be used in a wider political arena but rather was created for Secwépemc people to share their history with each other. For example, the authors often use the first-person plural pronoun “our” to refer to Secwépemc stories, practices, and events, and at times it is not clear whether “our” is exclusive of the reader and refers to the Ignaces as members of the Shuswap Nation, or whether “our” is intended to potentially include a reader who too is Secwépemc. Explained in another way, at times I wondered whether I—as someone who is not Secwépemc—was imposing on someone else’s story, which prompted me to contemplate what it means to be an invited guest in this process.

In the last paragraph of the work, the Ignaces answer the above question when they explain that “to make them accessible and to make them heard, we have turned the oral histories and stories of past generations of Secwépemc people into written words. However, we hope that this way of commemorating them will inspire present and future generations of Secwépemc to learn them, memorize them, and tell them to one another and the next generation in the spirit of oral tellings of the past. For all others, we hope that the stories and knowledge we have presented, never complete, have provided more than a fleeting glimpse at the depth, meaning, and wisdom that they have entailed for generations of Secwépemc people” (501-2). Even though this book was written to be read and used by both people who are Secwépemc and people who are not, one last important accomplishment of this text is to (potentially) convey that this history is Secwépemc people’s to share, not someone else’s to take or impose upon, which is a subtle, but nonetheless powerful, ending message.

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Julia Christensen, Christopher Cox and Lisa Szabo-Jones, eds. *Activating the Heart: Storytelling, Knowledge Sharing and Relationship*. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfred Laurier University Press. 2018. <https://www.wlupress.wlu.ca/Books/A/Activating-the-Heart2>

This new collection of essays takes up issues relevant to the conduct of research involving Indigenous communities. The title phrase—*Activating the Heart*—summarizes a central message. The volume encourages researchers to move their inquiries beyond any posture of professedly disengaged, academic objectivity as they carry out their work. It urges them instead toward fully human encounters in which they and their Indigenous participants endeavor to reveal themselves to each other and forge meaningful bonds. Throughout, contributors focus on *storytelling*, in its many forms, as both research method and methodology. They argue and illustrate how that activity and the values that ground it can become vehicles by which both researchers and communities explore meanings that inform their lived experience, make such experience available to each other, and generate new meanings and opportunities. Editors Julia Christensen, Christopher Cox and Lisa Szabo-Jones observe that the volume aspires to influence not only research inquiry but also academic training: to "make room for a different kind of education, one that builds necessary ties between community and academia to engender a space for broader, non-oppressive education models" (xi).

Toward these ends, chapters "examine storytelling as a mode of understanding, sharing, and creating knowledge" (xii). Separate sections of the volume take up each of these three intellectual tasks. The section on "Storytelling to Understand" begins with the essay "Finding My Way: Emotions and Ethics in Community-Based Action Research with Indigenous Communities." Here, Leonie Sandercock—self-described "immigrant Australian-working class white girl PhD-ed and socialized into Anglo-American academia" (7)—discusses her experiences collaborating with a First-Nations community in British Columbia via an "action research" project.

Having accepted an invitation to produce a documentary recording the "local history of conflict between Indigenous Carrier people and non-Indigenous settlers" (3), Sandercock describes the power of stories shared, and individual relationships forged, to influence dynamics within a divided community. Simultaneously, she reflects on her evolving understanding of the ways in which she, herself, is implicated in the story she would tell. Sandercock concludes that researchers realize the potentialities of their work in Indigenous populations only within true partnerships—relationships requiring empathic response and a willingness for self-transformation. Reflecting on her research experiences as a community outsider in the form of a story-poem, Sandercock argues for "a different way of being in the world" than she had learned in her scholarly training: "You/I cannot be in community/Without loving attachment" (23). She closes by describing the way that this decision has shaped her subsequent career decisions to allow ongoing contributions to the partner community.

The subsequent essay, "Notes from the Underbridge," by Christine Stewart and Jacquie Leggett, sketches a range of strategies for knowing a place deeply (39) as preparation for learning and telling its many stories. Their "poetics of attention" focuses on a space below a bridge in Edmonton, Alberta that shelters a number of people. Many of them are displaced from inner-city

areas by rising housing costs; many of them are Indigenous. In this context, the authors seek a "precise and holistic way of attending to place" (30) by creating a series of "soundscapes" that they unpack and combine in various ways. In their recordings of "joggers, dogs, children playing, snippets of conversation, wind, bridge sounds, many birds, and the ubiquitous traffic," the authors find traces of stories (48). These are stories of land loss, treaties, persons rendered homeless within their own traditional homelands, economic shifts, poverty and incarceration, ancient patterns of interaction with the natural world and its creatures, and more. The authors' ideas for listening—not only to human speech but to *all* sounds—suggest a fascinating and (at least to me) novel approach to learning and telling stories that are firmly located in place. At the same time, it extends ideas about who (or what) counts as a "research participant" to an extraordinary and thought-provoking degree.

The final chapter in the opening section of *Activating the Heart* features a highly technical discussion titled "Re-valuing Code-Switching: Lessons from Kaska Narrative Performance." Here, Patrick Moore argues against a tendency among academic researchers to devalue stories in which bilingual storytellers move back and forth between an Indigenous language and English. This scholarly preference, Moore judges, betrays an outdated notion of cultural authenticity that privileges cultural artifacts that can be construed as somehow uncontaminated by influences outside the culture of origin. In his contrasting view, movement between languages—a form of code-switching—can reveal stories within the story. These traces supply information about the speaker's personal history, for example, or the gender dynamics within communities that have distributed certain types of learning exposures unequally to men and women. Code-switching across languages suggests, moreover, a storytellers' high degree of skill—the ability to identify just the right word, regardless of origin, to communicate a thought to a specific audience. These are reasons, Moore concludes, to privilege rather than devalue bilingual texts and their tellers. This perspective easily generalizes, I would add, to research involving cultural objects other than texts.

The second section of *Activating the Heart* takes up the theme of "Storytelling to Share" and considers the power of stories to "convey significant lessons, as well as to engage different audiences in knowledge exchange" (xv). This section opens with Kendra Mitchell-Foster's and Sarah de Leeuw's "Art, Heart, and Health: Experiences from Northern British Columbia." It discusses a well-conceived "arts-based approach" for bringing together groups of persons residing both inside and outside of an Indigenous community. These groups—one composed of persons who had or were planning careers in health and medical professions, one composed of members of a First Nations reserve—engaged together in activities such as crafting pottery, masks, and narratives. Building on the foundation of shared food and creative process, participants were then invited to tell stories, with special attention to their own ideas and experiences relevant to health and well-being (100). As one participant told facilitators, "Making 'good art' was not the goal of ArtDays; instead, it was to explore the role of art in health and healing" (106).

Given my own professional commitments to culturally-relevant health research conducted in partnership with Native communities, this chapter was a favorite. It leads readers to imagine similar projects for bringing together reservation residents with persons who, while existing largely outside those communities, may nevertheless prove vital to tribal life: providers of law

enforcement, legal and social services, educational or recreational opportunities, and the like. In my own experience, shared creative process allows for interactions that are not only mutually informative but also affirming and even joyful. Such shared activities not only allow populations to communicate specific information and ideas about themselves. They also build a strong foundation of shared memory that can influence how people interpret future interactions of a more challenging variety.

Jasmine Spencer's following essay, "Grandson, / This is meat": Hunting Metonymy in Francois Mandeville's *This Is What They Say*," addresses itself to very different way of sharing and responding to storytelling. It offers a highly technical application of the "cognitive linguistic theory of frame metonymy" to the storytelling of Metis-Chippewa trapper Francois Mandeville (1878-1952). This chapter draws attention to textual patterns, especially the teller's development of a recurrent motif (meat and the eating of meat), and will speak mainly to readers with very specific disciplinary expertise.

Pages of dense argumentation and analysis lead Spencer to conclusions such as "the human as a positional construal of narrative topography must constantly be rearticulated" and that "[o]ntological sympathy—alignment, homophony, polyphony—is essential to the perpetuation of self and other" (139). Volume editors characterize this essay as an invitation to see the story themes of hunting and trapping as "the generative spaces through which indigenous epistemologies spring forth" (176). That they offer no further elaboration will, however, make it difficult for many readers to judge exactly how this may be true.

The final section of *Activating the Heart* explores the theme of "Storytelling to Create." It includes "sleepless in Somba K'e," a short poem by non-Indigenous author, Rita Wong. Dedicated to the Coney River, Wong's exploration of "dimensions of community, environmental issues, and water-based ecology" encourages readers to meditate on how the river's story articulates with the stories of human and other-than-human lives. It exemplifies, the editors observe, storytelling as "a form of respect and reverence for the traditional homelands of the Yellowknives Dene, upon which [Wong] found herself a visitor" (176).

A following chapter by Metis author Bren Kolson, "Old Rawhide Died," illustrates the power of story to richly evoke place, time and relationships. Told from the perspective of a little girl growing up in an indigenous community in Canada's Northwest Territories, it relates how a radio storyteller became an important element in family life.

The final chapter is Zoe Todd's "Metis Storytelling across Time and Space: Situating the Personal and Academic Self Between Homelands." Identifying herself as an Indigenous person (Metis / otipemisiw) raised in her Canadian homeland, Todd describes her transition, almost two decades ago, to living and working in Scotland. Beginning with a story, she goes on to discuss the role of storytelling in helping her to define and shape relationships with colleagues and research partners. She also devotes considerable attention to thinking about how stories, and especially their roots in the natural world, have spoken to, reminded her, grounded her. Her thoughtful reflections will interest the many Indigenous people who likewise live and work away from their traditional homelands.

The editors' Introduction and Conclusion highlight the contributions of the collected essays to larger ideas. Here Christensen, Cox and Szabo-Jones conclude that,

[a]cross the chapters, two main themes emerge: first, storytelling as an approach to knowledge sharing...and, second, storytelling as a political and epistemological act in taking back space for Indigenous ways of knowing (and at the same time creating new spaces for other culturally embedded ways of knowing within the Eurocentric academy" (171).

The volume's development of the first theme is beyond argument. Contributors have explored storytelling—what it can do and some innovative ways of doing it—in diverse, interesting and instructive ways. By contrast, its treatment of the second theme may engender some disappointment among readers who otherwise find reasons to praise this collection.

While both individual chapter contributors and the editors return repeatedly to the theme of epistemology, no one supplies a formal definition. Comments scattered throughout the work suggest to me that the authors typically intend the term in its most general sense to reference formal and informal philosophies of knowledge: the sets of assumptions circumscribing ideas about what knowledge is and how one gets it. Definitional issues aside, I also found it somewhat challenging to unravel exactly how the concept articulates with the volume's other arguments.

Readers in search of clarity on this subject must put together discussions from different parts of the book. On the basis of such efforts, I concluded that the editors situate their own epistemological inquiries in view of what they seem to conceive as *two* broad and competing philosophies of knowledge. On the one hand, they assert that "[a]cademic research remains largely rooted in colonial ways of seeing and knowing (for example, privileging research methods and forms of communication geared towards acquiring information to provide concrete outcomes)." This orientation contrasts with their own, Indigenous research priorities, which are "aimed at entering open-ended, long-term relationships" (xi). The editors identify additional distinguishing features of Indigenous philosophies of knowledge when (in a reflection on the volume's title) they summarize that, "Activating the heart through storytelling places emotion, relationships, reciprocity, recognition, and justice at the centre" of research interactions (178). They further underscore the idea of two distinct philosophies of knowledge with contrasts between such terms as "Eurocentric scholarship models" (xiii) as over against Indigenous "community-based knowledges" (xii).

Individual chapters in the volume elaborate the idea of a seemingly similar philosophical binary, as when Mitchell-Foster and De Leew characterize "non-Indigenous world views and ways of knowing" as focused on "the head" and Indigenous views as focused on "the heart." While the first incorporates a "bias toward logic...and analytic thought," the second celebrates "feeling...and emotion" (91-92).

Such distinctions invite very significant questions. Do we, as scholars aspiring to relate respectfully to Indigenous philosophies of knowledge, really wish to sign over exceptional rights to "facts," "concrete outcomes," and "logic" to the "Eurocentric academy"? Do we truly accept that work within Indigenous philosophies should be relegated so completely to the domain of emotions, values, and human relationships?

The fundamental problem here is that, by their repeated division of intellectual territory into these objective and subjective domains, *Activating the Heart* embraces the very epistemological dualism that it otherwise critiques as dominating conventional scholarship and squeezing out alternative, Indigenous perspectives. Epistemological dualism—with roots in the philosophies of Descartes, Aristotle, and Plato and other Western thinkers—posits that mind and body, self and other are irremediably separated. It consequently constitutes claims deriving from different types of observations as subjective and objective, which it treats as unequally reliable. Within the confines of epistemological dualism, claims associated with the experiences and values that *Activating the Heart* picks out as defining Indigenous research—emotion, relationality, reciprocity and the like—will always have the lesser part.

To my mind, Indigenous scholars and our allies can hope for more. But that will require us to interrogate epistemological dualism very explicitly and deliberately—and then to move outside it. As a co-author and I have argued elsewhere (Garrouette and Westcott 2013), explorations of Indigenous storytelling *can* reveal assumptions about what knowledge is and how one gets it that are entirely distinct from—but no less intellectually defensible than—those embedded in dualistic philosophies of knowledge. We have argued, as well, that further such efforts may well open genuinely new possibilities for inhabiting the world and engaging its beings. In particular, they may point new ways to articulate claims originating within Indigenous philosophies that are—to borrow a phrase from Foucault's (1972) work in epistemology—"in the true," that exist within the category of claims recognized as candidates for adjudication and designation as *knowledge*.

Contributors to *Activating the Heart* repeatedly gesture toward a similar goal in calls for "a fundamental rethinking and reorientation around what constitutes knowledge in the first place, and how we might cease to privilege certain modes of knowledge sharing over others" (178). While their instincts are right, they do not move us closer to the goal. Their resort to epistemological dualism prevents them from imagining such real departures from what they characterize as "colonial ways of thinking."

None of this should detract from the volume's valuable lessons. Its collection of interesting, well-written essays offer worthwhile reflections and creative strategies relevant to research interactions in Indigenous (and other) communities. Anyone hoping to conduct academic inquiry in Indigenous communities needs to appreciate that they and their participants may hold very different views on the appropriate goals of interaction. They should be reminded that Indigenous communities long ago tired of research that treats their members as "informants" whom researchers from "outside" impersonally tap for information that they go onto apply for their own purposes and exclusive benefit. They need to prepare thoughtfully for entering communities that have endured more than 500 years of invasion and assault and live with the ongoing consequences of such trauma—sometimes with despair and desperation but also with considerable grace and resilience. They should consider the ways that their own work as researchers might articulate with healing communities *and* with their own self-transformation.

The discussions in *Activating the Heart* point, then, to issues that researchers hoping to work with Indigenous communities ignore to the peril of their projects and the wellbeing of communities. It highlights challenges that attend the efforts of even the well-intentioned and

and explores ways that storytelling, and the values that it implies, may help address them. In so doing, the volume invites both Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars to take on these challenges, and it leaves them better equipped to do so.

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Margaret M. Bruchac. *Savage Kin: Indigenous Informants and American Anthropologists*. University of Arizona Press, 2018. 280 pp. ISBN: 978-0816537068. <https://uapress.arizona.edu/book/savage-kin>

In an astonishingly researched and compelling book, Indigenous anthropologist Margaret M. Bruchac reexamines the relationships between Native informants and anthropologists in the early twentieth century, such as George Hunt and Franz Boas, Bertha Parker and Mark Harrington, Gladys Tantaquidgeon and Frank Speck. Conducting “reverse ethnography,” *Savage Kin* details how Native gatekeepers and activists attempted to manage their relations with white collectors seeking to salvage Indigenous culture – scholars whose intentions were often nonreciprocal, contentious, and savage. Bruchac argues that it is these mediations which co-created the very field of North American anthropology and resulted in the material extraction of Native culture on which today’s museums of anthropology are founded.

Part of the accomplishment of *Savage Kin* is in how it redefines the very nature of academic writings as mythological narratives – built up over time as a result of layers of biases and conventions, rituals and memories – that continue to circulate and influence anthropological discourse. Bruchac explains that “The tellings of these stories are not (like Native myths) seasonally restricted, but they are ritualized, having long been circulated within departments, institutions, and professional recitations (including conferences, publications, and websites) that keep ancestral memories alive” (7). Tracing the remains of archival encounters with Indigenous informants reveals many early anthropologists to be unreliable narrators of their own histories and contributions.

Another key contribution is the importance of what Bruchac calls “restorative methodologies” – “cross-walking through archives to track objects and their related stories (even the false or fishy stories) through the locales and tribal nations represented in collections” (183). Intermixed within the pages of *Savage Kin* are many ways in which the contributions of Native informants have been erased from anthropological discourse, something Bruchac notes routinely happened to female researchers of any ethnicity. The research practices she details are an essential toolbox for anyone engaging in archival or museum research.

The first chapter describes the historical context for anthropological collecting of Indigenous knowledge and material culture in North America. Bruchac explains this work as a necessarily collaborative endeavor, which would have been impossible for the largely white, male anthropologists to accomplish without Indigenous aid. Yet contrary to the complexity and breadth of their engagements with these collectors, “Natives were positioned as ethnographic subjects, not as scholars; and as informants, not theorists,” and these narrowed roles have obscured the impact Indigenous gatekeepers have had throughout the history of the field of anthropology (17).

Chapters Two through Six present case studies that each challenge the Native informant/anthropologist binary and highlight the unique strategies Indigenous peoples used to manage their encounters with outside researchers. Focusing on specific relations allows for a close-reading of these encounters which, taken together, “illuminate complex gender relations, power dynamics, and social entanglements that propelled some individuals into the light and

others into the shadows” (8). Bruchac both honors the influence of Native informants while simultaneously chronicling when their choice to partner with anthropologists violated cultural protocols and threatened the political goals of Indigenous sovereignty. Despite some surprisingly salacious stories uncovered, the book avoids sensationalizing or generalizing its subjects and instead provides empathetic portraits of individuals whose actions and motives feel both authentic and grounded.

Chapter Two examines one of the more well-known and often celebrated long-term relationships in anthropology between George Hunt and Franz Boas. *Savage Kin* emphasizes the gendered bias of the Boas and Hunt partnership and questions the assumed status of their publications as “the primary authorities on Kwakwaka'wakw culture and language” (47). The knowledge Hunt sold to Boas relied heavily on the participation of his female relatives, particularly his two marriages to high-ranking Native women: Tsukwani Francine and Lucy Homikanis. Bruchac convincingly shows how both Hunt and Boas’s work intentionally marginalized their contributions, yet would have been nearly impossible without them.

Together, Chapters Three and Four highlight the deeply interconnected social relations of Natives and non-Natives participating in early anthropology. In Chapter Three, the relationship between mixed Seneca and Scots/English anthropologist Arthur Parker and his first wife, Abenaki Beulah Tahamont, exemplifies the different ways of embodying Indigenous identity in the early twentieth century, what Bruchac calls “assimilated modernity versus cultural performance” (68). The groundbreaking archaeological discoveries of Parker and Tahamont’s daughter, Bertha Yewas Parker – potentially the first professional female Native American archaeologist, and likewise the first professional female Native American ethnologist and archaeologist to work at a major museum – are described in Chapter Four. Bertha Parker worked collaboratively with white archaeologist Mark Harrington and, despite contemporary recognition of her scholarship, her successes were forgotten and much of her research attributed to Harrington in the archives.

Savage Kin also explores how the political goals of Indigenous peoples were inseparable from their relationships with early anthropologists and served as both motivators for continuing and ending partnerships. In Chapter Five, Bruchac writes about Seneca veteran and cultural expert Jesse Cornplanter, who worked closely for many years with the white academic William Fenton. Their relationship ultimately soured over the construction of the Kinzua Dam which would destroy a significant portion of the Seneca homeland. Despite pressure from Seneca peoples who called on Fenton to reciprocate the kinship they had shown to him and his family, Fenton increasingly “deployed his research and his influence as political tools to resist Indigenous sovereignty” (139).

Finally, the relationship between University of Pennsylvania anthropologist Frank Speck and his student and collaborator, Mohegan anthropologist Gladys Tantaquidgeon, while by all evidence one of the more reciprocal partnerships described in the book, nevertheless resulted over time in the same erasures of Indigenous scholarship chronicled throughout *Savage Kin*. Bruchac shows how the myth of Speck’s Indigenous ancestry served to obscure the significant academic work Tantaquidgeon conducted and downplayed the importance of his other Indigenous collaborators.

As a whole, these stories not only emphasize the systematic erasure of Indigenous contributions, but showcase the near-ubiquity of the nonreciprocal and bad-faith relationships early anthropologists practiced with Native culture experts. Even when these collaborations went well, the choice of Native peoples to participate in anthropological knowledge and material-collecting efforts came with difficult questions of how to navigate these relationships while still maintaining ties to their communities of origin. While its academic relevance is clear, this book will be of great interest to Native and non-Native students, teachers, and general audiences alike. *Savage Kin* successfully showcases the agency and participation of Indigenous peoples in anthropology while never losing sight of the complexities that come with this involvement. Although this book is written about the past, Bruchac makes its contemporary relevance for Indigenous peoples and anthropologists clear in the value of cultural recovery for Native American and First Nations and the hopeful potential of repaired relations. For the discipline of anthropology, moving forward entails looking back – acknowledging wrong relations and questioning the version of North American Indigenous history still circulating in museums and academic writings.

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Charlotte J. Frisbie (with recipes by Tall Woman and assistance from Augusta Sandoval). *Food Sovereignty the Navajo Way: Cooking with Tall Woman*. University of New Mexico Press, 2018. 398 pp. ISBN: 978-0-8263-5887-5.

<https://unmpress.com/books/food-sovereignty-navajo-way/9780826358875>

Food Sovereignty the Navajo Way: Cooking with Tall Woman is a detailed account of Navajo foodways in the twentieth and twenty first centuries. It is based on the experiences and narratives of Tall Woman (Asdzáán Nééz, a.k.a. Rose Mitchell), a Diné Elder from Chinle, Arizona, whose long life spanned over a century (1874-1977) and with whom the author, Charlotte Frisbie, worked from 1963 to 1977.

As a result of their collaboration, in 2001, Tall Woman's life story was published in the form of a monograph (Mitchell 2001). However, because of the limitations concerning the length of the publication, Frisbie decided not to include Tall Woman's recipes in it. *Food Sovereignty the Navajo Way* is thus meant to complete their previous work. Frisbie states that because too much time had passed since the previous publication, she asked Tall Woman's two surviving daughters, Augusta Sandoval and Isabelle Deschine, for assistance with the current book. Moreover, the author decided against publishing information on the medicinal use of plants that were shared with her by Tall Woman at the request of the Cultural Resources Compliance Section of the Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department (NNHPD), who considered it to be traditional cultural knowledge in need of protection.

Chapter One, titled "An Overview of the Navajo Diet and Navajo Dietary Research", starts with a description of Navajo foods in Navajo Emergence stories which, according to different sources, credit different beings with bringing seeds (e.g., corn, beans, and squash) from the Lower Worlds and with creating different animals, such as goats, sheep, and horses. Next, anthropological interpretations of Navajo foodways are presented. Frisbie briefly mentions the foodways present during the beginning of Spanish colonization in the 1500s and describes the dietary adaptations forced upon the Navajos by the Long Walk and their incarceration at Fort Sumner (1863-1868). This is also the period when the Navajos started to become dependent on the US government for food. The following subchapter, "The Twentieth Century", provides a detailed description of the Navajo diet during particular decades and largely draws on previous anthropological studies, especially those by Wendy Wolfe. It outlines the adaptations brought about by historical events, as well as environmental, technological, cultural, and socio-economic changes, such as the World Wars, the ongoing desertification of the reservation, the introduction of indoor stoves, or an increasing participation in a cash-based economy. Frisbie concludes that these changes have resulted in a decline in the use of traditional foods, including wild foods, as well as traditional ways of acquiring and preparing them. At the same time, she asserts that corn and sheep have retained a "special place in Navajo culture" and that home-prepared, traditional foods are preferred for special occasions, such as the Girls' Puberty Ceremony or weddings (29). Furthermore, she quotes surveys which show how, with the current diet, the Navajos consume too many calories and too much fat while, at the same time, they are undernourished when it comes to particular microelements. In this sub-chapter, Frisbie also refers readers to Appendix A of the book, which is a description of the Commodity Food Program on the reservation. The following sub-chapter, "The Twenty-First Century", briefly mentions current food sovereignty trends on the Navajo reservation. It also focuses on the rise of the food sovereignty movement in

an international context: providing readers with a history of the development of the term coined by La Via Campesina (*The International Peasant Movement*), explaining the struggles of various peoples affected by the current food system globally, citing definitions of the term as used by the US Food Sovereignty Alliance and Pedal and Plow (pedalandplow.com), and mentioning which countries have recognized the principle in their national constitutions and other laws. Lastly, Frisbie talks about the Diné Policy Institute's Food Sovereignty Initiative, funded by the First Nations Development Institute and W.K. Kellogg Foundation, whose aim is to "examine the effects of modern food production on the environment, the economy, health, and Navajo culture; to determine where the Navajo originally obtained their food and how that differs from today; and what role colonization and food play in current health, social, and economic issues" (37). Frisbie learnt about the project from a presentation by Dana Eldridge (2012), a DPI research assistant at the time, and through later conversations with her. According to Eldridge, there is a growing interest in relearning food traditions on the reservation, as confirmed by articles in the tribal newspapers, the *Navajo Times* and *Leading the Way*. Eldridge also describes the ultimately successful attempt (although not without resistance from the Navajo Nation Council) on the part of the Diné Community Advocacy Alliance to introduce a two percent junk-food tax on the reservation.

However, it is only by relying heavily on information obtained from Eldridge that Frisbie manages to frame the issue of Navajo foodways in the context of past and present colonial policies towards the Navajo Nation and the decolonizing practices of the Navajo people, especially grass roots organizations and the Diné Food Sovereignty Initiative itself. Moreover, apart from tangentially mentioning some of its actors, the author fails to adequately present Navajo food sovereignty in the context of the larger Native American food sovereignty movement. What is also noticeable is the very scarce referencing of scholarly work on Indigenous food sovereignty. Frisbie simply refers to a few authors, instead of substantively discussing their work; moreover, the references only appear in the context of Eldridge's presentation: "[Eldridge] mentioned the work of Milburn (2004) on indigenous nutrition and the fact that today one in three Navajos on the reservation has diabetes" (39). Including more information on the Native American food sovereignty movement and discussing scholarly literature on the subject would give the reader a fuller understanding of food sovereignty on the Navajo reservation.

Chapter Two, titled "Subsistence Practices in Tall Woman's Family", offers a detailed ethnographic description, based on Tall Woman's narratives, of what the Navajos ate, the equipment they used to find, grow, and process food, and the methods they employed to prepare and store foods. It describes the meaning of different plants, animals, and cooking tools to the Navajos, ideas about sharing food with family and community, the division of gender roles – in particular foraging and farming tasks, and the various culinary and non-culinary uses of particular parts of animals, among others. It also provides extremely detailed, instruction-like descriptions of the butchering of particular farm animals. The chapter starts with foraging practices, yet it focuses largely on the farming and raising of animals and crops. It provides an interesting account of the changes in farming technology that were visible on the reservation in the 1960s and of the traditional farming techniques that were still practiced in Tall Woman's family. Moreover, it contains a number of photos of Tall Woman and of cooking and farming

equipment, such as outdoor mud ovens, which neatly illustrate the detailed descriptions provided. As a whole, it underscores Tall Woman's role as a provider of food in her family.

Chapter Three, "Defeating Hunger by Making Something from the Earth: Cooking with Tall Woman", is a lengthy (approx. 130 pages) account of Tall Woman's recipes, which were divided into seven sections by her remaining children in 2014-2015: "Wild Foods"; "Possible Additives"; "Cultivated Crops"; "Cake, Breads, Dumplings and Marbles (...); "Meat ('*Atsj*')"; "Stews, Soups, and Mushes ('*Atoo*')"; and "Drinkable Substances (*Dajidlá*)". In the beginning of the chapter, Frisbie once again refers to the Navajo Origin narratives and explains how it is the responsibility of Navajo women to keep Hunger – one of the monsters that was allowed to live among the people to remind them "that it was up to them to be actively involved in their own well-being" – at bay (113). The author explains that the recipes to follow are not like those readers may find in an Anglo cookbook. One of the reasons is that Tall Woman cooked most of her food outside over a fire, in pits, or in an earthen oven. Laudably, wanting to be as truthful to Tall Woman's narrative as possible, Frisbie retained the style in which Tall Woman recounted the recipes to her in the book. This means that some of them are in recipe format, with item-by-item descriptions, while others contain descriptions of what Navajos would do with the foods, or where and when they would find them, and some of them are a mixture of both. Furthermore, in some cases, several recipes can be found for one item. This chapter makes the overall text a great resource for anyone interested in learning about and cooking Navajo foods, both foods that are considered more traditional and those influenced by American foodways, such as the popular frybread. The chapter also includes some photos of the dishes for which recipes are provided.

In the last chapter "Reflections", the author reminisces on what she learned from Tall Woman and what she considers of interest for future research by other scholars. She suggests a botanical study of the plants used by Tall Woman (now that the descriptions of the plants are provided in the text) as well as a linguistic study of the names of the plants. She also proposes a comparison with other recipes published for the same foods. Moreover, Frisbie suggests further inquiry into the food sovereignty movement on the reservation. In this context, she mentions the recent rise in popularity of Native chefs and their restaurants, such as Loretta Barrett Oden (Potawatomi) and Navajo Chef Freddie Bitsoie. She also remarks on the rising interest in food sovereignty and precolonial foods on the Navajo reservation, mentioning the work of Native Seeds/SEARCH, which offers packets of heirloom seeds to those interested, workshops for community members on how to build earth ovens, as well as other agricultural and garden projects.

The text also contains another appendix, Appendix B, which provides a history of restaurants in Chinle, Arizona. Frisbie states in its beginning that those not interested in the subject can feel free to skip it. As such, it does not add a great deal to the understanding of Navajo foodways. Furthermore, the book also contains a glossary of Navajo words which the author uses throughout the book and which constitutes one of its major assets.

In summary, the book is a useful and engaging resource for anyone interested in Navajo foodways, Navajo language pertaining to food, and Navajo recipes. It is also a testimony to Tall Woman's expansive knowledge of traditional foodways. Moreover, it offers a brief overview of how Navajo foodways have changed (especially in the twentieth century), an introduction to the legal and cultural definitions of food sovereignty, and current food sovereignty policies and practices on the Navajo reservation (up to 2016). However, it neither engages in the wider

discussion on Indigenous food sovereignty, nor adds to the theoretical discourse on the subject. The chapters describing the foodways and food sovereignty practices in Tall Woman's family are not sufficiently contextualized within the little background on (Indigenous) food sovereignty provided. Therefore, the book might not be of great interest to academics who are working with the broader critical considerations of the issue, as opposed to an ethnographic study of Navajo foodways.

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J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, ed. *Speaking of Indigenous Politics: Conversations with Activists, Scholars, and Tribal Leaders*. University of Minnesota Press, 2018. 369 pp. ISBN: 9781517904784.

<https://www.upress.umn.edu/book-division/books/speaking-of-indigenous-politics>

As a polyvocal chronicle, critique, and catalyst at the intersections between global and local Indigenous politics, Kanaka Maoli scholar J. Kēhaulani Kauanui's collection is a reinvigorating contribution that limns the ongoing importance of the topics discussed within, even "[a]s the dominant culture continues to marginalize Native issues" (xxi). As such I want to make clear that *Speaking of Indigenous Politics* is vital.

Kauanui's radio show *Indigenous Politics: From Native New England and Beyond* ran between February of 2007 through until July 2013. The broadcast generated almost two hundred conversations with a diverse panoply of voices, all of whom are individually acknowledged at the end of the editor's introduction. Although this book was limited to a selection of twenty-seven perspectives (twenty-eight including Kauanui herself,) I urge readers to take the time to explore the rich catalogue of programmes (<https://itunes.apple.com/us/podcast/indigenous-politics-2011/id623837802?mt=2>) for which this collection bears a splendid standard. Keep in mind, however, that the act of putting together a collection of this type is not a straightforward process of curation and conversion from audio to print. Or, rather, this process of curation and conversion is not straightforward. The late Susan Berry Brill de Ramírez employed the term "listener-reader" to evince a relationship of active participation between reader and text (1). Whilst her formulation pertains more specifically to Native American fiction, the concept is salient here too. The position of reader-listener is one that Kauanui places herself in throughout, parsing the particularities of legal cases, critical concepts, and history in such a way as to "become a co-creative participant" in their transmission (Brill de Ramírez 131). Under her guidance, the local remains distinctly local, yet also resonates out into a wider discursive context of Indigenous sovereignty. Consequently, *Speaking of Indigenous Politics'* audience is entreated to follow suit; each reader positions themselves in that same space of active listener-readership.

One might be excused for failing to identify a clear organising principle around which Kauanui situates the myriad discussions presented in this collection. Settler colonialism emerges as the prevailing process of oppression confronting the various Indigenous peoples represented here, but beyond that the tone is loose. The interviews do not unfold chronologically, nor has Kauanui elected to cluster them in thematic subsections. A 2009 interview with Kathleen A. Brown-Pérez (Brothertown Indian Nation) concerning her tribe's continuing pursuit of federal recognition seems as though it would gel cohesively with a pair of discussions with Chief Richard Velky from 2007, in which he diagnoses the chicanery of commercial lobbyists as central to the federal government's withdrawal of acknowledgement for the Schaghticoke Tribal Nation. Despite the evident commonalities, though, these interviews appear at opposite ends of the book. Moreover, the collection's lack of an index prevents interlocutors from cherry-picking isolated soundbites germane to their own research.

Of course, this could be frustrating for some (just show me a scholar who can honestly say they have never taken three index-sourced pages as undergirding for an argument,) and yet these editorial choices are carefully and critically made in order to resist conceptual

compartmentalisation. Kauanui's refusal to arrange *Speaking of Indigenous Politics* based on easy divisions of affiliation, geography, theoretical field, or indeed along a chrononormative timeline highlights the intermeshed nature of the countervailing colonial forces that continue to suppress Indigenous sovereignties worldwide. As Jessica Cattelino points out in her interview on Seminole gaming, 'sovereignty' is a definitionally frustrating term, and this conceptual malleability pulses through the contradistinctive ways in which Kauanui's dialogists talk through sovereignty. Hone Harawira (Ngāpuhi Nui Tonu) explains that for Māori people "*tino rangatiranga* is absolute chieftom or absolute sovereignty over lands and people" – a concept that was subjected to a calculated differentiation from sovereignty by the English for the purposes of dispossession (137). Elsewhere, Aileen Moreton-Robinson (Quandamooka) emphasises that "Indigenous sovereignty is not necessarily configured through the discourse of rights" despite the importance of Indigenous recognition within the settler-colonial matrix of sovereignty "which is very much shaped by the social contract" (217). Of course, it is precisely this fluidity that renders sovereignty such a significant ideological lodestone for politically and culturally diverse peoples. The troubling of settler classifications of sovereignty, which are entrenched in a monotheistic epistemological history of Eurocentricity, is one facet of what Vizenor terms "shadow survivance" (63), whereby the dominant discourse and its acolytes are confronted with an Indigenous political presence that is neither familiar enough to absorb nor alien enough to expunge. This informs "the anxiety of settler-colonial societies regarding the persistent Indigenous sovereignty question" (Kauanui 355) and each distinct formulation that comes out of these discussions contributes to the "*sui generis* sovereign[ies]" that Vizenor identifies in *Fugitive Poses* as being entangled with transmotion (15).

Robert Warrior (enrolled member of the Osage Nation) speaks with Kauanui about his seminal notion of "intellectual sovereignty" and it bears remembering that, as sovereignty resonates through multivalent registers of expression, so too does settler colonialism. The settler colonial project hinges, in part, on the successive compartmentalisation of Indigenous populations to progressively diminishing and dislocated spaces as part of a multifaceted campaign of erasure against Indigenous sovereignties. Kauanui positions these co-generative discussions on Indigenous sovereignty in a constellational array that abjures such a partitioning of issues. We listener-readers, therefore, are issued with a clarion challenge to trace the vectors that connect the issues and opportunities voiced by the radio show's (and subsequently this collection's) contributors. These are conversations that dovetail with one another, but not always in obvious ways. The reader must navigate the pages with agility, reading back – and forward – to understand the multivalent patterns of Indigenous resistance that subvert "the contradiction, the erasure, the invisibility" imposed by settler states (250).

Kauanui speaks with scholars, activists, and leaders from Indigenous communities around the world, spurred by the conviction that "indigeneity is a counterpart analytic to settler colonialism", and yet her critiques do not fall prey to a homogenising narrative of ubiquity in Indigenous politics (xiv). Kauanui's queries, prompts, and sparse interjections are generally concise, seldom running for more than three lines of text, and these contributions are characterised by an impressive specificity and a crucial depth of localised understanding. Although the book is suffused with an ethic of coalitional Indigenous solidarity, the interviews are treated "in their immediate context through a global approach to addressing the ongoing nature of settler-colonial domination and Indigenous resistance" (xxiii). For this methodology to remain sufficiently robust, the interviewer must dextrously thread between the local and the

global to avoid synecdochic generalisations. Furthermore, they need to demonstrate acute insight into the specific historical and contemporary forces that confront the interviewee. In *Speaking of Indigenous Politics*, these discussions span varied pressure points including Zionist desecrations of “the oldest and probably the most venerated burial ground in Palestine” (172), Wampanoag language revitalisation efforts in Massachusetts, and the intricate complexities of the late James Luna’s (Luiseño) ironic installation art. Even with such a breadth to contend with, Kauanui pivots unerringly with her guests’ discursive styles, which, given their heterogenous perspectives and backgrounds, are anything but uniform.

Warrior notes in his foreword that Kauanui’s radio show “harnessed [a] subversive energy at a particularly opportune moment, just as international Indigenous politics was coming to a critical juncture” in the wake of the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), which was adopted in 2007 (ix). And yet one of the attendant perils to any such point of political apogee is the difficulty of nourishing that ‘moment’ and then impelling it into a palpable sense of momentum. This is particularly true when a relatively hypervisible piece of legislation like UNDRIP comes along and courts the risk of eclipsing community-specific Indigenous issues. Tonya Gonnella Frichner (Onondaga Nation) was involved in the drafting process of the UNDRIP, and she warns in *Speaking of Indigenous Politics* that, “for all the wonderful language we have in the declaration”, it must not be taken as sovereignty realised nor justice served. A tremendous synthesis of effort, attention, and acumen is required to sustain the momentum of watershed moments, and the subsurface labour that Kauanui poured into this endeavour deserves recognition. To prepare herself to present, produce, engineer, and direct *Indigenous Politics*, Kauanui undertook a range of training to equip herself with the requisite skillset. This diligence is palpable, conveyed in the lucidity of the discussions presented in *Speaking of Indigenous Politics*.

The publication of this collection six years after *Indigenous Politics*’ final episode and nearly a decade after the majority of the interviews contained within constitutes yet another challenge presented to the attentive listener-reader. Although Kauanui provides a brief update of most of the issues discussed in the interviews’ prefaces, she takes care not to let these primers dominate the conversations that follow. This is in service of more than just the avoidance of spoilers. As I moved forward, backward and all ways in between across the collection, I also found myself exhorted to follow up, compelled to find out what became of and, more importantly, what is still becoming of these situations. In some instances, such as when Kauanui presents two conversations with Margo Tamez (Ndé Konitsaaiigokiyaa’en) concerning Indigenous legal activism against a U.S.-Mexico border wall, the contemporary political ramifications are quite immanent. Others entail longer searches – particularly for geographically and culturally distanced readers like myself – as evidenced by the developments since Kauanui spoke with David Cornsilk (Cherokee Nation) about the range of influences affecting the precarious citizenship rights of Freedmen descendants of African American slaves within the Cherokee Nation. To be sure, the rigamarole of publishing is not famed for expediency, and I don’t mean to hijack Kauanui’s intent here. Nevertheless, whether tactical or epiphenomenal, the timing of this publication could hardly be bettered inasmuch as it reflects and reifies the unabating momentum of these political relationships and struggles. Jean M. O’Brien (enrolled citizen of the White Earth Ojibwe Nation) argues within that settler-colonial polities are characterised by a systematic enterprise of “putting Indians in the past” to “subtly seize indigeneity for themselves”, and her critique applies to Indigenous oppression writ large (245). Kauanui, then, has

accomplished something significant by exploding these political conversations across time, thereby limning their ongoing presence and eschewing historical closure.

The commonalities that Kauanui teases out of these interviews from around the Indigenous world gather in ideological creases. These creases are coalitional sites of multivalent sovereign resistances, that, through Kauanui's adroit editorial efforts, emphasise solidarity in a fashion that still rebukes the kind of toxic equivalence we see come out of reductive settler colonial narratives that decoct Indigenous peoples into indigenous people. As I claimed at the outset, *Speaking of Indigenous Politics* is vital, and I mean that in all connotations of the word.

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Ingrid R. G. Waldron. *There's Something in the Water: Environmental Racism in Indigenous and Black Communities*. Manitoba: Fernwood Publishing, 2018. 184 pp. ISBN: 9781773630571.

<https://fernwoodpublishing.ca/book/there8217s-something-in-the-water>

State actors and private firms have disproportionately subjected Indigenous communities and communities of color in North America to air, water, and soil pollution, and systematically excluded these communities from access to healthy recreational and subsistence activities, both historically and today. Moreover, Canada and the United States have dispossessed Indigenous communities of their lands and lifeways and have engaged in multiple forms of the elimination of Native peoples (Wolfe 2006). However, there is a dearth of research and theoretical engagement that brings together both settler colonial theory and Critical Environmental Justice (CEJ) studies. Fortunately, Ingrid R. G. Waldron's theoretically rich and incisive analysis of environmental racism in Nova Scotia, Canada, expertly puts these frameworks into conversation, and thus pushes the field forward in considering these deeply enmeshed issues. Using settler colonialism and CEJ as a theoretical framework, Waldron contends that issues of environmental racism cannot be disentangled from racial capitalism, and other forms of systemic social structures "within which race, gender, income, class, and other social factors get inscribed in subtle ways to cause harm to mostly rural, remote, geographically isolated and, therefore, 'invisible' communities" in Nova Scotia (16). Building on her work with the Environmental Noxiousness, Racial Inequalities, and Community Health Project (the ENRICH project), Waldron argues for expanding the lens of environmental justice in Canada by considering "how racist environmental policies, as well as other kinds of state policies, have enabled the cultural genocide of Indigenous, Black, and other racialized peoples" (10).

Waldron lists four objectives of her book: the first and main objective addresses the limitations of the environmental justice lens in Nova Scotia, and Canada more broadly, by "opening a discursive space for a more critical dialogue on how environmental racism manifests within the context of white supremacy, settler colonialism, state-sanctioned racial and gendered forms of violence, patriarchy, neoliberalism, and racial capitalism" (5). Second, the book aims to illustrate how environmental racism is a structural and systemic issue associated with the types of violence listed above. Third, colonial legacies and structural "pre-existing and long-standing social and economic inequalities," such as poverty and low educational attainment, undermine the capacity of communities to politically and legally oppose these pollutants, thus making the communities more vulnerable to environmental harms (6). Finally, Waldron documents "the long history of struggle, grassroots resistance, and mobilization in Indigenous and Black communities to address environmental racism" (6).

To achieve the book's objectives, Waldron builds off of David Pellow's four pillars of the Critical Environmental Justice framework, which pushes scholars to think intersectionally about the formation and impacts of environmental injustice (Pellow 2017). Indeed, while foregrounding race in all discussions of environmental racism is paramount, Waldron embraces Pellow's first argument that more attention ought to be paid to how multiple social identities might intersect to produce environmental injustice. Second, Waldron argues that the reformist agenda embraced by many environmental justice scholars and activists working within the

present systems has generally failed, as it “leaves intact the power structures within which environmental racism manifests”; therefore, Indigenous and Black communities must engage in an unabashedly “transformative anti-authoritarian agenda” (9). Third, Waldron engages with CEJ’s undertheorized idea of racialized and marginalized human populations as expendable and disposable, since states and industrial firms see them as “inferior, lacking in value” (9). Finally, Waldron embraces a multi-scalar approach, arguing that CEJ scholars “must understand the impacts of environmental justice from the cellular or bodily level to the global level and back...these issues can’t be discussed separately from their impacts on the souls, minds, and bodies of Indigenous and racialized peoples” (9-10). Most excitingly, however, Waldron’s engagement with settler colonial theory elucidates how all environmental justice struggles in what are currently Canada and the United States are affixed to the historical and contemporary practices of colonial systems. Waldron threads this theory throughout the book to illustrate how spatial arrangements of communities that result in the disproportionate exposure to toxins are intimately tied to settler colonialism and racial capitalism, not as discrete manifestations, but as the intended effect of structural formations hundreds of years in the making.

Although the book primarily discusses theories of environmental justice, settler colonialism, and structural racism, the chapters also offer important lessons grounded in empirical work. Chapter 1, for example, provides perhaps the most accessible and actionable writing about Waldron’s experience with the ENRICH project. Through her ethnography, Waldron underscores the importance of community-based participatory research, especially working with Indigenous and other marginalized communities. Moreover, this chapter provides empirical evidence backing Waldron’s assertion that environmental justice scholars and activists must work to dismantle the structures that enable environmental racism and systemic injustice, not simply reform them.

Chapter 2 provides the reader with an in-depth analysis of the relationship among settler colonialism, racial capitalism, and environmental injustice, illustrating how EJ activists and scholars in Canada have failed to grapple with land value as deeply inscribed with racial ideologies, and thus have used a rather limited environmental justice lens in their work. The theoretical discussion of these intersecting issues provides the grounding for Waldron’s assertion that environmental racism “is a visible manifestation of racial capitalism” (49). Building on the discussions from the previous pages, Chapter 3 draws upon George Lipsitz’s “white spatial imaginary,” to illustrate how certain spaces are deemed expendable by the state as well as industrial firms (Lipsitz 2007). Waldron argues that this type of *ideological* mapping results in *material* impacts on Indigenous and other marginalized communities of color. Specifically, Waldron argues that “environmental racism must be theorized and articulated as a form of spatial violence in the way that it enacts authoritarian control over knowledge systems, bodies, and spaces” (65).

Chapter 4 discusses the main pillars of the environmental justice framework, explores how more inclusive democratic consultation by government agencies can help mitigate risk, and applies these ideas to specific cases in Nova Scotia. But most importantly, this chapter discusses how Nova Scotia’s unique racial history is more similar to that of the United States than to the rest of Canada. Therefore, Canadian environmental justice scholars must consider race as a primary factor in the placement of polluting industries and environmental toxins in Indigenous and other marginalized Nova Scotian communities.

In Chapter 5, Waldron's most compelling contribution involves reframing environmental health inequalities using a more holistic lens. Waldron argues that researchers must move beyond mere quantitative research to better understand the multiple, overlapping, and interacting stressors that impact the physical *and* mental health of Indigenous and Black communities. Indeed, environmental justice scholars' primary focus on toxins and pollution has obscured other important aspects, such as intergenerational trauma, forced migration, land dispossession, and disrupted lifeways and interactions with more-than-human beings, which carry profound psychological, physical, and social impacts (see, for example, Hoover 2017 and Whyte 2018). Waldron's holistic, multi-scalar focus moves CEJ studies in the right direction and offers lessons for other scholars.

Chapter 6 provides multiple case studies of environmental injustice and, moreover, narratives of resistance by Indigenous and Black Nova Scotian communities. However, though these case studies, as well as those in Chapter 4, provide important information and examples, they read more as a collection of reports without a clear narrative thread, which could cause the reader's attention to wane. Finally, Waldron's conclusion discusses the implications and efficacy of possible policy solutions, as well as how Indigenous and Black communities can undertake multi-pronged actions and solutions to environmental injustice in their communities.

This book is essential reading for scholars and activists interested in real and lasting environmental justice. However, though Waldron is clear and concise in her writing, many parts of the book engage dense theoretical language and therefore might be less useful for a non-academic audience. This could have been mitigated by employing a narrative storytelling writing style supported by empirical ethnographic evidence. Nevertheless, *There's Something in the Water* is a critical and very welcome book that pushes the boundaries of CEJ studies, and, just as important, puts settler colonial studies in conversation with the pressing environmental health issues Indigenous and other marginalized communities historically and continue to face.

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<https://uofmpress.ca/books/detail/rooster-town>

In *Rooster Town*, Dr. Evelyn Peters, and her research associates Matthew Stock and Adrian Werner, shine a light on the largely ignored topic of urban Métis experiences. Drawing upon administrative databases (censuses, voter lists, WWI military records, Manitoba Vital Statistics, building permits and the like), newspaper records, Métis genealogies, scrip records, and interviews with former residents, the authors present a history of Rooster Town (or *Pakan Town*, the Michif word for hazelnut, as the Métis themselves refer to it) – a community on the fringes of southwest urban Winnipeg composed largely of Métis people who had been dispossessed, first of land promised to them in the Manitoba Act (1870), then from Rooster Town itself in the early 1960s.

Readers are taken on an intriguing journey beginning with the history of the Manitoba Métis, including dispossession from their lands, the formation and consolidation of the Métis community of Rooster Town, pressures in Winnipeg (including depression and inflation, chronic housing shortages, inadequate social supports) and their impacts upon Rooster Town across the six decades of its existence (1901-1961). A meticulous sifting through existing records enables the authors to track Rooster Town population fluctuations as they related to the Great Depression, the World Wars, and the interwar period, among other historic and municipal contexts.

The authors demonstrate that Métis experiences of settler colonialism, as evidenced by Rooster Town, were similar in ways yet differed significantly from those of First Nations. Peters, Stock, and Werner illuminate ways that colonial and administrative practices contributed to those differences, including federal government refusal to recognize Métis collective Indigenous rights to land, refusal to create reserves for the Métis, and insistence that the Métis fall under provincial jurisdiction. Whereas federal jurisdiction and recognition of First Nations' collective rights to land enabled them to sign treaties, Métis land rights were supposedly extinguished on an individual basis – though it should be noted that some Métis scholars, such as Dr. Adam Gaudry and Prof. Larry Chartrand of the Métis Treaties Research Project (2017), argue that Métis-settler relations in Canada have indeed produced treaties (for example, Louis Riel and the Métis provisional government of 1870 referred to the Manitoba Act (1870) as the “Manitoba Treaty” and the “Métis Treaty” (Gaudry 2016; Shore 1999)).

In addition to addressing the gap in scholarship regarding Métis urban experiences, and impressive attention to detail, the real strength of *Rooster Town* lies in its successful dismantling of colonial narratives that depict Indigenous people as out of place in modern urban society. Since Métis people were not systematically removed from urban areas and confined to rural reserves, as most First Nation people were, many Métis remained in the city and attempted to make a good life for their families. Peters, Stock, and Werner convincingly argue that Métis

urbanization was an adaptive strategy, rather than a failure to cope with city life. The authors highlight Métis agency, resilience, and adaptability in challenging colonial processes through explicit resistance, and refusing colonizers' attempts to move them. Moreover, Métis at Rooster Town also made efforts to improve their conditions by self-building, and their (likely strategic) decision to continue living clustered together with other Métis for decades (as evidenced by endogamous marriage, kinship, and residence patterns) which provided a buffer against the poverty and racism surrounding them.

Importantly, the authors challenge the view that Métis received the land promised to them in the Manitoba Act, or received good prices if they decided to sell their land, as argued most notably by Thomas Flanagan and Gerhard Ens (1994) on behalf of the government. Following the trail of records for Rooster Town Métis individuals who supposedly received land or good prices for it, the authors highlight that marginal, low-cost locations of households, overcrowding of relatives within a single dwelling, and low estimated worth of such dwellings all counter Flanagan and Ens's claims. In this they are not alone: other authors, including Métis scholar Darren O'Toole (2010), also dispute Flanagan and Ens's claims that the government fairly and systematically distributed the land promised to the Métis in the Manitoba Act and that subsequent land dispossession is the fault of Métis themselves. The accuracy of documentation of land transactions is specifically called into question by the authors – it seems Métis did not receive the recorded sales amounts for property, nor did land transactions lead to economic security.

Peters, Stock, and Werner also expose the role media played, via newspaper propaganda, in creating racist stereotypes of Métis in Rooster Town as unemployed, lazy, diseased, tax-evading criminals, living and partying in tarpaper shacks. While Rooster Town did experience economic marginality, the newspapers chose not to also publicize Métis contributions to the economy of Winnipeg, socio-economic heterogeneity and long-time gainful employment for some, or participation in Winnipeg society via the public school system among other avenues. Such portrayals would have made it difficult for Winnipeg officials to justify their lack of support and services to Rooster Town and the eventual forced dispersal of inhabitants in favour of Grant Park Shopping Centre and other amenities. Suburbanization engendered the branding of Rooster Town residents as so-called "squatters"; this and shady eviction tactics (such as government threats to withhold relief unless families moved) are also explored by Peters, Stock, and Werner.

Another strength of the book can be found in the authors' acknowledgement of the risks of cultural appropriation within their work as non-Indigenous scholars researching and writing aspects of Indigenous history. Ultimately, their decision to pursue the topic rested upon timing (interviews with surviving, elderly Rooster Town residents needed to happen now while a few are still with us), finances, and time-commitment – Dr. Peters's Canada Research Chair provided the resources that enabled this expensive and time-consuming research. Throughout the research, the authors kept the Manitoba Metis Federation well-informed, delivering progress reports and public talks and making sure to invite former Rooster Town residents. The authors are quick to note that they do not aim to provide an account of Rooster Town from Métis perspectives – appropriately, they encourage Métis scholars to undertake that work – but, rather, they

reconstruct a history of the community using settler records while challenging colonial interpretations. While it is refreshing that the authors honestly address the risks of cultural appropriation, their work would benefit from a deeper exploration of their social locations and the implications and consequences of non-Indigenous researchers undertaking such research. More could be said about their individual and collective relationships with Indigenous peoples, their attempts to undertake ethical work, and their efforts to remain accountable to Rooster Town residents and the Manitoba Métis. Nonetheless, Dr. Peters, Stock, and Werner offer other non-Indigenous authors a good example of how to openly and honestly address risks of cultural appropriation in scholarly work.

Rooster Town argues that the dissolution of Métis fringe communities has created an ongoing legacy of distrust and anger, and that more research is needed to correct the silencing of such communities in urban histories, economies, and cultures. The authors conclude that efforts to explore resistance to settler colonialism within these communities represent an important step in the process of reconciliation. Indeed, folks interested in urban history and geography, Métis Studies, Indigenous relationships with settler colonialism, and Métis dispossession of land in Manitoba, among others have much to gain by reading *Rooster Town*.

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<https://uofmpress.ca/books/detail/indigenous-homelessness>

Despite the overrepresentation of Indigenous people in the homeless populations of Canada, Australia and New Zealand, studies of homelessness have so far failed to consider the specificity of Indigenous homelessness in culturally relevant ways. Arguing that homelessness is “endemic to experiences of colonialism” (323) and indeed rooted in colonial practices, editors Peters and Christensen have drawn together chapters which resituate the crisis of Indigenous homelessness away from social pathologies, discourses of poverty, addiction and mental health. *Indigenous Homelessness* is a timely, important work which considers in detail a diverse range of Indigenous perspectives, illustrative of the scale and scope of contemporary Indigenous homelessness in order to address the prevailing “apathy and even passive acceptance” (10) that currently surrounds this phenomenon.

Indigenous Homelessness is organised into three sections, which separately focus on homelessness in Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Introductory chapters usefully lay out the colonial and socio-economic contexts within each country, and the extent of what is currently known about Indigenous homelessness, as well as current areas of focus for policy makers. Whilst this structure enables detailed discussions within each national context, it does limit the extent to which comparisons can be made. One might have wished for a more balanced structure: nine chapters are devoted to Canada whilst five chapters explore homelessness in Australia and three chapters concentrate on New Zealand. That being said, the book is structured with an accumulative effect in mind, meaning ideas and concepts initially raised in the chapters on Canadian homelessness are brought into dialogue with the discussions focused on the other countries. Indeed, this accumulative effect is most apparent in Peters’s conclusion to *Indigenous Homelessness*, which makes some of the book’s most valuable comparisons. Individual chapters, which might have adopted their own comparative approach, are unfortunately lacking in this edited collection but, as has been noted, this is an understudied aspect in homelessness scholarship and perhaps such comparative work might now follow on from Peters and Christensen’s work, utilising the methodologies and concepts raised in *Indigenous Homelessness*.

Peters’s illuminating conclusion identifies broad themes across the multitude of perspectives offered in the collection as a whole: legacies of colonialism; policy-driven homelessness; cultural survival and resistance; specificity of places and identities. Addressing the complex challenges posed by Indigenous homelessness, Peters argues, requires a greater understanding of these themes as well as the willingness to confront the cultural assumptions and structural racism embedded within existing practices. Peters advocates (as indeed does the book as a whole) for the involvement of Indigenous people in community-engaged scholarship to build upon the findings within *Indigenous Homelessness*.

The many settings, methodologies and culturally specific aspects of homelessness—be it “absolute,” “hidden,” “at risk of” or “spiritually” homeless—presented in Peters and

Christensen's expansive work are too varied to summarise here. There are, however, particular chapters that achieve an exemplary balance between local and global challenges posed by Indigenous homelessness. Employing a Blackfoot (Niitsítapi) conception of land lends Belanger and Lindstrom's chapter, "'All We Needs Is Our Land': Exploring Southern Alberta Urban Indigenous Homelessness," an important tribal specificity. Yet their concern for the experience of "being homeless in one's homeland" (163) and spiritual homelessness speaks to a wider problem shared by many communities discussed in this work. Research such as this, informed as it is by brief considerations of similar work from other geographical contexts, provides an exemplary approach to addressing Indigenous homelessness; local cultural frameworks and methods lead to discussions that have an empowering relevance which reaches to issues faced by Indigenous populations more broadly.

Without adequate definitions and models of Indigenous homelessness, public policy is not properly equipped to address it and even risks exacerbating the issue. Greenop and Memmott's chapter, "'We Are Good-Heart People, We Like to Share': Definitional Dilemmas of Crowding and Homelessness in Urban Indigenous Australia," illustrates this in relation to Australian models of crowding. They find that statistical measures of homelessness and crowding are culturally constructed to extend Anglo-Australian norms of behaviour and housing use. The authors call for an evidence-based policy that does not assimilate cultural values and discuss positive Indigenous practices behaviours surrounding sociality and mobility, caring for country and kin, that are mistakenly interpreted as examples of crowding.

In the section on New Zealand, Groot and Peters's introductory chapter outlines the ways in which New Zealand lacks a nationally coordinated response to homelessness. That the delivery of social housing and service provision appears to fall behind parallel efforts in Canada and Australia might explain the corresponding paucity of research into Māori homelessness. Whilst this third section of *Indigenous Homelessness* is unfortunately smaller than the preceding sections, the ideas presented are nonetheless significant to the field. In "*Tūrangawaewae Kore: Nowhere to Stand*," Brown comprehensively explains *tūrangawaewae*, the Maori concept of having an ancestral place to land, before stressing the need for long-term strategies that might decolonise national policy and prioritise Māori spiritual identification with ancestral landscapes. Brown's discussion covers a multigenerational experience, of both rural and urban homelessness, to provide a detailed account of the processes by which colonisation has caused Indigenous homelessness in New Zealand.

If colonisation is in part, as contributors Bonnycastle, Simpkins and Siddle argue, "a contest over whose knowledge matters" (117), then surely this necessary study is an important step in countering the underrepresentation of Indigenous people in current studies of homelessness. Prioritising Indigenous concepts—from *tūrangawaewae* to home/journeying in the Northwest Territories and Australian Aboriginal structures of kinship—allows *Indigenous Homelessness* to assert how Indigenous knowledge should matter to researchers and policy-makers facing the challenges posed by homelessness.

Indigenous Homelessness succeeds in its exploration of pliable analytical concepts—such as "spiritual homelessness"—with which we can consider Indigenous homelessness in specific local contexts. Several contributors note the dangers of extrapolating findings from one geographic location to another, yet, as Peters's conclusion suggests, there are respectful ways in which the individual cultural experiences of homelessness can be connected across distinct geographies

because of shared colonial histories. Readers of *Transmotion* might want to consider ideas presented in this work in relation to Indigenous homelessness amongst Native American populations. Certainly, the comprehensive examinations of homelessness in Canada would seem applicable to a broader North American context. Given the expertise of the editors, this book is of particular use for social and cultural geographers across all former settler colonies. Across Indigenous literary studies, researchers interested in Indigenous wellbeing, identity through relationships to land and the continuing legacy of colonialism should welcome the important discussions presented in this edited collection.

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Timothy Cochrane. *Gichi Bitobig, Grand Marais: Early Accounts of the Anishinaabeg and the North Shore Fur Trade*. University of Minnesota Press, 2018. 249 pp. ISBN 978-1-5179-0593-4.

<https://www.upress.umn.edu/book-division/books/gichi-bitobig-grand-marais>

Readers of *Transmotion* will be accustomed to history monographs, and also to editions of historical documents mined from archives, whether they be journals, memoirs, missionary relations, exploration narratives, or political manifestos. There is a potential, however, for these two common book formats to blend into one another. Many of us can probably recall reading an edition of a document or a literary text for which the introduction and other apparatus was longer than the document itself.

Gichi Bitobig, Grand Marais is such a book, except that the primary texts edited here – journals written by the chief factors of a new fur trade post during its first two winters on the North Shore of Lake Superior – are not entirely new nor particularly extraordinary. Instead, the logbook by Bela Chapman and the journal by George Johnston, who commanded the post established by the American Fur Company from 1823 to 1825, provide anchors for a monograph that delivers what the subtitle promises: *Early Accounts of the Anishinaabeg and the North Shore Fur Trade*. Author Timothy Cochrane worked a long career with the National Park Service of the United States, at parks in Alaska as well as in Northern Minnesota and Michigan, and served for twenty years as superintendent of Grand Portage National Monument, on the Canadian border about fifty kilometers northeast of Grand Marais. He is also the author of two previous books about Isle Royale, an island near the middle of Lake Superior that has been a National Park since 1940. Cochrane has worked extensively with Anishinaabeg tribal leaders in the area by virtue of his jobs with the park service.

Both Chapman’s and Johnston’s journals convey a sense of suffering, tedium, and desperation as they worked to try to build permanent shelters, collect enough firewood to stay warm, and catch enough fish to stay fed. Desultory comments on the weather and the insubordination of their men are recurring themes. A typical passage from Chapman, written March 7, 1824:

“...every thing has been wet through + through but as bad luck would have it I have no Peltry to get wet My buildings are worse than any hog pens, I am entirely cast down to see my returns, we are not arrived at spring and nothing done, to say we live would be false only stay and hardly that since March began we have taken no fish until this day” (166)

The Grand Marais post was situated on a natural harbor. The name means “large marsh” in French but may be a mis-transcription of a Quebecois dialect term *marée* which meant pond or pool, such as a harbor (see 44). The site was a stopover for canoe convoys travelling from Fond du Lac (today’s Duluth, Minnesota and Superior, Wisconsin) to the large fur trade post of Fort William, at the mouth of the Kaministiquia River in modern Thunder Bay, Ontario, just east of Grand Portage. However, the primary routes for voyageurs led up the Kaministiquia, or along the eponymous grand portage to the Pigeon River in the Hudson’s Bay watershed, and thence toward

Rainy Lake and the Red and Saskatchewan Rivers. The north shore was more thinly travelled, and Chapman tried in vain to locate Anishinaabeg who would sell him their pelts.

The book depicts a time and place where geopolitical and economic forces were on the cusp of great changes. As Cochrane explains, the post was established by the American Fur Company (founded by John Jacob Astor in 1808) in an effort to challenge the monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company, which had merged with the North West Company in 1821. Astor built the largest fortune in American capitalism in the early 19th century in part by seeking government subsidies and support for his ventures. After the Jay Treaty of 1794, the United States wished to expand its sovereignty west of the Great Lakes. The "[U.S.] Congress passed a law on April 29, 1816, that provided that 'licenses to trade with the Indians...shall not be granted to any but citizens of the United States.'" (67). Astor himself had lobbied for this measure and he saw to it that some of his factors were appointed U.S. customs officials as well. If Native trappers north of the border sold their pelts to Astor's agents, he could maintain a monopoly similar to that enjoyed by the HBC.

Chapman and Johnston distinguish their characters in their short journals. Johnston was considerably more loquacious and literary than his predecessor, and, though he referred to his new home as "Siberia," he was somewhat more successful at trade. He wrote of meetings with Anishaabeg leaders, Grand Coquin, Espagnol, and Maangozid, whom Cochrane fleshes out for the reader, with genealogies and descriptions by better-known fur trader writers including George Simpson and David Thompson. These family histories and others illustrate the *métissage* of the fur trade. Another interesting portrait Cochrane provides is of George Bonga, and his brothers Jack and Stephen, all sons of Pierre, an African servant of Alexander Henry, and Ojibwayquay, an Anishinaabe woman. George Bonga was referred to in a fur trader's writings as "the first white man that was a negro that ever traded at Leech Lake" (54).

For decades the center for fur trade research has been the Hudson Bay Company archives in Winnipeg, but the two documents published in this book are not held there, but instead among the Henry Rowe Schoolcraft papers at the Library of Congress (for Johnston, who was Schoolcraft's brother-in-law through Jane Johnston Schoolcraft), and at the Minnesota Historical Society (for Chapman). Cochrane makes a bid to shift attention of fur trade historians toward the U.S. side of the border, and has written a book that will appeal to academics and local history enthusiasts in equal measure.

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Rani-Henrik Andersson, *A Whirlwind Passed through Our Country: Lakota Voices of the Ghost Dance*. Foreword by Raymond J. DeMallie. University of Oklahoma Press, 2018. 432 pp. <https://www.oupres.com/books/14988100/a-whirlwind-passed-through-our-country>

Benjamin R. Kracht. *Religious Revitalization among the Kiowas: The Ghost Dance, Peyote, and Christianity*. University of Nebraska Press, 2018. 354 pp. <https://www.nebraskapress.unl.edu/nebraska/9781496204585/>

Accounts vary as to when Wovoka, the Paiute prophet, experienced his vision and under what circumstances. James Mooney sets it as early as 1887, while he was chopping wood. Andersson in *A Whirlwind Passed through Our Country* states it was in 1888 (he does not discuss the circumstances). Other sources say it was on January 1, 1889, when he fell into a trance during a solar eclipse. While almost all agree that while unconscious he met with the Christian God, Andersson says the “Great Spirit.”

A date earlier than 1889 seems unlikely because there is general agreement that the vision quickly spread beyond Wovoka’s Paiute community. For Indians confined to reservations, it was a message of hope. It preached a new religion and a dance (in form a Ute round dance), which aimed to invert the world created by colonialism. If performed in accordance with the teachings, it would usher in an Indian world *status quo ante*. White control over Indians would end. The earth would renew itself. Game, including buffalo, would again be plentiful. Most importantly, all the ancestors who had died since the coming of the Whites would be “raised up.” Vittorio Lanternari calls revitalization movements such as these “religions of the oppressed.”

The movement spread like wildfire in the West. Ironically, rapid transmission was facilitated, as Gerald Vizenor has pointed out, through the use of English. As with other revitalization movements, the Ghost Dance of 1889-1890 underwent local variations as it spread, being interpreted according to the values of particular tribal communities.

On the Plains, the locale for both Andersson’s book and Kracht’s *Religious Revitalization among the Kiowa*, a key change was the addition of the Ghost Dance shirt. This was a regular buckskin shirt upon which mystical symbols (thunderbirds, crosses, crescent moons) had been painted. The garment was said to render its wearer impervious to harm by bullets. This addition would lead to a misunderstanding with tragic consequences.

Wovoka’s vision was a pacifistic one. Be ethical, treat Whites well, do the dance until the inversion came. Some Whites feared the Ghost Dance as a unifying force among Indians and wondered why a pacifist religion would need shirts to protect them against bullets. The agent on the Pine Ridge panicked and requested the military. The army sent the 7th Cavalry, still stinging from Custer’s defeat fourteen years earlier. It triggered events that resulted in the Wounded Knee Massacre in December 1890.

Andersson provides a compact introduction. However, and despite the minor deviations noted above, the biggest omission in his book is any mention of the 1889-1890 movement’s antecedent. Andersson treats Wovoka’s vision as though it were *sui generis*.

“Raising up” movements, as I call them, are common enough in the Indigenous world, the salient feature being that ancestors will be resurrected. Wovoka’s movement, however, was virtually identical to one twenty years earlier, the prophet Wodziwob’s Ghost Dance of 1870. The similarity is more than coincidental. One of Wodziwob’s chief lieutenants was Tavibo, commonly accepted as Wovoka’s father.

Andersson’s introduction aside, the bulk of the book is a compilation of contemporary accounts of the Ghost Dance among the Lakota. Most, if not all of these, appeared in Eugene Beuchel’s 1978 *Lakota Tales and Texts* edited by Paul Manhart: however, the new, modern translations here restore not only readability but nuance. In the process, Andersson’s volume provides much needed context to the movement that has often been ignored by scholars.

Anthropologist Raymond DeMallie is best known for books on the Lakota, including *The Sixth Grandfather*, his restoration of Neihardt’s interviews with Black Elk. In his brief but excellent foreword he writes that, despite the gallons of ink spilled in publications about the Ghost Dance, most scholarship has assumed there was a singular Lakota point of view. He states this neglects “the obvious fact that the Lakotas, like any other group of people, had differing opinions based, for example, on social, religious, and economic factors.” Andersson’s fresh translations demonstrate that, even about something of extreme import—like the Ghost Dance—there was no single view from a homogenous group (p. ix).

In contrast to Andersson, Kracht pays full attention to the precedents of Wovoka’s movement. He examines the particularities of the Ghost Dance within one tribal nation, the Kiowas, but his book is much broader than that. He also discusses another important syncretic religious movement, the Native American Church, which uses peyote as a sacrament. Peyote is a mild hallucinogen native to Mexico. Under its influence, adherents have visions of Jesus.

Unlike the Ghost Dance, which was suppressed after Wounded Knee, peyotism and the Native American Church were tolerated by Whites because they were seen as a quietistic response to reservation life. James Mooney, however, the earliest scholar to study Wovoka’s Ghost Dance, was fired from his longstanding position with the federal government in the Bureau of American Ethnology because of his support for the Native American Church.

Members of the Native American Church disagree among themselves as to whether it is a Christian denomination. Kracht, however, also examines Kiowa participation in mainstream Christianity, especially the Indian Missionary Conference of the United Methodist Church, and how they have made it their own. In that regard, his book contributes to the state of scholarship in the past several decades on Native American Christianity (a subject too often overlooked), including Mark Clatterbuck’s *Crow Jesus* and the late historian Homer Noley’s *First White Frost*.

Of these two books, Kracht’s is the more seamless. Andersson’s book, however, with its modern look at classic Lakota texts on the Ghost Dance of 1889-1890, is an important corrective. Despite any failings, both books contribute to the understanding of American Indian religious traditions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

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Deni Ellis Béchard and Natasha Kanapé Fontaine. *Kuei, My Friend: A Conversation on Race and Reconciliation*. Vancouver: Talonbooks. 176pp. ISBN: 9781772011951
<https://talonbooks.com/books/kuei.-my-friend>

Kuei, My Friend: A Conversation on Race and Reconciliation (2018) is an epistolary exchange between Innu writer, slam poet, and artist Natasha Kanapé Fontaine, and Québécois/American writer, journalist, and photographer Deni Ellis Béchard, originally published in French in 2016 under the title *Kuei, je te salue: conversation sur le racisme*. As a bilingual reader, I am often intrigued by the changes and slippages that occur within the work of translation. In effect, a word-for-word translation of the French title into English would be *Kuei, I Greet You: A Conversation on Racism*.

Kuei is the Innu word for “hello”; both versions thus put the Innu word, the Indigenous language, first and center. The shift in translation, from “I greet you” to “my friend,” implies that a certain level of intimacy has already been established; the formality of the French greeting, from the original encounter, has shifted, in the English translation, to a recognizable friendship, a rapport, in other words, the very relationship that the two authors aim to consolidate through and by their correspondence. Indeed, Kanapé Fontaine signs her first letter to Béchard with *nuitsheuakan*, my friend. The other change, in the second part of the title, from “racism” to “race and reconciliation,” is interesting and, I argue, politically relevant to the time of publication: in December 2015, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) handed in their report.¹ As the authors state in their opening to the book (both versions), “these letters were written in the fall of 2015,” thus anticipating many of the recommendations and findings as exposed by the TRC’s report. Importantly, this shows that these conversations were and have been taking place well before the implementation of instances like the TRC. While the French version was published in 2016, the later publication date of the English version (2018) reflects some of the previous year’s political and cultural discourse regarding Canada’s 150th anniversary; and a major theme overall was reconciliation. Thus, the shift from “a conversation on racism” to “a conversation on race and reconciliation” is also noteworthy, as it does take something away from the fact that racism is alive and well in Canada.² While the issue of race is still emphasized in the English title, it is quickly coupled with that of reconciliation, coming together, forgiveness, and moving on, in and amidst our differences, in the spirit of Canada’s multiculturalism. While the very issue of reconciliation is problematized in the authors’ correspondence (specifically in the later letters), it is worth noting that the first, intended audience for *Kuei* were “high school- and college-aged” youth³; however, their “readership [quickly] turned out to be much larger and in no way limited by age” (Kanapé Fontaine and Béchard 2).

I am purposefully being nitpicky about the choice of words here to draw attention to the importance of the decisions that are made when works such as *Kuei* do, finally, hit the shelves; because, in fact, Kanapé Fontaine and Béchard’s conversations have to do with all of these aspects: race, racism, reconciliation, but most of all, reparation. For the writers, “each letter [is] like a new treaty” (105).

The epistolary exchange was prompted following an unfortunate encounter between Natasha Kanapé Fontaine and Québécois journalist Denise Bombardier at the North Shore Book Fair in Sept-Îles, in April 2015. Bombardier, in January 2015, had written a very harsh column stating

that the cultures of Indigenous Peoples were “deadly” and “antiscientific” (Bombardier, n.p.). Her comments were met with anger by many, Indigenous and non-Indigenous alike, and (amongst others) an Open Letter, co-signed by Québec’s Idle No More spokeswomen Widia Larivière and Natasha Kanapé Fontaine, alongside many others, attempted to return the insult back to its speaker: that it was Bombardier herself who was “a wavering vestige of a culture that kills, truly. The cult of ignorance; the culture of emptiness” (Larivière, n.p.). Bombardier was in attendance at the North Shore Book Fair as a guest speaker on a round table and, following her intervention, Kanapé Fontaine, accompanied by a group of Innu women, stood up with the intention of reading a text to Bombardier, wanting to “denounce some of the words that we found to be racist in one of her columns...to denounce the general racism against us” (qtd. in Durand, n.p.), but also wanting to “speak about the Innu community and about Indigenous culture in how it is constructive, luminous and millennial” (qtd. in Lachaussée, n.p.). Bombardier interrupted Kanapé Fontaine and, speaking into a microphone, spoke over the Innu poet and “read her definition of what an Indigenous person is from her *Dictionnaire amoureux du Québec* [Love Dictionary of Québec]” (Lachaussée, n.p.).

I am purposefully recounting the details of this encounter because I believe that this context is crucial in understanding not only how the book came to be, but that it speaks to a much larger problem. Indeed, Béchard, who witnessed the entire scene at the Book Fair, later told Kanapé Fontaine, “We should write a book, because if she [Bombardier] does not realize how racist what she just did is, that means there are plenty of people here who do not realize that there is banal racism” (Lachaussée, n.p.). The type of racism that Béchard is pointing to here is the kind that is internalized and goes hand-in-hand with invisible violence (Kanapé Fontaine and Béchard 98). In several letters, he recounts moving to Virginia, and then to Vancouver, and being perplexed by his classmates’ reaction to African Americans and immigrants. Béchard also recounts the slurs directed at his own French-Canadianness by people in New England (100). He speaks of his father’s racism, “a type of racism that I have heard thousands of times all over the earth, a banal and irrational racism that many humans have learned to reproduce without thinking,” to which he adds, “This is exactly what renders it so dangerous: it’s a reflex that expresses itself without effort” (24). Likewise, Kanapé Fontaine reflects on the racism that she has witnessed within her own community; it is an “intergenerational memory” (29), she writes, one that needs to be understood within the context of residential schools and the larger “wound of colonization” (30, 130). Ultimately, Kanapé Fontaine remarks, “the members of the two communities [the Whites and the First Nations] are often wounded by mutual ignorance. Each group is part of the imaginary of their neighbours... We just need to find a way to transform the images that we have of other people, to form our own ideas through direct human contact” (17). It is towards making this transformation possible, towards a better understanding, towards “compassion and comprehension” (38), that Kanapé Fontaine and Béchard’s correspondence aims to lead their readers.

“We don’t know how to listen,” writes Béchard (7). Bombardier’s decision to speak over Kanapé Fontaine, thereby silencing her, is symptomatic of settler anxiety, of an unwillingness to listen, within a space of competing sovereignties. It is also telling of a history of erasing voice and presence, of erasing humanity. In order to fully understand a situation or a story, reflects Kanapé Fontaine, it is important “to humanize it” (52), to engage with it, to respect it; it is an invitation to bear witness to the lives and experiences of others. This, of course, is what literature is all about:

“Literature,” writes B  chard, “gives us access to the interior lives of others and allows us to perceive different ways of seeing the world” (61). To read, then, is similar to listening; both can be radical acts (62). According to B  chard, if we are willing to accept that we need not always agree, but learn to read and listen respectfully, then we can aspire to a better understanding of one another. Similarly, the exercise of writing to each other, of sharing their stories – as if they were speaking with one another – is a form of active participation (107), of (re)building trust (111) and, importantly, of recognizing and acknowledging other peoples’ sovereignties (103, 112). As Kanap   Fontaine and B  chard’s conversations progress through different topics – navigating the emotional territories of childhood, loneliness, and losing oneself and others, while addressing difficult events and issues like the Oka Crisis, the war in Afghanistan, violence against women and girls, police brutality, and co-opted NGOs, eventually culminating in the realization that there is, truly, a wide-scale global, neo-colonial form of racism (128) – the reader can only be drawn into the intimacy that these two writers have carefully woven; we become privy to these stories as well. Thus, when the topic of genocide becomes the main focus of letters 24 and 25, a theme that threatens to “burst” Kanap   Fontaine’s heart open (131), one can only wonder what, indeed, of our humanity (132)?

“There cannot be reconciliation without reparation,” concludes Kanap   Fontaine in her last letter (143). For many, reconciliation is difficult to conceive of without redress. It is even “suspicious,” if and when there was not a “conciliatory experience” to begin with (Maracle 12). At the very least, it should be a personal and/or community-based process, not one that follows the dictates of the very system that is responsible for why reconciliation is a necessity. Kanap   Fontaine tells B  chard, “I’ll undertake the search for the path that will lead me to my own reconciliation. Repair myself first, repair my wounds, my personal Wound of Colonization... [Then] I’ll get down to work on reconciliation with you and between our peoples” (132). She does, however, provide what she believes are the necessary steps towards, first, reparation, and then, perhaps, reconciliation: knowledge (of the self, of the other), acknowledgement and understanding that there were people and societies that were here before “Discovery” and, most importantly, acknowledgement of the land, “the spiritual, philosophical, and human value of the territory” (143). She also calls for humility: “the humility to ask for healing” (143) and the humility “to acknowledge our mutual ignorance” (144). These steps, she concurs, are crucial to the process – a process that will take time, care, patience, and attention – not necessarily to reconciliation, but to decolonization (144).

Kuei, My Friend should be regarded as a crucial tool to begin the important work of thinking about how we can better learn about our responsibilities towards one another, towards the lands on which we are guests, and to the different Nations that are our hosts. How to become better listeners, better participants, better allies. As Kanap   Fontaine notes, early on in their epistolary exchange, “the work has begun” (48). Now is the time to find the ways to continue it.

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Notes

¹ The summary, as well as all six full volumes, the Calls for Action, and additional resources can be found on the website of the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation (<http://nctr.ca/reports.php>)

² February 2018 was particularly difficult in this respect; within weeks of each other, two important cases that had caught the attention (and hearts) of many delivered a blow to all those who were hoping for justice: the two men who were standing trial for second-degree murder – Gerald Stanley, who shot 22-year-old Colten Boushie in the head in a “freak accident” (Friesen), and Raymond Cormier, who was accused of killing and disposing of the body of 15-year-old Tina Fontaine – were found “not guilty” by, in the first instance, an “all-white” jury and, in the second instance, a “mostly white” jury (Palmater).

³ The book includes an appendix with suggestions for classroom use.

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Colleen Cardinal. *Ohpikiihaakan-Ohpimeh (Raised Somewhere Else): A 60s Scoop Adoptee's Story of Coming Home*. Fernwood Publishing, 2018. 207 pp. ISBN 97817739205.

<https://fernwoodpublishing.ca/book/ohpikiihaakan-ohpimeh-raised-somewhere-else>

Ohpikiihaakan-Ohpimeh (Raised Somewhere Else): A 60s Scoop Adoptee's Story of Coming Home (2018) calls upon readers to bear witness to the haunting effects of colonial trauma and systemic violence. This memoir retrospectively captures the painful life experiences of Colleen Cardinal and her grief as an Indigenous adoptee and survivor of Canadian child welfare. With truth, grace, and strength, the writing – which cumulates into a story of cultural reclamation and healing – commands your attention as a reader. From the outset, Cardinal articulates her story as motivated by her intention to “honour [her] sisters’ stories and validate the experiences of the hundreds of other indigenous adoptees and foster care survivors of the 60s scoop” (4). The central elements of this novel are the cumulative impacts of colonization and residential schools, with specific attention to the effects of the Canadian child welfare system on Indigenous children and their kin. The writing is compelling, forthright, and at times heart-wrenching in the painful recounting of physical, sexual, and emotional abuse. Writing in the first-person tense effectively provides the reader a window into Cardinal’s thought processes and emotions, thereby creating a strong sense of empathy and understanding in the reader. The novel is largely centered on vivid depictions of navigating and coping with violence, poverty, and misogyny through the representations of Cardinal and her sisters’ experiences. Crucially, however, the narrative is also a reminder of the perseverance and strength of the human spirit. In the concluding chapters, Cardinal embarks on healing, and her rise as a public speaker, advocate, and co-founder of the Indigenous Survivors of Child Welfare Network is inspiring. Cardinal’s remarkable life journey is admirable for her ability to turn hardship, abuse, and trauma into a story of self-discovery and self-actualization.

Dr. Raven Sinclair, a Sixties Scoop Survivor and a Professor at the University of Regina, writes a foreword about the historical context of the novel and offers a working definition of the Sixties Scoop within the first few pages. As articulated by Sinclair, the Sixties Scoop refers to the mass removal of Indigenous children from their families and communities during the late 1950s to the 1970s, who were subsequently placed in predominately white, settler homes, sometimes across the country or even abroad (1). In her first chapter, “Taoeyihtamiwin: Reckoning,” Cardinal regrets that she has only recently become fully aware of the extent of the harm committed by the Sixties Scoop (5). As suggested by Cardinal in the concluding chapter, this over-representation of Indigenous children in the child welfare system is ongoing and pervasive. This somber account in the beginning of the novel importantly situates the significance of Cardinal’s story and how it remains a relevant and pressing concern for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people interested in social justice, human rights, and equality. It’s evident that a reader unfamiliar with the Indigenous child welfare crisis in Canada will come away from this book more informed and enlightened on the Sixties Scoop and Indigenous child welfare displacement. Cardinal’s reconnection with her biological family and rediscovering her culture and becoming involved in a class action suit launched by Sixties Scoop survivors against the Canadian government assisted Cardinal’s awareness of the impacts of the Sixties Scoop (7). As a reader, you are taken on a learning journey and, in the process, acquire insight into why removing

Indigenous children from their communities and placing them into non-Indigenous homes is harmful.

Tracing the trajectory of Cardinal's life from her early experiences as a child born in 1972 to her self-actualization as a Sixties Scoop advocate in adulthood in 2017 provides in-depth insights into Indigenous adoptee perspectives and life outcomes. Themes of violence, trauma, addictions, and racism are recurrent throughout the novel. The story is told in a candid tone that names unspeakable truths and brings to light the complexities of intergenerational trauma, colonialism, and Indigenous-settler relations. In the book, Cardinal reflects on the physical violence she endured at the hands of her adoptive father. She writes, "I cannot tell you how many times I cowered in my closet or in the front hall closet, trying to will myself invisible so that I didn't have to hear my father or be around him when he got angry or when I was in trouble" (20). Moreover, she describes her adoptive father as a "cruel sadistic man who would lose his temper at the drop of a hat, and when he did I would see his face turn bright red, even into his scalp" (21). When Cardinal finally meets her biological family she is confronted with how deeply colonial trauma has affected her family and other Indigenous folks. She finds her family is living in a condemned house with no heating or electricity. Cardinal learns that a lot of the people in their run-down neighbourhood "drank Listerine, Lysol, hairspray, cheap wine and even Chinese cooking wine" (51) to cope with the pain of their own trauma. When her sister is murdered in a park, Cardinal is inconsolable and wretched in grief. She writes, "grief has no timeline; it sat in my throat, left me on the verge of tears, and my words became bitter and angry" (64). While many aspects of the memoir are often unrelentingly brutal, this story is an honest rendering of an Indigenous reality for many marginalized and vulnerable people.

In the memoir, Cardinal describes the circumstances under which she was taken from her Indigenous family and placed in the child welfare system. From research and conversations with her biological father and other family members, Cardinal learns that her parents struggled with addictions, lack of sufficient support, and poverty, making it difficult to care for her. Child welfare documents listed "neglect, unfit conditions and severe alcohol issues" for the removal of her and her sisters (13). As a baby, Cardinal and her sisters had spent three years in different, neglectful foster homes until they were later adopted by Ronald and Mary White in Sault St. Marie, who also had a biological son named Scott (14). Having to contend with an abusive and racist adoptive home forever altered the lives of Cardinal and her two sisters. As a teenager, Cardinal escapes but finds herself an adolescent without financial and emotional support and reeling from traumatic experiences. Taken in by a friend's family, Cardinal struggles to cope and ends up on a Greyhound bus heading to Edmonton to live with her older sister, Gina. Cardinal later becomes pregnant, and the rest of memoir follows her journey as a mother of five children. Though her children are represented as the light and saving grace in her life, Cardinal continues to struggle with her personal demons and ability to cope with crushing poverty, racism, and abusive partners. However, towards the end of the memoir, Cardinal returns to school and, later, takes on an administrative position, but health issues, racism at work, and plaguing symptoms of Complex-PTSD force her to leave her job.

Near the end of the memoir, Cardinal enters therapy and later becomes involved in advocacy work for MMIW and Sixties Scoop survivors. She begins the journey of healing, self-discovery, and self-actualization as she thoughtfully reflects back on her life and finds peace. Cardinal

articulates how she was robbed of opportunities to know her people from Saddle Lake/Goldfish Lake communities as well as her language and culture. As a result of child welfare displacement, Cardinal developed little understanding of her Cree identity and felt disconnected from her extended Indigenous community. Coming back to her home community, Saddle Lake, and connecting with an Auntie, alongside her experience of meeting other activists and community organizers, were depicted as pivotal moments in Cardinal's transformation in the memoir. Cardinal describes finding community, healing, and purpose in fellow Sixties Scoop survivors, community activists, non-Indigenous allies, her children, and grandchildren. As readers, we are left with a call to have "compassion, empathy and understanding" for our Indigenous relations (205). *Ohpikiihaakan-Ohpimeh (Raised Somewhere Else): A 60s Scoop Adoptee's Story of Coming Home* is purposeful in educating, validating, and drawing attention to a looming Indigenous child welfare crisis that urgently requires attention.

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Tanya Tagaq. *Split Tooth*. Penguin Random House Viking Canada, 2018. 208 pp. ISBN 978670070091.

<https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/534654/split-tooth-by-tanya-tagaq/9780670070091/>

In *Split Tooth*, Tanya Tagaq takes readers into life in a small town in Nunavut in the 1970s. In a powerful first person narrative focalized by a young girl in a northern community, we share the joy of kids let loose in town after a long Artic winter, the craziness of teen fashion in severe climates, and the children's lived knowledge of abuse in a community still dealing with reverberations from the residential school system. Longlisted for the 2018 Giller Prize, Canada's premier literary prize for fiction, *Split Tooth* explores the fierce love, the crazy cliques, and the rash explorations of youth.

Dedicating her text to "the Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, and survivors of residential schools," Tagaq opens the first chapter, dated 1975, with the sentence "Sometimes we would hide in the closet when the drunks came home from the bar" (1). Episodes of children hiding in closets, evading drunken adults, listening to "Wet sounds of flesh breaking and dry sounds of wood snapping, or is that bone?" (2) punctuate the text, occasionally accompanied by black and white illustrations by Jaime Hernandez. The inclusion of the drawings and poems in *Split Tooth* "demand an intense engagement to *read* creatively and *look* mindfully" as Hertha D. Wong asserts in her recent work on visual autobiographies (9). Wong's argument that visual life narratives demand a more intensely active engagement because "moving between image and text relies on defamiliarization that requires us to become more self-aware of the process of decoding and interpreting image and text at the same time" (10) fits Tagaq's text overall. Tagaq demands an intense engagement from readers as we enter her world, decoding the poems, connecting the drawings to the narrative chapters, following along through school fights, bullies, best friends, abuse from teachers, intense seasonal changes on the artic land, and eco-erotic encounters with various non-human beings.

Tagaq beautifully captures the extreme emotions of those childhood and teen years, "stuck in the horrid torrent of awkward crushes and curious sideways glances" (13). When spring comes, with daylight and warmer temperatures, the kids and the dogs are set free on "the dusty streets looking for adventure. Large gangs of kids and large packs of loose dogs roam the town. I wonder which group is more rabid." (7) The children pick up old cigarette butts and smoke the last puffs from them, chasing and taunting each other in various ways. When a boy makes fun of the unnamed narrator for having a crush on her friend, she feels "embittered and confrontational. I've always loved girls, and our insufferable town see this love as deviance. This little shithead is not helping" (13). Tired of his taunting, she wrestles him to the ground and, along with the other girls, disrobes him, leaving him only in his underwear and runs away waving his pants.

I think of all the times I have been told I was inferior for being a girl. I think about all the times men have touched me when I didn't want them to. I think about how good it feels

to be waving the pants of one of the cocky boys in the air while he hides behind the corner. We keep running and circle the school. He is waiting for us on the other side, swatting mosquitoes and crying. This is not the last time he will get himself into trouble with bravado that cannot be backed up. He ends up dying that way. (16)

Part of the emotional pull in the text comes in these moments when we move from the memory of the teenage moment into the reflection of the adult narrator, a reflection from which we learn that that bright, lively, truant child is no longer alive. Taraq pulls in the members of her narrative audience, taking us on an emotional roller coaster through childhood in the northern town—the joys in close female friendships and connections with the land, the fears of hiding from drunken and abusive adults, the empowerment of taking back control from abusers (in another powerful scene the narrator encounters one of the teachers who has repeatedly abused her—and others—at a party where he is drunk, gets him outside and pushes him down the stairs), the whistling at the Northern Lights, and the fierce love she feels for her family, friends, and community.

In a chapter entitled “Nine Mile Lake,” the narrator addresses a second person directly, “My little cousin, you were only seven years old. I was eleven, the big girl. We pilfered money and went to the store” (23). Continuing to describe the Resolute Bay store, the cigarettes they smoked, and the things they did “hoping that our mothers would not see us” (23), the narrator recalls, “I never let you tag along while hanging out with the big boys, because we were always up to no good. You were too small for all that chaos. I did my best to protect you. I still do.” (23-24). The overwhelming emotion that runs through so many of these scenes is love: “I will never forget your sweet little face that day, proud and exhilarated with our accomplishment. I carried your heart in mine. I still do” (25)—the decolonial love written about by Leanne Simpson, Billy-Ray Belcourt and others. The unnamed first person narrator is fierce, observant, and loving, sharing tales of what it means to live and love in the midst of the ongoing and historical injustices of colonialism, the residential schools, and heteropatriarchy.

Taraq’s narrative also provides examples of encounters in the contact zone of human and other than or more-than-human, many of which are eco-erotic experiences for the narrator. We have encounters with fox, as well as with ice that becomes a bear:

I mount his back and ride him. My thighs squeeze him and pulse with a tingling light. We are lovers. We are married. He swims with incredible strength and we travel quickly. . . . My skin melts where there is contact with my lover. The ocean and our love fuse the polar bear and me. He is I, his skin is my skin. Our flesh grows together. (93)

Melissa Nelson, in her article “Getting Dirty: The Eco-Eroticism of Women in Indigenous Oral Literatures,” argues that these kinds of “messy, visceral, eco-erotic boundary-crossing entanglement[s] of difference . . . can engender empathy and kinship and a lived environmental ethic” (232). Certainly, the various encounters in *Split Tooth* are presented within terms of empathy, kinship and a lived relationship with an expansive notion of the land.

Perhaps the strongest example is in a chapter in which she walks out onto the sea ice and lies down. After first leaving her body, to slip into the waters below to look for Sedna, she returns to

the surface, back into her body, but “[t]he Northern Lights have descended upon me during my spirit journey” (113). The Lights sear into her body as she “melt[s] from agony to ecstasy. . . . the slitting continues down my belly, lighting up my liver and excavating my bladder. An impossible column of green light simultaneously impales my vagina and anus. My clit explodes and I am split in two from head to toe as the light from my throat joins the light in my womb and begins to make a giant figure eight in my Body” (113-14). The narrator becomes impregnated through this encounter with the Northern Lights, carrying twins. While she tells no one of the encounter, she learns lessons from the encounter and from the beings growing inside her, lessons about reciprocity, responsibility, kinship, the land.

From a child who puffed gas and picked up half-smoked cigarette butts early in the novel, then, she has become a narrator who challenges her readers to reconsider their own responsibilities to the land: “Land always answers these questions for me. Land protects and owns me. Land feeds me. My father and mother are the Land. My future children are the Land. You are the Land. We destroy her with the same measured ignorance of a self-harming teenager. That is what I was in my fifteenth year, what is your excuse?” (132) As the narrator increasingly engages with her responsibilities to an expansive kinship that includes celestial kin, future ancestors, and more, *Split Tooth* pushes us all to consider our own responsibilities to the land and land-based relationships in more capacious ways.

Split Tooth also challenges generic conventions. While Viking publishes *Split Tooth* as a work of fiction, the dust jacket description claims that “Tagaq moves effortlessly between fiction and memoir, myth and reality, poetry and prose, and conjures a world and a heroine that readers will never forget.” What that description perhaps underscores is the inability of those binaries of Euro-defined disciplines to categorize, embrace, or discipline the exciting work of Indigenous artists and scholars. Just as with Tagaq’s award-winning music (she is best known for her throat-singing, including the 2014’s Polaris Prize-winning album *Animism*), *Split Tooth* is another example of Tagaq’s energetic connection to the wider universe. Tagaq, in an interview with Carla Gillis, has referred to the book as being about her life, with references made to source material coming from her journal.

This beautiful novel will appeal to readers of (the overlapping and interwoven categories of) contemporary fiction, Indigenous fiction, Inuit fiction, life narrative, and, of course, to fans of Tagaq’s music who will be enthralled by another aspect of her powerful artistry.

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Carole laFavor. *Evil Dead Center*. University of Minnesota Press, 2017. 219 pp. ISBN: 9781517903565.

<https://www.upress.umn.edu/book-division/books/evil-dead-center>

The untimely death of Ojibwe activist and author Carole laFavor in 2011 brought to an end any hope for a third novel in the writer's Red Earth mystery series. Best known perhaps for her work as an activist on behalf of Indigenous people with HIV/AIDS, laFavor as a novelist left as her representative work only the 1996 mystery *Along the River* and its 1997 sequel *Evil Dead Center*. Both works focus on the amateur tribal sleuth Renee LaRoche and her involvement in solving murder cases both on and off the reservation, but it is the latter novel that is the focus of this review.

Perhaps the real mystery is how these two novels could have easily disappeared into the shadow realm of out of print books had it not been for the University of Minnesota Press rescuing them from obscurity. By republishing both titles, the academic press has done a tremendous service for not only the scholarly reader, but the general reading public as well, including those who favor genre fiction.

Like many works of popular fiction, laFavor's writing builds on the heavy use of dialogue as a storytelling device. It is an engaging approach, one that captures the distracted reader's attention and enables them to more easily slide into the narrative as it unfolds to reveal murders, conspiracies, and corruptions that shake a tribal community to its very core. Dark secrets are brought to light through the right mix of active investigation and flat out luck.

It might be argued that the novel is actually at its weakest as a mystery, as the primary suspect and the main motive are uncovered within the first third of the novel, leaving the remainder of the drama over to the search for evidence strong enough to win a conviction in the courtroom. The novel draws to a close with a manhunt for the killers set in the dangerous environs of a deep forest as a powerful blizzard bears down on the two amateur detectives. While it starts off as a mystery, *Evil Dead Center* shifts toward becoming a thriller.

The "thrill" attached to laFavor's *Evil Dead Center* comes not only from the unfolding of the story but from the unwrapping of truth at the center of the fiction. As novelist Jack Ketchum says, "Really good fiction is always an attempt at total honesty" (Loc. 298), and laFavor uses her fiction to tell truths about the contemporary Indigenous experience that are both beautiful and dreadful.

Much of the novel's beauty, and to some degree its mystery, comes through laFavor's presentation of an Anishinaabe approach to life that has long been available to the non-tribal world via academic programs, but which is much less accessible to the general reading public — a shortcoming in the industrial society's shared imagination that leaves the average reader more vulnerable to stereotypes and outright racist readings of the metaphysics of indigeneity. Fortunately, laFavor's fiction avoids the pitfall of satisfying those readers who thirst for these outlandish and even imperialist ideas of tribal spirituality.

laFavor also addresses dark truths about the contemporary experiences of Indigenous people, most notably the disappearance of Native women. Her novel begins with the discovery of a dead woman just outside reservation borders and the white coroner's dismissal of the death as an alcohol-related accident. A phone call sets in motion the involvement of amateur Anishinaabe sleuth Renee LaRoche and members of the tribal police, eventually leading to

not only the identification of the dead woman as a murdered investigative activist, but the uncovering of a conspiracy that is poisoning the very lifeblood of the tribal community.

In the real world far too many Anishinaabe women face similarly dark circumstances, with thousands going missing every year in North America, and statistics on the number of murdered Anishinaabe unavailable, although preliminary studies funded by the U.S. Department of Justice suggest that tribal women are murdered at an extremely high rate — in some communities, more than 10 times the national average (Domonoske). In Canada a 2015 police study found that First Nations women account for as much as a quarter of the number of women murdered nationwide (Gray). Contemporary activists are “calling for their voices to be heard, to have increased representation and for romanticised, patronising stereotypes to stop” (Gray). The current republication of *Evil Dead Center* may well be a part of this movement to help end the invisibility of Native women, alongside recent nonfiction such as Sarah Deer’s *The Beginning and End of Rape* and such initiatives as the Indigenous-led Sovereign Bodies Institute’s mapping and data collection projects.

laFavor’s *Evil Dead Center* addresses as well the real-world issue of adoptions that place tribal children into non-Indigenous families, effectively separating them from existing relations and cultural origins. The topic of white adoptions and the placement of children into non-Native foster homes remains controversial, as demonstrated by the outcry arising from an October 2018 ruling by a U.S. District Court judge that the Indian Child Welfare Act discriminates against non-Native adoptees. Signed into law in 1978, the Indian Child Welfare Act had been designed to stop the removal of children from Native families, a practice that had begun in earnest in the late Fifties and resulted in almost a third of all Native children being adopted out to “nonfamily, non-Indian” homes (Goodwyn).

The fact that a nexus exists between laFavor’s fiction and some of the sad realities of contemporary Anishinaabe experience might potentially expand interest in this text among academics in the field of Native Studies, but *Evil Dead Center* should find a greater appeal among readers of genre fiction, especially those who enjoy engaging reads within the mystery and thriller categories.

The novel begins with Ojibwe social worker Renee LaRoche meeting police chief Hobart Bulieau at the off-reservation site where an unidentified Native woman’s body had been found. The white coroner with jurisdiction over the case has not done a full autopsy, choosing instead to write the death of “Jane Doe” off as accidental overexposure due to alcoholic intoxication. Renee has asked for help from the tribal police chief after receiving a somewhat cryptic telephone call from her former lover Caroline Beltrain. With political activism as the lifeblood of their relationship, the breakup some 18 years earlier between the “two-spirit” women had also been the end of Renee’s full engagement as a political activist within “the Movement.” Caroline, however, had remained as an “underground” activist on the run from the FBI. Renee and the tribal police come together to reveal that “Jane Doe” was not an unidentified drunk, but an activist who had been secretly investigating a child pornography ring, working in cooperation with individuals within the Ojibwa community. By the novel’s end, two more Native people are dead, and Renee’s own life is hanging by a thread after she is targeted by a young killer who turns out to be more powerful, psychologically traumatized, and dangerous than expected.

Unlike other contemporary works such as settler novelist William Giraldi’s *Hold the Dark* that set much of the narrative within northern forests and make nature a dark and dangerous

protagonist, laFavor's *Evil Dead Center* envisions the natural realm as an ally in a quest for harmony and justice. Renee "didn't just love nature," but found in it a "sensuality... as though the environment enveloped her in the emotions of a lover" (30). Renee sees her love for nature as something in common among all Ojibwe who can recognize "the awesome abundance of Mother Earth's living things." For Renee this connection to the forest results in "a passion for how so many different living things survived in unity." This recognition gives Renee the hope that "two-leggeds could do the same" (198).

Though she has the full support of the tribal police force, Renee is not a professional detective or sheriff. Her involvement in proving that the unidentified Jane Doe was a murder victim stems in large part to Renee's sense of justice, a spiritual calling that she sees as inspired by "the spirits" of the Bear Clan, her ancestors. This sense of the ancestral and spiritual is largely what informs *Evil Dead Center* as a work of Anishinaabe writing. It is a book that few could have composed with the degree of honesty and boldness that laFavor, herself a "two-spirit" political activist struggling for women's rights who helped get healthcare and respect for Native people with HIV/AIDS, brings to this writing. Readers can easily see in Renee the tribal values and worldviews that were likely central to laFavor's own understanding of herself as an Ojibwe.

laFavor's amateur sleuth is for readers the spokesperson for an Anishinaabe understanding of the world that is unabashedly bold and respectful, even as it addresses darker systemic realities within the Indigenous nation. *Evil Dead Center* portrays tribal traditions and spiritual beliefs in a way that is beautifully stirring, though the author strives to avoid the pitfall of writing fiction that can be widely marketed to a non-Indigenous readership eager to satisfy their shallow stereotypes and notions of Indigenous spirituality.

Renee is deeply spiritual, but her belief in the stories of her elders and her respect for tradition are not unaccompanied by doubt. She is supported by many teachers around her, not the least of which are her grandmother, her aunts, and even police chief Bulieau. It is the latter who reminds Renee that the strongest value is family, with all Anishinaabe qualifying as one family. "If any of us go off half-cocked, or refuse to work as a team, we're gonna be in trouble," he says (83). When one of the deputy sheriffs expresses doubts about the applicability of tribal values in a world of "new predators" who "seem to be a breed all their own" and asks how "the old ways" can guide the Anishinaabe forward in such a world, it is Renee who passes along what she has learned: "Maybe... that's the mistake we're makin' ... thinking the times now are so different that we can't learn anything from the old ways" (95).

If laFavor refuses to satisfy an uninformed reader's expectation of exotically drawn tribal traditions and metaphysics, she likewise pulls no punches when it comes to the erroneous assumption held by some non-Indigenous readers that "progressive" white Americans deserve to be automatically welcomed into the embrace of the tribal community. The author is straightforward in her depiction of antagonisms and troubled relations between the Ojibwa on Renee's reservation and the surrounding white community, although she is always fair in not painting all whites as enemies and admitting to corruptions within the "Red Earther" society itself. Indeed, this internal corruption is likely a source of the novel's loaded title, *Evil Dead Center*.

If there is a common ground between whites and Anishinaabe in *Evil Dead Center*, it is the shared recognition of loss and the difficulty of getting through the everyday struggles of life. This is most clearly seen in Renee's recognition and acceptance of a white retailer whose

eyes betrayed his melancholy: “They were dark—some said brooding, others said haunted. Elders believed the look spoke of a pain nearly as deep as their own, and thus a man to be trusted, no matter what color he was” (23).

The sense of pain arising from both historical and contemporary injustices and imbalances is always at play within the novel, and the feeling that harmony between tribal and non-tribal people is hard to achieve is offered in laFavor’s depiction of Renee’s Auntie Lydia, who though she “moved in the sunshine, dancing and singing through life,” nonetheless harbored within herself a “pain and discrimination” that she purposely “vacated” from her expression whenever she spoke with a white person. “The real Auntie was not seen by many” (13). But laFavor’s novel never despairs that harmony between tribal and non-tribal people is impossible, as Renee’s grandmother soothingly encourages: “Many white folks have forgotten their instructions from Creator, *nosijhe*, forgotten how to act... But be respectful, granddaughter. Many white folks mean well” (24).

laFavor is also daring in her unabashed presentation of Renee as “two-spirited,” and extending that boldness to not only give the Anishinaabe a white lover, but to portray the two lesbians as a family with a teenage daughter. The tribal community is shown as accepting of Renee’s sexuality, but incidents of homophobic slurs thrown at Renee take place in off-reservation settings.

The serious nature of the real-world subjects addressed in laFavor’s work should not discourage anyone from approaching *Evil Dead Center* as a thriller that can satisfy the urge for an entertaining read, a book that can find a welcome place on the bedside nightstand. laFavor dealt with the challenges that all authors face when writing a sequel, and did her best to provide background information on Renee’s experience as an amateur sleuth without slowing the narrative pace with excessive backstory. Nevertheless, there were moments when it felt that reading *Evil Dead Center* would be more satisfying if it had been taken up *after* reading laFavor’s previous work *Along the Journey River*. Fortunately, both novels are available as high-quality paperbacks through the University of Minnesota Press. Both titles are also available as e-books for Kindle and other electronic reading devices.

This reprint includes a foreword by Professor Lisa Tatonetti that provides important biographical information about laFavor, with a focus on laFavor’s contributions as a feminist activist nurse working on behalf of HIV-positive peoples. The book also includes as an afterword a more personal reflection of laFavor by the author’s daughter, Professor Theresa LaFavor. In this afterword we discover that laFavor was often moved to tears by recognition of the beauty and suffering of humans and animals. A woman of great empathy, laFavor was also an optimist who “believed social change was possible and that we owed it to each other to work our hardest for each other” (218). It is from this afterword that we as readers and reviewers are given permission to see in the fictional Renee LaRoche many of the qualities of the author Carole laFavor: “There are many parallels,” the author’s daughter notes. “I have no doubt that Renee LaRoche personified the values and ideals my mother held dear,” she says (219). These are values that the reader may likewise come to cherish after reading *Evil Dead Center*.

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Richard Wagamese died on March 10, 2017. A month later, the Clint Eastwood film production of his 2013 novel *Indian Horse* appeared in cinemas, solidifying the stature of that fiction as the strongest candidate for the one book that could serve as an equivalent to *The Diary of Anne Frank* in carrying the message of our own holocaust: residential schools. Yet there is so far little recognition for Wagamese's lifetime achievement, so it is good to see this Penguin Modern Classics edition of Wagamese's 1994 novel, which has always had a staunch following, and to see Wagamese described in the note on the author as being one of Canada's foremost writers.

Although he retreated to his home near Kamloops and to the inspiring presence of the land to do his writing, Wagamese was an engaged activist. He toured extensively to urban centres and Indigenous communities, maintained a lively Facebook site, and taught many creative writing seminars. On YouTube, one can find many interviews with him. He sought the widest possible readership. His prose style shows the conciseness and even terseness of his early experience as a journalist, combined with the Indigenous storyteller's humour, both of which lend to a broad appeal. His is not the mystical suggestiveness of Louise Erdrich, who accurately describes him on the jacket as "a born storyteller." Having been saved from post-traumatic stress response (the word *disorder* implies an inadequacy on the part of the victim, whereas the word "response" conveys the inevitable impact of historical circumstances) by the recovery of his Anishnaabe worldview, Wagamese wrote for Indigenous people who are similarly lost. He represents them in Garnet Raven, the hero of *Keeper 'N Me*. This is why *Keeper 'N Me* is such a good choice for re-issue: a young Indigenous man earnestly seeking reconnection with family and tradition is brought together with a witty and friendly elder who is keeper of the drum and of much cultural wisdom. As such, the novel may serve as a model for precisely the kind of rejuvenating relationships that many Indigenous peoples need to heal from colonial trauma.

Wagamese also wrote for and spoke to non-Indigenous audiences. Like many great authors (but not all), he was a humanitarian who reached out to others. When he spoke in my class at MacEwan University in 2015, it was a dramatic performance more than a speech, and more articulate than any speech I have ever heard. He used the English language with conciseness and power, while he weaved and darted about the room. It could be said that he spoke to the common person and wrote for the common reader. It could also be said that these two creatures are elusive if not non-existent, yet the effort to reach them is identifiable and palpable. His tone was and is always that of the blues singer, an ancient tone of pain blended with humour and always poised, with the right note of passion demanded by the moment and a fine measure of psychological insight. As an example of that poise, please consider the lifelikeness of the verb "skied" in the following sentence describing Garnet's homecoming to his mother after being away in foster homes and the wider world for twenty years, from five to twenty-five years of age: "She smiled all soft across the fire at me and a little tear skied down one cheek" (82). Garnet is, of course, an avatar of the author. Character and author share Anishnaabe cultural roots on a reserve in northwestern Ontario, and they are both drawn to the shiny and fast-moving world outside

Indigenous cultures: Garnet learns to love the blues, whereas Wagamese had a lifelong love of baseball and hockey.

To draw Garnet back to his cultural roots, Keeper sometimes explains Anishinaabe values; more often, he allows Garnet to discern the truths that lie beneath his methods.

Reciprocity. Care is taken to frame the key relationships in the novel as reciprocal. Keeper does not set up a hierarchical relationship with Garnet. Instead, he puts Garnet at ease by saying that they can “kinda be each other’s guides” (105). Through alcohol, Keeper has strayed from becoming the member of the Medewiwin, the guardians of the Anishnaabe people, that he was meant to be, and Garnet guides him back to the role of the knowledge keeper; in turn, Keeper guides Garnet back to his culture, but at his own pace. Nothing is forced, though conditions for learning are created. Concerning Garnet’s relationship with his physically powerful and oldest brother Jackie, who was an AIM activist and an articulate leader in the seventies, Garnet faces a big problem. Jackie has turned into what his next oldest brother Stanley describes as “a big broodin’ angry wounded bear kinda’ guy” (142) who alternates between coldness and anger. Extending the bear imagery, Keeper notes that bear mothers teach their cubs by setting up conditions of play so that the cubs learn unwittingly, while playing (148). Garnet learns that hockey is the one activity in which Jackie can “let off steam,” and, applying Keeper’s advice, he engages his oldest brother in a game of shinny. They end up sprawled against the boards in a bear hug, and Jackie admits that he hated the whites for kidnapping his baby brother (15); that he hated Garnet for “the whiteness I can see all over you” (156); and that he avoided him in fear that his hatred would spill out and drive him away. This confession leads to admissions of mutual emotional need: Garnet needs Jackie to fulfill his familial identity, and Jackie needs to let down his judgmental walls and restore his suppressed love for his baby brother (157). Jackie thanks Garnet for challenging him, and Garnet replies, comically, “It’s a bear thing” (158). The upshot is that the reserve team, the White Dog Flyers, featuring the Raven brothers and their uncles, cheered on by family and community, becomes the strongest in the area. Jackie gives Garnet a jersey with the name “Bagga Antlers” on the back; this is the nickname Jackie had given him in childhood because of his boniness, and Garnet wears the jersey every year (159).

Judgments. They form isolating barriers based on fear. Keeper’s ruminations make it clear that the white colonial leaders came in this judging mode, “not askin for a guide, judgin’” (108): they “seen us prayin’ strange and got fulla fear about it,” so that “Other people’s fear pretty much made up us Indyuns’ hist’ry anyway” (109). With his laconic humour, Keeper remarks that those who bowed in prayer to the God in the whites’ Great Book of Truth looked up to find that all their land was gone (108). The whites ignored the Anishnaabe truth that the true human being has “truth inside” (107). All growth, in the Anishnaabe world view, takes place from the inside out, and this accords with observations of the natural world: “Nothin’ in this world ever grew from the outside in” (56).

Simplicity. Keeper clarifies that the Anishnaabe people survived the last five hundred years because “we never lost that simplicity” (167). He explains that the worship of Creation or Mother Earth is an expression of humility: “Pray ‘n ask for help. It’s the start of your own power.... Simple, eh?” (262). From the foundation of faith springs respect and a series of other attitudes: “Give respect, you give kindness, honesty, openness, gentleness, good thoughts, good

actions. Simple. Eh?” (167). The drum is the heartbeat of Mother Earth, Keeper explains, and the drumbeat is about “the woman power all around us” and “the spirit power of the female” or “soo-wanee-quay” in Ojibway (165). The purpose of the drum is to bring people back to the sense of oneness that pulses through the heartbeat of the mother, something that is felt in the womb before birth (165). Garnet illustrates this principle when he recalls the early homecoming experience of being locked in a long hug with his mother:

My speeding brain got quieter and quieter and I felt more and more relaxed and safe and sheltered and warm until I began to realize that I'd felt this same way somewhere back in my past. I don't know what it was but something somewhere deep inside me recognized that heartbeat. Recognized it from the days way before I ever slid out into this world. Recognized it from when her body kept me safe and sheltered and warm. Recognized it from when she was all vibration, fluid and movement. From when our souls shared the same space and time. My mother. (78)

Balance. Garnet learns the need to honor both the gifts of the female and those of the male. He learns that his mother prayed often for his return over twenty years and composed a song that she sang often, with the single line ”bih'kee'-yan,” meaning “Come home” in Ojibway. His father, John Mukwa (Ojibway for “bear”), blamed himself for failing to keep his children, secluded himself on his trapline (72), drank, spoke to no one, and one rainy night fell to his death from a railway bridge over a river (73). Garnet thinks about his father's loss and his own (74), and he names a tiny early-evening star “the Bear Star” so that he can look at it and talk to his father about his feelings and perhaps sing him an Ojibway song (82-3). In doing so, he accepts the darkness his father slipped into and honors his truth without succumbing to that darkness himself. Garnet undertakes a four-day journey into the bush by himself to find and honor the cabin that his father built. He has a dream about two eagles that turn into an old man and old woman who smile at him (251). This means that the grandfathers and grandmothers are watching over him, Keeper tells him later (271). An eagle also leaves him with the gift of an eagle feather. As Keeper says, the eagle feather in Anishnaabe culture is given to honor someone who has done something to help people. Keeper explains that the freedom of the eagle's soaring is the result of a lot of effort to “pick out the bad air from the good.” People too seek balance in life through hard effort, and Garnet has done a “lotta work an' learnin' to see and feel” (185).

Real Warriors. Keeper warns Garnet against two kinds of silence that men fall into, “Indian or not” (127). One is “the smoldering, angry kind we use instead of our fists” (127). This is the kind that Jackie had fallen into when Garnet rescued him with a game of shinny and a bear hug. It coincides with the stereotype of the hypermasculine Indian man, conveniently inculcating the attitude that this dangerous male cannot be lived with: he must be controlled or defeated. The other kind is “the big open, embarrassed kind” when the heart feels things that the male cannot articulate. These are the nurturing and protective emotions that are attributed to the female (Indian or not). Keeper warns that the “real warriors” never surrender to silence. He jokes that “the only stone-faced Indians doing any good out there are statues” (127). This refers to the stereotype of the Stoic warrior that, for example, Archie Belaney adopted to pass as Grey Owl. Garnet replaces silence with action. He hugs people and creates closeness in other ways, such as finding that tiny Bear Star in the early evening sky so that he can connect with the spirit of his father. As Keeper explains, real warriors are also humble: at the feast at the end of the novel, the

men will first serve the women (287). Real warriors have long-term commitment and regard wisdom as a path rather than a goal (273). They are represented in the animal world by the mole that lives close to Mother Earth and always investigates carefully; those who behave like the mole take the time to know their feelings before acting (220).

Living in two worlds. The great challenge facing all young Indigenous people today is finding balance between the non-Indigenous world and the Indigenous world. Keeper warns that Indians “can’t be hidin’ behind our Indyun ways” (198). To illustrate his point, he borrows a tradition from prairie Indians about “stealin’ horses” (198). Keeper advises that Indigenous people need “the kinda horses them outsiders ride nowadays” to survive in the contemporary world and “fight the good fight” (198). He advises that, as long as they “do it in the spirit of the teachins’,” Indians can take up any role, trade, or profession and use it as “another horse we learn’d to ride” (200). For example, Garnet’s next oldest brother, Stanley, has earned a degree in social work and returned to White Dog to help his people. Stanley insists that Indians need to “steal all the whiteman’s horses to make our circles strong again” (136). Wagamese wisely frames cultural hybridity neither as a betrayal of Indigenous cultures, nor as a compensation for a deficit, but as an act of courage, a tactical victory, and a means of maintaining the traditional value of balance.

Like many actual Indigenous men and women today, Garnet needs the balance of the eagle. After five years at White Dog and all he has learned about family and tradition, he is still proud of having survived as a city Indian, and he is still occasionally drawn to the fast pace and shiny things of the white man’s world. The same is true for actual Indigenous people today. As Keeper puts it, the whiteman comes “in lotsa diff’rent ways” (56). Whereas there were blues and jazz then, there are hip hop and rap now, and there are cell phones and video games, etc. Not knowing himself, Garnet settled into a black family in Toronto and arrived at the reserve looking like “one James Brown-lookin’ Indian” (51) with a three-foot Afro, mirrored shades, a balloon-sleeved yellow silk shirt, lime-green baggy pants, and platform shoes (45). He looked “more like a parakeet than a raven” (62). Garnet’s years in white society left him with “one great big black hole” in his belly and the wind whistling through him (33) (these are repeated images). Wagamese suffered those feelings (though he would have looked pretty funny in an Afro, since he was so unmistakably Indigenous!), and those feelings persist for young Indigenous people today because racism is alive and well in Canada. Some young Indigenous people I know in academe are setting their priorities wisely: they are putting their culture first and their white education second, but they are uncompromising about wanting both.

I wanted to pay Wagamese homage by offering a detailed and appreciative reading of his novel. I am grateful that he is a humanitarian who writes in a way that is relatable. I am grateful for his uncanny talent for making his literary performance real: in his work, there is no separation between writer and writing. The gap between artist and art closes: both merge into a seamless whole, as happens with a fine actor or actress in a play or film, and as happened that day when he spoke to my class. His narrative voice has such authenticity that it validates the reading experience, so often denigrated as a pseudo-experience; specifically, he validates reading complex fiction literature, which is a demanding activity that seems imperiled in this age of mixed media when the Nobel Prize *for literature* is given to Bob Dylan *for his music*.

With the burgeoning of Indigenous memoirs and fiction about residential schools, the misconception has developed that Indigenous fiction is deliberately simple in its style. Helen Hoy disparages this premise, pointing out that it leads to the corollary that such texts render experience in a transparent or unmediated way (Hoy 288). Jo-Ann Episknew adds that this old prejudice leads to the assumption that such texts should be studied under the heading of anthropology rather than literary studies (Episknew 112). Wagamese is so important because his writings bring together aesthetic complexity and a tone of authenticity that speaks to the common reader; in particular, *Keeper'n Me* has many fine narrative touches while it introduces Anishinaabe cultural values and tells a wry tale.

I am grateful too that, through some careful narrative moves, he explicitly includes non-Indigenous readers in his audience. Garnet relays Keeper's view that we are all tribal people deep in our pasts; hence, fires warm our hearts and souls as well as our bodies, and the problems of the world and between people will be solved "once we remember the common fires that burn in our pasts" (239).

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<http://msupress.org/books/book/?id=50-1D0-44BF>

The enduring and damaging colonial stereotype of the static “Indian” who exists solely in the past is pervasive not only in mainstream contemporary literature, but also in wider pop culture narratives. However, when we centre Indigenous knowledge, it is clear our ancestors were engaging with non-linear ideas around temporality, visioning methods to gain an understanding of the future, and maintaining multifaceted relationships with other beings in the universe. While colonialism has impacted many of these ontologies, contemporary Indigenous artists are challenging imposed perspectives and redefining perceptions of indigeneity by drawing upon these concepts in creative ways. Indigenous storytellers are reclaiming these innovative traditions, suggesting “we need to glimpse the old spiritual world that helped, healed, and honored us with its presence and companionship. We need to see where we have been before we see where we should go, we need to know how to get there, and we need help on our journey” (Deloria Jr. xix). As the late scholar Vine Deloria Jr. emphasizes, Indigenous peoples have always had an intimate and integral relationship with the cosmos that is rooted in our teachings, languages, and lived realities. Ingenious and complex concepts of interrelatedness and continuity are embedded in Indigenous storytelling. Therefore, the awakening of Indigenous Futurisms in literature provides a pathway for Indigenous storytellers to rekindle their ancestral connections to the universe while weaving in bold contemporary artistic techniques. *Sovereign Traces, Volume 1: Not (Just) (An)Other*, thoughtfully edited by Gordon Henry Jr. and Elizabeth LaPensée, reveals the possibilities of redefining reality and strengthening indigeneity in literature today through Indigenous eyes and voices.

Sovereign Traces is an exciting compilation of fiction and poetry that honors Indigenous storytelling while also embracing inventive approaches to visual expression through the medium of the graphic novel. The artists explore a variety of important themes highlighting multi-vocalic views, multi-layered techniques, and nuanced understandings of the raw realities of Indigenous lives. The visual artists paired with each storyteller have meticulously crafted graphic worlds for the reader to interact with and become enmeshed. Some of the visual artists, such as Weshoyot Alvitre’s illustrations in Joy Harjo’s “Deer Dancer” and Delicia Williams’s images in Stephen Graham Jones’s “Werewolves on the Moon”, have created work more akin to what is familiarly seen in Western comic books while other artists such as Elizabeth LaPensée in Louise Erdrich’s “The Strange People” have employed more stylized illustrative techniques. The wonderful combination of powerful visuals and storytelling in each panel invites the reader to experience the depth of what is being presented with movement, feeling, and thought. Each of the works, whether in the form of previously published short stories or poetry, has been adapted seamlessly in the graphic medium and have added nuances in this format. The artists in *Sovereign Traces* are not afraid to approach tragic issues around racism, intergenerational trauma, disrupted families, substance use, violence, and extractive relationships as experienced in Indigenous communities. Many of the storytellers delve into loss, struggle, and the examination of views around truths and untruths in profound ways. Yet, the intensity within these works is balanced

with a focus on relationality, humility, transformation, and humor—teachings which underscore the idea that if we remember who we are as Indigenous peoples, then we will find our pathways.

Many of the stories center kinship, family, and community ties in ways that prompt us to think about reframing our relations with our fellow beings—water, the land, and animals. The artists ask the reader to consider how we conceptualize kin and how we can strengthen our relationships with our extended families. What does community look like and how do we treat our relations? This is not understood as power over one another in a hierarchy, but a way of thinking that prioritizes reciprocity and integrity in which respect flourishes. Throughout the works, the importance of family and intergenerational connections is articulated, and the artists examine the ways communities have been disrupted and changed over time. As the elder medicine man, Snowbird, in Richard Van Camp’s “Mermaids” points out, he has no interest in monetary accumulation or other materially driven aspects of life, but longs for someone to visit with him that he could talk to and share tea (90). The act of visiting is not just a simple kindness for Indigenous peoples, but a way of life. The emphasis is not on blood ties, but rather on embracing concepts of kinship to other beings in the universe. Many of the stories present a self-reflexive journey in questioning what happens when we forget our responsibilities to our fellow beings. How does it impact us when we overlook our teachings around reciprocity and relatedness? As Warren Cariou posits in “An Athabasca Story”, sometimes you can howl at the land and ask for forgiveness, but she may choose to not answer you in return (53).

Sovereign Traces is brave enough to question where we are at presently and to consider defining where we want to go as Indigenous peoples. As argued by one of the characters in Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair’s “Trickster Reflections,” “Tricksters aren’t real. They’re stories” (59). What is real and what is merely a story? Can a story be real and living, too? The characters include medicine men and non-human beings like trickster figures, animal relatives, and animated land. However, none of this is presented as strange or otherworldly, but as lived experiences evoking familiarity in our everyday lives. The artists implore the audience to reflect upon who has the power to decide what is tangible and felt. Many of the works create space for examining struggles around identity and authenticity and challenge the accepted narratives perpetuated by the colonial world. In *Sovereign Traces*, Indigenous artists are at the forefront centering Indigenous perspectives and cultivating Indigenous visibility. One of the most important aspects of Indigenous storytelling is that it is a living process sustained by the breath of storytellers. We have our old stories, but we need new ones as well. *Sovereign Traces* should embolden us all to consider the possibility of using imaginative approaches to how we engage with historical, contemporary, and future pathways as Indigenous peoples. After all, creativity and transformation are traditions, too.

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Heid E. Erdrich, *Curator of Ephemera at the New Museum for Archaic Media*. Michigan State University Press, 2017. 100 pp. ISBN: 9781611862461.

<http://msupress.org/books/book/?id=50-1D0-3FCC-.XKqDBraZMb1>

Heid Erdrich's latest award-winning collection, *Curator of Ephemera at the New Museum for Archaic Media* (winner of the Minnesota Book Award for Poetry, 2018), dexterously shepherds readers on a breakneck labyrinthine tour of a continually growing, carefully arranged, and bottomless cabinet of curiosities. Whether floating above a burning nighttime sea of gas flares in a jet high-over North Dakota's oil fields, or freefalling through a tangled medley of magnetic cassette tape, scripted Q-code signals, and coaxial cables, Erdrich's poems diligently render an apocalyptic North American landscape that is at once hauntingly familiar and imaginatively disorienting. Her incisive critique of American "over-bloom" and cannibalistic patterns of ecological destruction is strengthened, not tempered, by the attachment and studious affection she brings to her poetic subject matter (26) Supplanted technologies and outmoded media become the waypoints for this poetic journey through a terrain of insatiable appetites, new and forsaken treasures, and lapsed reciprocal relations with the other-than-human world. However, Erdrich is not yet another dystopian prophet of the Anthropocene (for Indigenous responses to Anthropocene discourses see Davis and Todd; Whyte). Erdrich's unflinching account of the cataclysmically-destructive consequences of capitalist consumption keeps a steady eye on the disproportionate impacts of continued resource extraction on Indigenous lands and communities, and explicitly underscores the ways that colonial-capitalist violence has already inaugurated apocalyptic social and ecological crises within Indigenous worlds. In this sense, *Curator of Ephemera* is both a work of urgent critical alarm and a sustained meditation on collective action and creative resiliency.

Erdrich's book engages deeply with the work of contemporary Ojibwe artists and language speakers and their attendant political and intellectual currents. It locates hope in the many artworks, relationships, and creative collaborations that inspire and adorn its pages. And, when confronting a mounting heap of twenty-first century digital detritus, it fans sparks of humor and beauty amidst the wreckage by celebrating the minor utility and unsung aesthetic charms of forgotten or maligned technologies, like the QR code. *Curator of Ephemera* rescues the refuse of the everyday. Whether retracing the manic emotional high supplied by a perfectly-sequenced track list in the poem "Mix Tape Didactic...*Hither*," or the attuned dedication of a spouse guiding stray cups to the dishwasher in "Shepherd," the keenness, wit, and perspicuity of Erdrich's "every-blest-thing-seeing eye" envelops readers in the unheralded yet intoxicating workings of daily life (41). All the routine tasks, fragrant fuzzy details, and unresolved questions, the soft joys, humor, and heartaches—the day-to-day buzz of "how it is to be alive to be alive to be alive"—ground Erdrich's account of life in the face of continued loss and destruction, and amplify the power of the poet's call to accountability and action (41).

Erdrich's role as curator of this ephemeral museum is more than extended metaphor. The author has extensive experience working collaboratively with other Indigenous and Minnesota-based artists and has amassed a hefty resumé curating multiple exhibitions in the Minneapolis-Saint Paul area in recent years. This hand-on knowledge and visual sensibility translates into a heightened attention to spatial arrangement, flow, and juxtaposition within the poetic text. Full-page reproductions of image-cells from Andrea Carlson's colossal 2014 panorama *Ink Babel*

interpose the book's sections. These stark high-contrast renderings of rising seashores, jutting observation decks, and Fresnel lenses (a recurring motif) push into their surroundings, mingling with and reflecting off of Erdrich's linguistic imagery. Poetic lines strut across the white space of the pages in measured amounts of pattern and unruliness, huddling together in clumps and piles, or dangling alone in the stolen breath of a small clearing. Bits of text mimic and mirror each other within these raucous and serene compositions, creating visual circuits and interpretive feedback loops. Page space also dutifully structures caesuras and line breaks in many of the poems. These spaces step in for commas and periods with such agility and panache that they beg the question of whether such run-of-the-mill punctuation marks are yet another outmoded communications technology ripe for Erdrich's New Museum. And lest we forget the handsomely-pixelated and cumbrous QR codes hung like square canvasses on the page, patient and ready to connect cellphone-clad reader to video poems or "poemeos" online. Like in the art gallery, there are multiple vantage points, and each reading of the collection rewards fresh eyes with new pairings, pathways, and points of emphasis. Furthermore, these vicarious juxtapositions playfully lure, delight, and rebuff interpretation by fostering tension between hermeneutic dichotomies of image and non-image, epiphany and apophany (a notion of "mistaken epiphany" that Erdrich wryly probes through the collection's formal, conceptual, and narrative apparatus) (51). Poems like "Mix Tape Didactic...*Break Up 2*" teasingly skirt the line of such indeterminacy. The poem offers a track list as an artifact-memorial to a terminated relationship, along with the single line: "I mean I broke up with you" (52). This separation can be read at multiple registers and scales. Is it a youthful romance gone flat? Or parting words between the Earth and its unfaithful human relations (a post-apocalyptic "it's not me, it's you...")? At each turn in the text, Erdrich's studied and judicious choices challenge and electrify.

The poetics in *Curator of Ephemera* build upon and innovate the formal and stylistic experimentation manifest in Erdrich's earlier published works. There are several poems written collaboratively with Margaret Noodin, for example, which are structured around the multi-step English-Ojibwe-English translation process that the two have been honing for many years. Likewise, fans of Erdrich's previous collections will find plenty of thematic continuities in *Curator of Ephemera*, from engagements with DNA, cannibalism, and compulsive internet sleuthing, to an encore performance by Indigenous Elvis. The poem "Charger" for example, which is one of the many ekphrastic poems in *Curator of Ephemera*, offers a sampling of the kind of formal and thematic exploration that can be found throughout the collection. "Charger" takes Andrea Carlson's mixed media painting *Aimez-vous les Femmes* (2011)—a work that counterposes the image of a video camera with a severed sculptural head—as its point of creative departure. In Erdrich's poetic treatment, the tableau transforms into an alternate telling of Salome's storied dance before Herod:

Oh Wanton Oh Salome
what was it you wanted?

How sexy
the head
you called for
you got dead head
you got it off

off that big mouth
 crying in the dessert crying
 just desserts
 on a platter a silver charger
 charged you (36)

The truncated and enjambed lines drip economically down the page. Her wordplay summons the “silver charger” charged with delivering John the Baptist’s head to Salome, just as it recalls the ubiquitous silver-pronged adaptors charged with powering our electronic devices. What must be sacrificed to make our cell phones, tablets, and LCD screens dance each day, the poem prompts us to ask, and at whose hand is such violence committed? “Charger,” like many other poems in the collection, amply demonstrates Erdrich’s deft command of language and capacious creative vision.

Erdrich’s words refract like light passing through a Fresnel lens, a device that ornaments the cover of *Curator of Ephemera*. Each of her carefully crafted images reflects multiple meanings at once. The Fresnel lens, a technology that significantly reduced the amount of material needed to powerfully transmit light, is an apt metaphor for Erdrich’s newest collection of poems. No thicker than the edge of a box of matches, and just as incendiary, Erdrich’s svelte and skillfully curated text broadcasts its author’s critical and creative voice for miles.

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Laura Dá. *Instruments of the True Measure*. Sun Tracks Series 83, University of Arizona Press, 2018. 75 pp. ISBN: 978-0-8165-3827-0.

<https://uapress.arizona.edu/book/instruments-of-the-true-measure>

Laura Dá's new poetry collection, *Instruments of the True Measure*, is, in many ways, a continuance—but not a repetition—of her debut collection, *Tributaries*. In *Instruments of the True Measure*, Dá brings in a new cast of characters and her command of poetry craft has sharpened, which is quite a feat considering that her first collection, a National Book Award winner, read like a collection by a seasoned poet.

Like *Tributaries*, *Instruments of the True Measure* is an exploration of the poet's Shawnee ancestors and the many ways that cultural trauma engraves itself on past, present, and future generations. However, in *Instruments*, Dá considers both the stories of her native and non-native ancestors: the story of her non-native ancestors follows Crescent, beginning with his birth in the third poem in the book. From the story of his birth in the fourth poem of the book, Lazarus Shale from *Tributaries* returns as the embodiment of her Shawnee ancestors. Both Crescent's and Lazarus's birth poems are prefaced by "Nationhood," a prose poem / preface, and "The Point of Beginnings," a lyric. "Nationhood" and "The Point of Beginnings" both turn on the change in a baby's heart, post-birth, when it goes from "parallel flow to serial flow and the shunt between the right and left atrium closes" (3). Throughout the book, this corporeal change serves as a theme without being overtly referenced—what causes "changes of heart"?

"Nationhood," and "The Point of Beginnings," also introduce a pair of architectonic metaphors: surveying and mapping. Moreover, the surveying/mapping in the first two poems combined with the birth poems that follow prepares the reader to expect those terms as a constellation of metaphors—that is, that one (birth) and the other (surveying/mapping) are intertwined in the poet's perspective. The word "nascent" appears in "Nationhood": "North America is mistakenly called nascent. The Shawnee nation is mistakenly called moribund," (3). The association of birth and surveying/mapping is confirmed and displayed on the page, first in "Nationhood" and then throughout the book by the use of GPS coordinates where place names might be expected—including in birth poems of Lazarus and Crescent. The poet avows that, in the colonizer's mindset, the supposed births and deaths of nations are predicated upon survey lines, maps, and borders and that personhood, citizenship, and the landscape are confined within them.

Trauma is a major theme in this collection: bodily trauma, personal trauma, spiritual trauma, and the trauma of removal. In "Correction Lines," a poem I read as about Crescent, given the repetition of an image from an earlier poem when, as a boy, he sucked on "horses' cracked oats for the hint of molasses," ("Territorial Thirst" 45), the closing couplets' piercing imagery reveals the damage:

Inside the man, survey the boy
with horse oats in his mouth,

shadow of the branch blooming
in blood across his shoulders. (25)

Likewise, Lazarus's Shawnee removal trauma is so deep in his body that it has disturbed his gait and his mind:

Bone plate growth
jarred by endless movement—
his walk has changed
weeded by the terrain of new paths
so too his mind's rough
rooted channels.

In *Instruments of the True Measure*, trauma is the dark thread weaving through memory and time, leaving indelible traces on culture, mind, and body, and, as researchers have finally confirmed, upon our genetic code. Dá's ancestors' traumas appear in the body of the poet: "I map myself into frozen joints, weak, blood, and lacy bones; these measurements slip into a web over my frontiers" ("Mapsick" 11). In "Stick," the speaker figures her surgical scars in terms of the blazes surveyors carve into trees: "seven marks are carved into my torso and abdomen. I meander into the territory of illness and must learn to make its land my own; my body's sovereignty evaporates" (74). And, in "Pain Scale Treaties," she describes her efforts to express her physical pain to nurses in the manner they require as "a treaty with myself bartering the refinement of my language for rapidly delivered slivers of chemical mercy" (59). Treaties and removal were dependent on surveys and mappings of land—the lands that tribes were forced to cede and the lands they were removed to—the scars and the pain remain.

Laura Dá's complex architecture of metaphor and imagery is presented in spare, sparse language—there are absolutely no wasted words. Yet, inside the sparseness arises figurative language of an often gasp-inciting quality: "chilled holler of the axe's / subtle swipe," (32); "the coarse amber cradle / of Missouri whiskey," (61); hands that "grow hooked / around split-rail fences, / flatten and spatulate / over quill curve" (49). Every detail feels exactly right, from the "ten soft thuds" of a father's disapproving last words to his son (13) to the "rat-tooth embossed / leather strap" (33), to the way the hooves of a deer's carcass "tick across the tip / of the saddle horn" (43).

The sensately rich, verisimilar world that Dá creates in *Instruments of the True Measure* stays with the reader long after the book is closed, as it did for *Tributaries*. Although it may seem odd for a poetry review, I think of *Instruments* as a sequel to *Tributaries*. In fact, I realized that I had been longing to return to the world of *Tributaries*, to meet with Lazarus again, to be again astonished and challenged and informed and devastated by the poetry of Laura Dá.

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Smokii Sumac. *you are enough: love poems for the end of the world*. Kegedonce, 2018. 107pp, ISBN: 9781928120162.

<https://kegedonce.com/bookstore/item/122-you-are-enough-love-poems-for-the-end-of-the-world.html>

In a recent interview, Cindy Blackstock (Gitxsan), an activist for the rights of Indigenous children, emphasized that “you have to build a movement of justice on love” (qtd. in Souffrant). The idea of a justice movement built on love encapsulates the heart and soul of “queer bright / ktunaxa and proud / two spirit” Smokii Sumac’s debut poetry book *you are enough: love poems for the end of the world*, published by Kegedonce Press at the close of 2018 (Sumac 14). *you are enough* can be seen as a justice movement and call-to-action built on, through, and with decolonial love. Sumac’s story-poems fill the page and the soul with “(big) / little” moments of world-transforming and world-building revolution through kisses, cuddles, intimate scenes of kind and gentle solitude with the self, the body, and the land, as well as ongoing and embodied territorial acknowledgements, and decolonial love-making (11). These “(big) / little” storytellings stretch across six interconnected sections and are presented in a rich array of ways, including: the “(big) / little” form of the haiku; the paratextual photo collage that is the central cover image; the Ktunaxa language, which Sumac speaks in moments throughout the collection; and through thank you’s, dedications, and Sumac’s sharing of “things our women have taught” him (11; 51).

Sumac’s collection engages with the complexities, potentialities, grief, and hopefulness woven into its titular concept of “the end of the world.” On the one hand, the term “the end of the world” may conjure ideas of an apocalypse. Various Indigenous literary works—including *Walking the Clouds: An Anthology of Indigenous Science Fiction* (2012) edited by Grace L. Dillon (Anishinaabe), *Love Beyond Body, Space, & Time: An Indigenous LGBT Sci-fi Anthology* (2016) edited by Hope Nicholson, and the masterpiece novel *The Marrow Thieves* (2017) by Cherie Dimaline (Métis)—recognize that the apocalypse is not a potential phenomenon of the near-future but, rather, is an ongoing reality for Indigenous peoples which Indigenous peoples have been living through for far too long. The apocalypse is the violent and ongoing structure of colonialism, which has forced—among other atrocities—fallacious notions of the so-called gender binary, heteronormativity, and heteropatriarchy, and which has attempted to obliterate Indigenous cultures, identities, languages, epistemologies, and lives. Indeed, the onslaught of ongoing colonialism that Indigenous peoples fight and resist every day is, to quote from Sumac’s collection, “a constant state of grief” (39). In *Walking the Clouds*, Dillon writes that “Native apocalyptic storytelling [...] shows the ruptures, the scars, and the trauma” of colonialism “in its effort ultimately to provide healing and a return to bimaadiziwin,” an Anishinaabe concept that translates roughly to “the state of balance” (9). *you are enough* honestly recognizes various contemporary and ongoing apocalyptic, world-rupturing, and world-destroying realities through story-poems that honour, remember, and bear witness to the exhaustion and hurt of traversing white heteronormative spaces as a two-spirit trans Indigenous person, the atrocity of “brown children scream[ing] / their parents locked in a cell / god knows how far / away,” and the unspeakable and unbearable pain that is the loss of Colten Boushie (Cree), Barbara Kentner (Anishinaabe), and Tina Fontaine (Anishinaabe) who, “for the Indigenous person in your life,” are family since “when you survive genocide / everyone left / is family” (Sumac 41; 43).

Importantly, *you are enough* is also filled with the recognition and assertion that, despite ongoing colonial attempts at destroying Indigenous lands and livelihoods, Indigenous peoples “keep going / keep on” surviving, resisting, loving, laughing, and caring (74). “Meditating on the Elsewhere,” Episode 26 of the Indigenous-Black solidarities podcast *The Henceforward*, posits that elsewheres are “lived and created everyday, but also [are] realms of unknown possibilities” (Habtom); elsewheres are the “places we yearn for,” the decolonial worlds that Indigenous, Black, and People of Colour communities dream, live, breathe, and act into being. While *you are enough* importantly speaks truths about and bears witness to the wrongs and pains of colonialism, Sumac’s storytelling also creates radical elsewheres. In these elsewheres, he provides and witnesses journeys of healing and returns to bimaadiziwin. *you are enough*’s poems celebrate decolonial world-building and radical elsewhere-creation, in scenes containing the everyday acts of love that Indigenous people experience, offer, receive, live, and breathe: from moments of “*self-love*[, which] *is a revolution for an NDN*,” to erotic scenes that celebrate the decolonizing potentials of Indigenous love-making, so beautifully embodied, for instance, in a piece wherein Sumac and his lover “take the Cadillac for a ride” (Sumac 36). Indeed, such scenes are examples of the elsewhere-building potentials and realities of the “sovereign erotic,” a concept coined by Cherokee scholar Qwo-Li Driskill in hir’s “Stolen from Our Bodies” (2004), and which acknowledges “the decolonial potential of Native two-spirit/queer people healing from heteropatriarchal gender regimes” (qtd by Driskill *et al* 3). Perhaps “the end of the world” that the title of Sumac’s poetry collection ultimately refers to is the end of the apocalypse, the end of the settler colonial regime, and the living into being of decolonial elsewheres.

In *Why Indigenous Literatures Matter* (2018), Cherokee scholar Daniel Heath Justice recognizes that Indigenous literatures guide readers in how to be better relations. Justice writes:

relationship is the driving impetus behind the vast majority of texts by Indigenous writers—relationship to the land, to human community, to self, to the other-than-human world, to the ancestors and our descendants, to our histories and our futures, as well as to colonizers and their literal and ideological heirs” (2018a, xix, italics in original).

Relatedly, *you are enough* provides calls-to-action for settler, white, cisgender, and heterosexual readers, which guide these readers to be better relations. Everyone has the responsibility to aid in dismantling and ending the colonial apocalypse, and in helping to restore and ensure the radically decolonial balance that is necessary for the well-being of this earth and all its creation. Through poems that tell readers that “instead of fearing / always the wrong thing / just act out of love” and “you ask what to do / and i’m telling you now,” as well as poems that say “how to support me today *after Orlando*,” *you are enough* guides its settler, white, cisgender, and heterosexual readers in how to support Indigenous and LGBTQ2IA+ communities and respectfully and responsibly aid in the process of ending the apocalyptic destruction of colonialism (Sumac 45; 48; 56, italics in original).

Above all, and most importantly, this collection is a love song and thanksgiving “for the love of all / that is queer and” Indigenous—for Indigenous LGBTQ2IA+ peoples and selfhoods (13). Justice writes, “Our trans, nonbinary, genderqueer kin enliven this world’s magic” while Anishinaabe scholar-storyteller-activist Leanne Betasamosake Simpson writes of “[t]he powerful relationships queer bodies house—consent, diversity, variance, spiritual power, community, respect, reciprocity, love, attachment” (Justice 2018b; Simpson 126). Sumac’s collection

celebrates this lived and embodied magic, as he honours “this body i am in and the power it can hold” (Sumac 24). Sumac’s collection recognizes—vulnerably, honestly, and sometimes painfully—the ongoing colonial struggles that particularly oppress and strive to silence and erase those who do not conform to white heteropatriarchal expectations. But Sumac emphasizes that Indigenous LGBTQ2IA+ people will “keep on fighting” (64). This poetry collection gives thanks for Indigenous LGBTQ2IA+ existence and celebrates that Indigenous LGBTQ2IA+ people are so much more than enough; as Sumac writes, “some days I can see that being here is the / most incredible miracle and it is enough. It is so much enough. simply / being here” (73).

The field of Indigenous literatures is rich and always growing, containing an ever-increasing and vibrant diversity of Indigenous LGBTQ2IA+ publications, including the writings of Beth Brant (Mohawk), Daniel Heath Justice (Cherokee), Gwen Benaway (Anishinaabe & Métis), Arielle Twist (Cree), Lindsay Nixon (Cree-Métis-Saulteaux), Billy-Ray Belcourt (Driftpile Cree), and Joshua Whitehead (Oji-Cree). Maraming salamat—many thanks—to Smokii Sumac for this important and beautiful addition. The Introduction to *Sovereign Erotics: A Collection of Two-Spirit Literature* (2011) says that two-spirit literatures can be seen as “maps and stories for those” Indigenous LGBTQ2IA+ people “who come after and for those who may already be on their journey, but who have journeyed without guides or fellow travelers” (Driskill *et al* 1). Smokii Sumac’s *you are enough: love poems for the end of the world* is indeed filled with maps and stories of love-filled guidance for Indigenous LGBTQ2IA+ readers, which position the collection as one for and of the past, present, and future. It is a great privilege for the world to be gifted with this book, and we have the responsibility to read this collection, and, most importantly, to listen to and carry forward into the world the decolonial teachings, transformative potentialities, and deep deep love that Sumac’s debut poetry book so generously and honestly provides.

Acknowledgements: Maraming salamat to Daniel Heath Justice for his generous permission to cite one of his Twitter posts in this review.

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Casandra López. *Brother Bullet*. University of Arizona Press, 2019. 95 pp. ISBN: 9780816538522.

<https://uapress.arizona.edu/book/brother-bullet>

It is rare that I find myself reading a new volume of poetry cover to cover in a single sitting, but Casandra López's collection, *Brother Bullet* absolutely rewards such an approach. While its individual poems all stand up as discrete lyrics, any reader picking *Brother Bullet* up for the first time will be well-served by attempting to experience the book as a whole. There is remarkable power in López's depiction of what grief and trauma do to the survivors of violence—in her case, the murder of her Brother (always capitalized in the book, but never named) in her family home. For López, surviving that night is a recursive process, one that involves constantly re-visiting and re-scripting experience. Not surprisingly, the full effect of that realization on the reader develops only gradually. While many poems in *Brother Bullet* explore the same ground (and even recount the same moments), they do so in ways that perform the necessity of slowly working with (but never entirely through) the raw material of memory. Somehow, López also manages to write about her experiences in a manner that avoids making the reader feel voyeuristic or ethically compromised in witnessing the process of grief. She also periodically broadens the scope of the work by including subtle gestures that link her personal loss to larger historical patterns (as in poems like “An Unknown” and “I Am Sorry for Your Loss”). In this respect, *Brother Bullet* may remind some readers of Natalie Diaz's *When My Brother Was an Aztec*, another first book that brilliantly blends the processes of ethical witnessing and the aesthetic transformation of experience. I think this is because, on some level, López's work consistently registers the truth of N. Scott Momaday's insight that we are all “made of words.” *Brother Bullet* offers an implicit argument that, in the end, this may be the most important contributor to survivance.

To say that we are made of words, of course, is not to minimize the role we play, as users of language, in that work of self-making. Throughout *Brother Bullet*, López regularly reminds her readers of this. In the first lines of the poem “Dear Bullet Brain,” for example, the speaker remarks, “Because of you, we danger into feralness, / open our mouths wide— / speak to the dead” (34). The opening transformation of a noun to a verb here (a strategy deployed regularly throughout the book) indexes some of the key elements of López's poetics. In a book focused on recounting the most traumatic of circumstances, López continually reaches to find a language that can express how profound loss both breaks down boundaries and opens gaps inside us in ways that challenge our sense of identity and purpose. She dramatizes this, in part, through the kind of lexical inventiveness just mentioned. She also does it through the intentional use of space on the page, and in her approach to enjambment and line break. And she does it, finally, through the complex deployment of figuration and personification that runs throughout the collection. Because of their encounter with “Bullet” (the co-protagonist of the book), López and her family must learn to:

animal

our wounds, lick them

clean, taking needle

to fissures, stitching
wanting to mend hurt into aperture

a pinhole star of clarity. (34)

What makes this particularly challenging to do, however, is that on a rainy night in San Bernardino in 2010, *Bullet* both literally and figuratively became inextricably a part of *Brother*. To remember and to honor the one, then, requires continually wrestling with the enduring presence of the other, employing all the resources that language provides as a way of doing so.

So, what then does it mean to survive such an act of brutal violence? In the poem “What *Bullet* Teaches,” López begins by noting that “I learn to speak in metaphor / name your murder / *Bullet*” (29). Metaphorization is always a paradoxical act, of course—both a deflection of experience (rendering something in terms of something else that is it not) and an act of connection (tying disparate things together through that act of comparison). It is López’s ability to recognize and explore this complexity that gives her work much of its great profundity. In subsequent lines, Lopez confesses to having imagined her brother “dead many times before, / for the good of story.” Now, however, she acknowledges that “Without you / I want to knife / the writer out of me—” (29). On one level here, of course, López is clearly registering the pain of survivor’s guilt (and even some of her own ambivalence about her poetic work throughout the collection). But at the same time, she is exploring that way that violence, writ large (to which “*Bullet*” always relates synecdochally), always lives in our imagination. This is why, in the end, imagination also provides the most effective tool for dealing with it. As López puts it in “When I Was a Young Girl,” a late poem in the collection, “We try to right this. / We try and try / to right this / And I write this—fearing no one else will” (82).

López’s insistence on rendering a particular, Southern California urban geography and experience visible also bears mentioning here. It will be valuable for readers, in time, to place *Brother Bullet* in dialogue with the work of other emerging Indigenous writers (in poetry and fiction) who are interested in the exploring the contemporary city as an Indigenous space. López’s approach to doing so is deeply entwined with her collection’s autobiographical foci. In her hands, 10th Street in San Bernardino becomes both the vividly rendered site of her brother’s unsolved murder and also something much more than that—a metonym for family history, for the culturally generative encounters between communities (particularly of color), and for the complex history of Southern California. In the poem “The Sweet and the Bitter” (located explicitly in the “Inland Empire” as a region), López moves quickly from Brother’s death to a figurative meditation on family and place. She recalls a time before the shooting, “When Father is / sweet citrus, a tree-lined grove, feeding us orange / globed stories” (20). This kind of connection between family bonds and history and orange trees reappears throughout the collection as a regular motif. Here, it allows López to take the reader from 10th Street in San Bernardino, to the citrus packing plant in nearby Rialto (where her grandfather worked), to her grandmother’s childhood home in San Timoteo Canyon. Through such moments, López is able to make her family “more than a note in a local / history book where we remain unnamed” (30). She is also able to connect the way Indigenous people have persisted, despite efforts to erase them from the Southern California landscape, with her family’s endurance of personal loss. Weighing “witness” in one hand, and an orange in the other, López notes that “Sometimes / it’s

hard to distinguish the sweet from the bitter.” She then reminds herself that both are essential, and intertwined, recalling her father’s admonition that “we must not juice our navels, we must peel and eat / them whole” (21). In the final poem in the collection, López will concede that oranges are not indigenous “to the place I call home, / not like we are” (91). Yet in a poem like “The Sweet and the Bitter,” López explores the way that, for good and ill, many things not originally a part of our experience and heritage become, in time, intrinsic to it. What to do with that experience—how to grieve it, honor it, accept it, rage against it—becomes López’s ultimate theme.

Brother Bullet concludes with lines (in the poem “Oranges Are Not Indigenous”) that find López in the backyard of the family home, reflecting on a celebration of what would have been Brother’s birthday. She conjures the scene of a family friend taking “Nephew” for a cruise through the streets of San Bernardino in Brother’s beloved ’67 Riviera, showing off its detailing and shiny rims. She bends down to smell the ground, picking up the scent of mint growing along the side of the house, fed by a leaky water faucet. López reminds herself that this mint is always growing, “even when Brother’s children do not visit / or I have been away” (92). Then, picking up on the full range of her final figurative image, she acknowledges, “I need these reminders of / how we survive and still grow / so fiercely against the edges of this earth.” This moment, which balances a line earlier in the poem where López speaks of not wanting to box up Brother’s clothes after his death (out of a desire to keep his scent “alive” as long as possible) is remarkable in its artistry and restraint. López offers no false sense of closure, no sentimentality. And yet readers will notice that the final poems of the book are less fractured than those at the start (with less use of white space between words and fewer gaps on the page). In this respect, López further reinforces the lessons taught both by the enduring mint and by *Bullet* itself. It is possible to “[take] needle to fissures,” but to do so in a way that keeps us fully open to the past and to the scars it leaves.

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Sherwin Bitsui. *Dissolve*. Copper Canyon Press, 2019. 67 pp. ISBN: 9781556595455.
www.coppercanyonpress.org

If you have ever been in the southwest, the landscape, without the houses and towers, is a layered one—the tan earth, the wide sky, mountains that mold themselves between the two. Sherwin Bitsui's book, *Dissolve*, incorporates this layering in brilliant and many-faceted ways into one long poem.

At first reading, it is Bitsui's images that become the book's top layer:

A field of moonlight
 double-parked in snowmelt

or

...a tow-truck
 hoisting up a buck
 butterflies leaking from its nostrils

or

Cranes pass as swans
 through runnels underneath this dreaming

or

Feather-wrapped mountains
 unclutter veins to what remains
 before sparking fires
 where moonlight warms knuckles
 wriggling in the slick throats of the drowning.

You can read through this top layer and underline one image after another, until there seems a surfeit of image. However a slower read (“...breathe it in”) is necessary.

Bubbling beneath this layer is the poet's use of verbs. This is important, because Bitsui's mother-tongue is Navajo, or Diné Bizaad, a language of verbs, full of movement, phrases and elegant construction. Phrasing contains motion—the verb of movement “to go” is a basic phrase. Description is done by the verb aspect of it, how something is made, is being made, in the present tense.

For example, [in discussion with poet Joy Harjo](#), Bitsui relates trying to re-translate from its English translation, into Navajo, a Li Po poem, which uses the word “wall.” When I asked Bitsui about this in a phone call, he told me, “we would describe the ways it was composed—a cement rounding the house.” Phrasing in Navajo contains motion, description is the action of the noun,

how the noun came to be. Or, what it does. For example, “clock”, would be derived from “it is moved slowly in a circle.”

And, for this poet, both languages congeal inside his imagination and poetry.

Amber clouds of bone marrow
lathered over corn husks—
 are crushed sideways into toothache,
 where waning daylight's tongue-scent
 bleeds through a flypapered horizon.

or

This mountain stands near us: mountaining,
 it mistakes morning for mourning
 when we wear slippers of steam
 to erase our carbon footprint [emphasis added]

And of course, Mountaining, flypapered, steam and footprint all achieve movement or the hint of possible movement.

Here the poet's blend of language, of scene, and of movement shifts between what seems to be worlds: one of landscape and city, of the huge spaces of the Navajo and the jammed town. But also between the poet and reader, or speaker and listener. Through both image and motion, we are brought into voice and feeling, and into what I consider another layer, that of Beauty and its disappearance.

One might remember and consider the now famous, much-repeated section of the [Navajo Blessing Way Ceremony](#):

With beauty before me I walk
 With beauty behind me I walk
 With beauty above me I walk
 With beauty around me I walk

This becomes in Bitsui's language, here and not here, present and taken:

There's a way out—
 with the dirt road into cerulean dawn,
 tap with clear fingerprints
 the windows of cars and trucks
 rattling down Highway 77,
 and clasp the nine eyes of the desert
 shut at the intersection of *then* and *now*

or

The camera sees a storm
its eyes bullet blasts
stacked stop
 gas-soaked magpie wings.

or

A lake, now a tire rut pool,
leaves bitter aftertastes
on single-roomed tongues.

Over and over the poet upturns the landscape, revealing the scabbing beneath. And also,
sometimes, it works backwards:

Neighs spasms onto songs
braiding their highest leaves

 into our necklaces of smoke.

And then, like cactus-needles thrusting up through the desert floor, comes yet another layer in
this important and timely and lovely book. The anguish and anger of the present day and its
history, especially for Indigenous peoples. The remaining uranium leakage, climate change,
water contamination, drugs, exile.

 Bluing under a dimming North Star...

 the Reservation's ghost..
 Rising out of the uranium pond—

or

 This plate's shape is pawned for bread.

 Paper lungs collapse ...

 When they seed guns with powdered bone awls,
 Who will be injured by such blue dark?

or

 on the shores of evaporating lakes.

 This plot, now a hotel garden,
 its fountain gushing forth—
 the slashed wrists of the Colorado.

Here, at the heart of what I see in the book, is the madness of a world that slashes the wrists of the Colorado. Bitsui, by using image and unique juxtaposition, arrives at a kind of rubbing against the stones of the past-present world. History of this country's ravage of the Indigenous peoples, pebbles through the poem: "bison-bone," "gun's shadow," "hatchet," "scalped hair," "we sleep/ collared to our children's nooses."

These poems are rich in affective and spiritual associations, seeking to put words together in such a way that they release a spiritual and vital action. They give the reader an experience that enriches, opens a door to the present-past/the past-in-the-present. This is done with a sure hand.

Veronica Golos

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Vivian Faith Prescott. *Our Tents are Small Volcanoes*. Quill's Edge Press, 2018. 44pp. ISBN: 9780996742436.

<https://quillsedgepress.org>

I'm at Playa, a residency in remote Eastern Oregon reading Vivian Faith Prescott's *Our Tents are Small Volcanoes*. My cabin sits on the edge of Summer Lake, a shallow alkali lake five miles wide bordered by the 1000-foot rim of Winter Ridge. I imagine the tents' bright triangles as cryptic letters, carrying meaning, ready to spell words that instruct and soothe and sustain. The first line in the book—"During the last ice age we were stories" (6).

Examining the losses associated with Sámi migration and forced assimilation, Prescott writes the times before language, writes the old languages, the attempts to erase words that still exist, lie silent, layered in us, in the land, in our stories. Prescott is a fifth-generation Alaskan of Sámi and Suomalainen descent. She lives in a fishcamp in Wrangell in Southeast Alaska, intimately connected to the land and sea.

Prescott's poems create a world of seeking home, tracing loss, excavating and exhuming words, concepts left behind. She examines the power of English and Sámi words, as in "*Oavlluš*—Depression or hollow with slushy snow in it" (14), where we are cautioned against "sharp unguarded words, especially on the tundra" like the ice that forms a muted space, "so weak it cannot bear us." In "*Guoldu*—Cloud of snow which blows up from the ground," the speaker loses sight of herself.¹

Prescott titles poems with North Sámi words for the distinct conditions of snow, "*Njáhc*—Thaw" and "*Spildi*—Very thin layer of ice on water or milk." Poems plumb the speaker's personal history, Sámi families' history in Alaska, looking across generations, centuries for clarity, for clues how they came this way. Looking for the continuity, the lifeways that say this is how we travel safely, this is the wisdom that sees us through.

Prescott found the phrase "*our tents are small volcanoes*" in Emilie Demant Hatt's diary *With the Lapps in the High Mountains* (2013). The reference citations are an integral part of this work: what is found, unearthed, uncovered; what is named, claimed, acknowledged; an inverse of the process of erasing, obscuring, acculturating, assimilating, of disappearing, of ethnic cleansing. These poems, this process, is the antidote to erasure: poems and stories told in tents, lodges, shelters that hold families, people together.

The poems carry elders' truths and observation that "reindeer are happy when clouds / pull down to tundra" in "*Rodda*—Hard Going (Too Little Snow)" (22). Prescott brings those truths side by side with the present, with choices about what we need, what we can afford. The book conveys a sense of movement, of the uncertainty of journeys, change and new beginnings. "Drawing Blanks" considers displacement, misunderstandings, and names the ethnocentrism in others' view of "Nomadic peoples. No Madness" and "We say it is *baiki*, the home we carry with us" (21).

Prescott recognizes the power and necessity of reading tracks, of following language, old maps and memories. "Sonnet for Migrations," the first poem, is set aboard ship, presumably on the

journey that brought Sámi reindeer herders to Alaska in the 1890s to care for reindeer being introduced to offset the decimation of the marine mammals. The campaign engineered by Protestant missionary Sheldon Jackson to find reindeer and herders in Scandinavia and transport them—across the Atlantic, across North America by rail, to Alaska by sea, and then overland to the Yukon River—is almost unbelievable, yet totally familiar. He was another missionary/colonizer with a plan for Indigenous populations that included the erasure of Indigeneity.

The poems carry movement, a desperate, delicate need to follow those changes, to make sense of them, to document the blanks, specifically in the poem “Drawing Blanks” (21) and also to “hold an aroma of memory,” as in “*Vouhhtit*—To observe and learn from tracks” (8).

It’s snowing on Summer Lake, and I’m reading about the subtropical humidity of the Arkansas River, about colonization and ethnic cleansing in the 1820s during the removals of Choctaws, Creeks and Cherokee immigrants into Osage land—land we Osage had ousted the Quapaw from earlier. In 1830 one of the steamboats bringing Cherokees away from their homes to Little Rock was called the *Reindeer*. Americans had already embraced the animal—reindeer pulling Santa’s sleigh appeared in “A Visit from St. Nicholas,” known as “The Night Before Christmas” in 1823—having fetishized and absorbed it into the culture by the time the Sámis were immigrating with their animals to Alaska.

In eastern Oregon, residents are taking time-lapse photos of clouds streaming over the ridges surrounding the lakebed. On clear days sunrise and sunset make kaleidoscopic images, and clouds draw shadows on the ridges. It’s satisfying to watch the clouds billowing across the land, to watch the full length of a day in the span of a few minutes. The sequence is beautiful, but I want to play it backwards, to reverse the patterns on dry grass, see puffs of clouds flow back up the ridge.

Prescott’s book is like watching colonization reverse itself, disappear. She is unraveling the binding, loosening the knots, the tight weave meant to cover history, to say that life as we know it now has always been. In “Likewise Great Observers of Omens,” among “hungry human herds” a shed skin appears as a frozen deer hide, a coat draping the back of a chair, a blue tarp flapping against a broken down snow machine (19).

She is tracking people and relations, finding meaning, relevance. In “Likewise Great Observers of Omens,” it says: “When I left, we were still clans, birds spoke overhead and I held storms in my fist” (18). Prescott holds “tight to the rim of this trail long disappeared” in *Our Tents are Small Volcanoes*, both the poem and chapbook.

Our Tents are Small Volcanoes was published in 2018 by Quill’s Edge Press, dedicated to publishing women over the age of 50, and was the Editor’s Choice in 2015-2016 Quill’s Edge Press chapbook contest. Prescott holds an MFA from the University of Alaska as well as a Ph.D. in Cross Cultural Studies from UA/Fairbanks. Her previous chapbooks have dealt with cultural genocide in *The Hide of My Tongue* (2012), and with the Sámi North American migration in *Traveling with The Underground People*.

Ruby Hansen Murray

Notes

¹ The Sámi words in these titles are italicized in the original text.

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Lehua M. Taitano. *Inside Me an Island*. WordTech Editions, 2018. 134pp. ISBN: 9781625492838.

<https://www.wordtechweb.com/taitano.html>.

“The salt in our blood carries droplets of the ocean. No matter where we are, inside us is a liquid web connecting our beating hearts.” (Taitano, 17)

In her second poetry collection, *Inside Me an Island*, Chamoru interdisciplinary artist Lehua M. Taitano negotiates the distance between what Epeli Hau’ofa calls the “substantial regional identity . . . anchored in our common inheritance of a very considerable portion of Earth’s largest body of water” (“The Ocean in Us” 392), and the horizon that symbolizes her displacement from her home island of Guåhan. Drawing on Hau’ofa’s conception of Oceania as a region that expands through the mobility of its people, Taitano’s poetry explores the unmooredness of her diasporic Chamoru identity. Thereby she emphasizes the ambiguous nature of oceanic mobility that entails both a vast network of archipelagic identities (Roberts and Stephens) and a scattered and displaced people.

The poet herself is a Native from Yigo on Guåhan (Guam), born to an American father and a Chamoru mother. Until she was four she was surrounded by Chamoru culture and family life, yet when the family decided to migrate to the US for good, Taitano was displaced from her home island, language and culture (Perez, “A Bell Made of Stones”). This feeling of displacement and unbelonging is a recurring subject in her poetry.

Inside Me an Island is structured in three parts: Correspondence, Ma’té (Low Tide) and Hafnot (High Tide). Its black and white cover shows a record and instead of a label there is a photograph of a smiling Chamoru woman, Maria Flores Taitano, the poet’s grandmother. By featuring personal memorabilia on the record label, the cover hints at topics of Taitano’s poetry that encompass memories, nostalgia, family, home and identity. The cover recalls the connection between poetry and music. Moreover, it claims the oral traditions on which Chamoru poetry is based. In his essay ‘Singing Forwards and Backwards’, Chamoru scholar and poet Craig Santos Perez suggests that contemporary Chamoru poets “are deeply woven into the aesthetics of the *tsamorita* tradition” (156), an ancient Chamoru call-and-response form of poetry. In her poetry Taitano interweaves the names and poetic approaches of other writers and artists and adapts Indigenous stories ranging from the Chamoru creation story to the Seneca Nation’s story of the origin of stories.

The first part of the poetry collection, Correspondence, begins with the poetic “transcription of a handwritten letter sent by [the poet’s grandmother] Maria Flores Taitano” (129). This letter poem features a Chamoru voice “from” Guam in an effort to bridge the distance that separates her from her diasporic family. In the following poem “A Love Letter to the Chamoru People in the Twenty-first Century,” Taitano assumes the role of the sender. Taitano explains that this and every letter she wrote and will write is addressed to the Chamoru people. In this personal letter the poet discusses how Chamorus struggle with issues of colonization, militarization, displacement, invisibility, environmental degradation and cultural erasure. Thus Correspondence establishes connections between Chamorus living on the island and in diaspora as well as between the poet and her audience.

The second part, Ma’té (Low Tide), and third part, Hafnot (High Tide), are named after the Chamoru terms to describe the ocean tides. By connecting oceanic terminology and metaphors with her mother tongue, Taitano claims and reconciles both her oceanic and her Chamoru identity. While the low tide describes the fall of the sea level that expands the land

mass and displaces the sea, it reveals the things that lie at the bottom of the ocean floor. The high tide, on the other hand, describes the rise of the sea level which increases the expanse of the sea and creates connections between different land masses and islands. Metaphorically speaking, the low tide could be understood as presenting displacement and disconnection. In countercurrent to that, the high tide would symbolize replacement and reconnection. Yet, in the constant movement of the ocean, the tides merge into one another. This intermingling is also reflected in Ma'te (Low Tide) and Hafnot (High Tide). Both low and high tide are part of the poetic journey to re-imagine home in diaspora.

Translating the ever-flowing movement of the sea, Taitano expresses herself through the versatility of her poetry. In 17 poems Ma'te (Low Tide) explores memories of the sea and her siblings (Shore Song, Create a sibling...), visitations of ancestral spirits (A Night Crowded With Night), erasure and reconnection (Islanders waiting for Snow), patriotism and militarism (Spectator), encounters with racism (Banana Queen) and the feeling of displacement (Trespass). Likewise, Hafnot (High Tide) explores nature and landscape of the mainland United States (Enchanted Rock, Texas) as well as the indigenous stories that are connected to the land (One Kind of Hunger). Taitano's poems also explore emotional memories of grief (An Oiled Groove) and love (Estuary).

With its queer female diasporic Chamoru voice, Lehua Taitano's latest poetry collection enriches the multiplicity of unique styles and voices of Chamorro poetry. Her collection includes short poems, long poems, somatic poems and fragmentary poems that remind the reader of Craig Santos Perez's use of field composition to express oceanic nature and aesthetic of his poetry (Heim 190).

Through her poetry Taitano rethinks oceanic identity by extending Hau'ofa's concept with another constant – the horizon. The horizon presents a fixed constant reminding the poet of the “island shaped / hole” inside her ever since her displacement from her home Guåhan (Taitano, *Bell* 1). Countering the uprooting effect of living in diaspora, Taitano realizes that the bridge to connect the fragments of her diasporic Chamoru cultural identity can be found in oceanic consciousness. In a similar inward movement as suggested by Hau'ofa's “The Ocean in us”, Taitano realizes that both her oceanic and her Chamoru identity are moored within her own consciousness and body. Moreover, by recognizing the ever-flowing movement of the sea and its manifestations in different shapes (in the vastness of the sky, oceanic clouds, snow, the river, a lake...) through her poetry, Taitano puts space and her own displacement into question. Adapting Perez's unconventional fragmentary form of poetry, Taitano reimagines the space on the page (see Hsu, 297). The title of the collection *Inside Me an Island*, on the other hand, indicates that her home island is interwoven in every action and poem of the artist. Space and displacement become dynamic concepts in an oceanic consciousness.

Julia Szews

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Denise Sweet. *Palominos Near Tuba City*. Holy Cow! Press, 2018. 75 pp. ISBN: 9780998601045

<http://www.deesweet.com/>

“...would I run again and again to return where my education would unfold in seasons, within harvested stories?”

- Denise Sweet, “Mapping the Land”

Denise Sweet must surely have been born a storyteller poet and expressed herself in that way from the time she could speak. *Palominos Near Tuba City* is a collection of forty new and selected poems that spans the decades of her life as a recognized, published poet. Sweet, an Ojibwe of White Earth, Minnesota, has lived and experienced societal / historical changes of the 1970s through today. Her latest work, published twenty years after Sweet’s acclaimed *Songs for Discharming*, is a mature collection that includes very recent poems as well as some from early publications. In the time between the two books Sweet has been Wisconsin’s Poet Laureate, a professor, a mother and grandmother, a traveler to many parts of the world. And a poet who lives her work.

The poetry in this collection includes global as well as tribal and regional topics that are at their heart traditional Ojibwe ways of looking at the world, time-honored teaching and passing on of knowledge that has reinforced generations of learning and recounting history. The number four, significant in Ojibwe culture (there are four seasons, four directions, four races of mankind), is present in the organization of the collection into four sections: “Mapping the Land,” “The Strangers,” “Rough Rock,” and “Homing In.” As a contemporary Ojibwe poet Sweet expresses in her writing the observations, consideration and recording / recounting of the world around her in a fashion that is literary and historical as well as uniquely Ojibwe; as we read her poetry we become a part of this. For readers unfamiliar with some of the Ojibwe language and terms in the poems she has provided a glossary at the beginning of the book.

“Mapping the Land,” the poem that begins the lyrical story that is this collection, allows us into Sweet’s interactions with an elderly Native man who as a child attended the Indian boarding school in Tomah, Wisconsin; it is this relationship that sets the tone of the book. “Like the back of your hand ... you learn the land by feel” he begins, and then, spitting chew occasionally into a five-pound coffee can, voices the story that he chooses to tell Sweet on that day and at that time, in the speaking style of an Ojibwe old-timer, an elder. A generation behind him, she thinks hard as he talks of being sent away from home to the boarding school in Tomah, the lay of the land familiar after several attempts at running away, and the triumph of making it “home in a week by sunrise! Every time! They’d never catch us!” He teases her about running as a sport; she ponders the aspects of relays, marathons, treadmills, of running just to run, “with no destination, no purpose,” unlike the old man’s stories. Looking directly at her, which is what an old-time Ojibwe man would do when making an important point, he tells Sweet that he never finished 7th grade, which opens her thoughts to the profound differences in their generational experiences – Could she have survived what the old man survived? If she had succeeded, would her education be that of Ojibwe people of earlier generations, learned in stories and in an existence in rhythm

with the seasons? And what, in spite or because of the privileges, gains and advantages, material and otherwise of our own lives that are so different from the old man's, have we descendants of those boarding school children and that era missed? With the wistfulness and guilt familiar to those of us who have touched and loved that earlier generation, she tells the reader, "The sudden twist of regret hung in the air between us. I hardly knew what to say -- "

It is easy to picture Sweet re-living the time spent with the old man as she organized her work in this collection; this reviewer, a longtime admirer of her work, did just that. Although each poem can stand alone, all can be read within the context of the first, which reinforces Sweet's awareness of earlier generations, how the lives of those generations touch hers. The experiences of our ancestors and ourselves, and what we have made of those experiences, will touch the lives of our descendants, a concept that Sweet applies to much, if not all, of her writing.

Some of the poetry in the collection uncovers intrigues and wonders woven throughout everyday happenings: an assertion of female spirit and knowledge playfully written in "Zen and Women's Way of Parking"; a conversation with Sweet's mother closing a circular conversation of flippancy and contempt halted by an enlightenment, the mother's comments resulting in an awareness of generations of womanhood and a paired weeping of mother and daughter; in a shoulder-to-shoulder sharing with Bea Medicine what it takes to be an ikwe (woman) warrior in "At the Women's Studies Conference (for Bea Medicine)" in a setting where Native women were being treated less than respectfully by non-Native women; in rising to correct, Medicine strengthens and empowers Sweet and all Native women. This circularity, evident in so many of Sweet's poems, is particularly biting in "Indian War," a bitter touching on the wounds and sores of history as she watches sports on television, mascots in "turkey feathers and greasepaint grins" ignorantly mimicking "Indians, the ones you honor at half-time." In two other pieces Sweet places herself into the personae of Osama Bin Laden, Injun' Joe, villains who would but cannot find salvation and redemption in the love of their wives. Many poems address earthly climate and terrain, tribal connection and spiritual disconnect, and the role of the poet-observer, which is to mold language into a link between beings and earth; to love and protect; and, as it is in traditional Ojibwe pedagogy, to witness and teach with the power of words. There is at times an atmosphere of sorrow and helplessness at the plight of the Earth and the possibilities of destruction, but never hopelessness. As the words of traditional Ojibwe elders / storytellers / educators provide wise direction for what is currently in our hands and will pass to the future, so does Sweet's poetry in *Palominos Near Tuba City*.

Linda LeGarde Grover. University of Minnesota Duluth

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Cedar Sigo. *Royals*. Wave Books, 2017. 96 pp. ISBN 9781940696539.
<https://www.wavepoetry.com/products/royals>.

The title of Cedar Sigo's recent poetry collection, *Royals*, couldn't be more apt for the book's regal interior, a celebration and investigation of the lives and creations of poets, artists, musicians, and others elevated as sovereign, as well as the author's own poetic lineage in created and creating verse. Sigo's royals are cataloged and displayed in living exhibition, guestbook ledger pages becoming the contextualized walls to hang or ink a portrait, where readers take a virtual tour of the galleries, parties, and poetry readings to witness the artists' picturesque productions, their colorful lives and conversations. The poems in *Royals* pay tribute to the poets and painters, musicians and lovers that have influenced the author and his creative process.

Sigo, in the tradition of the west coast branch of the New York School and Beat poets, whose lines and lives intertwine and illustrate their obsessions, evokes the glorified artists and adorns their admired lines of poetry and conversation with his own poetic fascinations, producing a collection that is, at once, both homage and exploration of his regal literary lineage and his own place among the royal. The reader is invited to the gala, the coronation of the celebrants, whether the landscape is a jazz club, an art museum, a library, a street corner, or even the poet's living room. We're on the guest list, welcomed to mingle among the courtiers and courtesans, equally VIP; encouraged to turn on, to flirt; urged to listen to the jazz and blues, to tune in to the dialogue, to browse the bookshelves and vinyl record albums, and to take home fragments of lines, "calling up receptors of individual visions," "trimmings," a "set of notes" from which to "press new meaning in between" and "retool" for the future (30).

Sigo's court comprises his early artistic influences – as "a Bolinas separatist poet" (26) moving between the Suquamish Indian Reservation and Seattle, Washington; Boulder, Colorado and Naropa University's Jack Kerouac School of Disembodied Poetics; New York City book stores; and San Francisco streets – illustrated in narrative exposition ("Dragging back my bags of books ... Allen, Jack, John Weiners / ... / I was mostly taught who to read ... Robert Duncan, Creeley, Joanne") (67); as well as homage ("Sensation" for Anselm Hollo, "On Strings of Blue" for Bill Berkson, "Our Lives" for Julian Talamantez Brolaski); and imitation ("Blue Moon" after Alfred Starr Hamilton, "Aquarelle" after Emile Nolde).

The book's dedication, "For Brian / – with whom all landscapes / become love poems," reflect the poet's love for these royal landscapes: the party, the poetry reading, the conversation. Sigo brings us there to mingle, to eavesdrop on the artists' interchange, to take part in the art and music, and to fall in love as the royals empty their pockets and suitcases to share all their possessions and obsessions.

In "The Real Contents of a Street Poet's Suitcase," Sigo catalogs among the short list poem: "Tiny dented copper spools," "An elephant gun," "Clean underwear," "Red Garland records (Red in Bluesville, Red Alone)" and ends with the underlined passages of Bob Kaufman's poetry in the Beat classic paperback *Golden Sardine* (59). Sigo quotes Kaufman in those final lines, lamenting that poet Guillaume Apollinaire's noble birth prevented his street credibility with the San Francisco poets:

Golden Sardine (with underlined lines and figures)
 "Apollinaire never hiked in papier-mâché woods"

“Apollinaire never slept in an icehouse” (59).

Sigo contrasts the lifestyles between the last two referenced poets: Kaufman, an African American surrealist poet who coined the term “beatnik,” and French aristocrat Apollinaire, who coined the term “cubism.” The “street poet” of the poem’s title has those passages underlined in his copy of Kaufman, positioning the lives of the poets, all poets, as equal in worth of reverence and immortality. Sigo invokes the lives of poets and artists, dead and living, referencing them throughout the poems in *Royals*, introducing us if we’re not yet familiar – and urging the reader to get to know this alluded to and elevated academy.

In the New York School style of Frank O’Hara, Sigo’s friends and influences stop by, enter in, and casually add a line or become a moment in the poems. “Bill Berkson / will read from / John Weiners / in my wooden / house across / the street (brown / with golden couch) / his sounding out / The Cut ... / ... / His voice held / the cleanest / copy one / could find,” writes Sigo in “On Strings of Blue” (11, 12).

In the Marcel Duchampish “Whims,” the speaker reimagines remaking objects into gifts for the royal beloveds: “I drew a French mustache / onto a John Cage postcard // ... I spun a haunted pendant / for the edges of Anne Waldman // I stamped and numbered an opium pipe / for Gregory Corso’s private room // I handwrote a Ouija board / for CAConrad and set it outside the door” (25), much as Joe Brainard reimagined the Ernie Bushmiller comic character *Nancy* in his fantasized alter-scenarios.

In “Thrones,” the New York School style homage takes the form of a Salish giveaway ceremony, Sigo says in a LitHub interview from January 2019. “My poem ‘*Thrones*’ was written after hearing a tape of Philip Lamantia read his ‘*Time Traveler’s Potlatch*.’ ... The form has you presenting gifts on bended knee in a way and it forms this sort of totem, a twitching altar with an almost invisible frame. For ‘*Thrones*,’ I was interested in honoring (communicating with) certain essential African American artists. ... While ‘*The Time Traveler’s Potlatch*’ is ultimately a flowing list of decadent gifts, I love that the form itself can also be seen as a gift to all poets.” (Sigo)

In addition to Bob Kaufman, Amiri Baraka, and Alice Coltrane, among other dead artists immortalized in “Thrones” include:

For Phillis Wheatley: A book of verse in cornerstones of a Moorish castle, purple and gold, depicting souls in various stages of release, the pitch, anger and arc of the poems an unrhymed mirror to the long Atlantic.

For Jayne Cortez: An intertribal grand entry of poets in cedar bark jackets, split skirts and whalebones pinning them closed, a voice in praise and suspension of the drum ...

For Stephen Jonas: Your favorite Eric Dolphy faded to a room of golden tasseled light, a couch of friends’ faces smeared in a gleaming silver crown (13).

In Sigo’s poems, “a couch of friends’ faces” is among the highest seat of honor, bringing the throne to the living room, the royalty to the shag carpet, the poetry reader to the art show, where surely Verlaine’s blues are playing, a current that reappears through the collection in color and

sound, at times referencing punk poet musician Tom Verlaine and at others, French surrealist poet Paul Verlaine. The Verlaines' blues are carried into *Royals* from Sigo's previous collection *Language Arts*, where we find the poet in the poem titled "Verlaine Blues" in the rain, "dressed in black, in mourning." "Go away from my door, I've got time alone and trouble for days / Sometimes I get the blues when it rains" (11).

Sigo's speaking poet/narrator finds his community in *Royals*, restaging "Apollinaire's last hot march into evening air" (*Royals*, 26). The "Essential Solitude" of the poet in *Language Arts* (9), where all "rooms are alien" (25), finds his rightful place among "The poets in glowing lab coats" in *Royals* (27), pressing "new meaning in between" "the trimmings" (30).

In Sigo's prose poem, "Watching William Castle Writing," "what makes it down onto the screen as letters, words, phrasing, seems after the fact" (62). When Sigo writes, "It is this desire to filter the language that we have captured" (62), it seems to speak of the author's process, filtering the "lines taken home" and "retooled" into a collection that stunningly reimagines and eternalizes them (5).

Cedar Sigo is "a stylist of lines" (52), building his "own circuitry / sounds // and flow" (23), turning his "spade to the inset language" (26) to thoroughly place the reader in the landscape of the poet and the poem. The immortal "chamber of maiden / thought is metered" and always "gives / way to the word / in this case," Sigo's – and in the case of *Royals*, Sigo's word is executed perfectly.

I read somewhere that if a poet falls in love with you, you can never die. Sigo's love poems to the poets and their landscapes in *Royals* elevate the artists enshrined toward immortality. As he writes in "Portrait in Black," "the dream house" becomes the heart "sketched," a "valley grove of bones," where "You can only capture the poets / and keep them lurking ..." (65).

Chip Livingston

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<https://mammothpublications.net/writers-m-to-z/rodriguez-linda-dark-sister/>

Linda Rodriguez has been publishing poetry since 1994, when *Skin Hunger* was printed by Scapegoat Press. She has worked to broaden and diversify the definition of poetry in the Americas and has connected women and voices across the globe by serving as co-convenor of the Women and Environment Caucus at the United Nations international conference, Women 2000: Beijing Plus Five and editing *The World is One Place: Native American Poets Visit the Middle East* with fellow poet Diane Glancy. She is author of the nonfiction guide to writing, *Plotting the Character-Driven Novel*, and she has proven her ability to do that in a series of mysteries featuring Cherokee and Latinx Chief of Police, Marquitta “Skeet” Bannion. In her latest collection of poetry, *Dark Sister*, she writes of hearing the phrase, “get your nose out of that book” as a child, but it is clear the pages continued to call to her as she became the creator of books always reaching in new directions (9).

Dark Sister takes its name from the way she has been described in relation to her siblings. She is the “dark sister” the “dream sister,” “the witch sister,” “the crow sister,” the sister “stripped of layers of pride and shame, / become glowing cinder in the palm of a hand.” (14) Her ability to look back now on her life and her family is the result of drawing power from these descriptions familiar to many women who dare to be strong, visionary and unafraid of finding their own paths.

The poems in *Dark Sister* appear in four parts, each exploring an aspect of Rodriguez’s being: “Mixed-Blood,” “Mestiza,” “Cherokee” and “Woman.” Although it may seem she wishes to clarify each identity for readers, she instead illustrates the ways in which language and life blur these definitions. Poems in every section touch on the joy, and sometimes pain, of being a woman but the focus is about being a mixed-blood woman, combining all the adjectives that might be hurled her way. She introduces the blended ethnic outcome of generations building lives together in America and does not write within the stereotype of any category as she shares her family’s history. In the poem “Where I Come From” she explains: “I come from Sequoiah and John Ross. . .the Great Smokies and Tahlequah and Broken Arrow, from Highland crofts and Dublin slums. . .from San Diego and Coronado and El Cajon” (9). Through genealogy, Rodriguez writes of people, place and politics and her own origin of her story.

As a whole the collection is a call for more complex definitions. In the United States the term “mixed-blood” has been used to support blood-quantum definitions of identity while “mestizo” was often used in Central and South American nations to support hierarchies of race and ethnicity placing people of mixed European heritage above indigenous people. Rodriguez illustrates how the history of ᎠᎩᎩᎩ ᎠᎩᎩᎩ (Tsalagihi Ayeli, the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma); ᎠᎩᎩᎩ ᎠᎩᎩᎩ (Tsalagihi Detsadanilvgi, the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians); and the ᎠᎩᎩᎩ ᎠᎩᎩᎩ (Anigiduwagi Anitsalagi or United Keetoowah Band of Cherokee Indians) is

one that needs unravelling to understand where histories intersect and where agency and equality were denied. These nations represent multiple possible futures for Cherokee people and Rodriguez asks readers to think beyond such terms as American Indian, Native American, even Cherokee, to understand the complexity of multiple identities that have changed over time. Through her poetry, Rodriguez, traces the connections between what her Cherokee ancestors have urged her to remember and how the way Cherokees choose to be in the world today. The carefully arranged collection ends with a reminder to “stop surrounding yourself with mirrors / turn them into windows” experience life, to let it flow as a sensation in her poem “Through the Body” (87)

Several themes are recurring in her poems. Peace is a concept she works to describe a variety of ways. It is the “Indian peace” of a fondly remembered relative (10). It is “the peace of coming to a hard place” in the poem, “God of Hawks” (13). It is also part of the phrase “go in peace” which she whispers in the elegy “The Things She Gave Me” as she thanks Juana (Jenny) Gomez Rodriguez for being the mother she needed (17). And it is included in the apology she makes to Frida Kahlo for the way American culture has mistaken her attempts to stay sane as exotic affect. “They won’t let you rest / in any kind of peace” she says about the ways in which Kahlo’s art is now marketed to consumers seeking an icon of Mexican identity (36). Peace is also echoed when “La Malinchine Speaks of Cortez” and asks, “how was I to live in peace after him?” (37). Giving a voice to the Nahua woman who served as slave, interpreter and bearer of children to Hernan Cortes as he conquered the Aztec Empire is one way for Rodriguez to further complicate, and confront, the deep wounds of history. She points out the need for women’s voices and the long tradition in matrilineal nations of women as part of the process of negotiating a place among other societies and on the land. At a time when many are writing of Mother Nature, Rodriguez writes of mothers and nature, reminding us to nurture the relationships that sustain life. Her place is the center of the continent, and it is in Oklahoma where she finds:

winds and sky that could pull you off your feet
 into infinity if you didn’t have troubles to weight you down
 to the earth, I make my peace with it
 and come home (13).

A second theme in many of her poems is death, which she deconstructs and recomposes as deftly as she does peace. In some cases, she confronts death as a part of shared history, a legacy of conquest and removal. When she writes of the ghost La Llorona “the woman in white, / wandering the night in tears for the children she drowned, / looking for new little victims” she could be speaking of La Malinchine or the ghastly female giant of John Gast’s painting, “American Progress” (17). Rodriguez understands the need for honesty when facing terminal situations. She is brutally frank about her own brushes with death and uses plain words to describe her “ugly, puckered scar” and “3 ½ pain-filled, sleepless weeks” when “lovely bony Ms. Death” came looking (31). But she remains as unafraid as baby raptors learning to hunt and become “death on two wings” in the poem “Redtail Hawk” (76). In the “Ofrenda” she takes fearlessness one step farther to write, “I would wrestle the Lady of the Dead herself / for possession, to wrench you / from peaceful rest in Mictlan / and back into the tempest / that was us” (39). Life is worth living according to the poems of *Dark Sister*. Reaching backward toward

the knowledge of elders in the distant past, she describes life as a connection to a “labyrinth of galaxies spinning out of control,” an “eternal dissipation of energy” (31). She refers to the same maze in the poem “Indian Time” as she reframes “Indian time” as less a cultural contrast in punctuality and more an implication of galactic relativity, an ancient concept worth embracing.

And I see my life’s circular maze,
three-dimensional
rising ever
to join the eternal spiraling
wheel of stars” (56).

This same coil of being is found in the content and form of “At the Stomp Dance” which creates a rhythm by beginning each line with “now. . .” as the feast ends, children play, a fire is started and:

Now, the women set the rhythm with their fast turtleshelled feet.
Now, the circle spirals out from the fire.
Now the dance can begin (81).

Rodriguez teaches readers to try “Living in Aztec Time” paying attention not to time but to the order of things, resting comfortably with the knowledge that someday we will all “reach that hole in the sky” (83).

These lessons in life and death are put forth mostly as free verse without formal structure and in the voice of the poet. A few notable exceptions are a short series of poems written from the perspective of various non-humans. Crow recognizes the Anthropocene and speaks of the “furless, clawless thing” in control of the present (57). Owl speaks of “a long and happy relationship with death” (61). Oak talks about sunlight and strong roots invisible to others while River speaks of the power to survive (62, 63). By viewing the world from another being’s perspective Rodriguez reforges old networks of knowing.

She achieves the same reconnection with her use of Cherokee throughout the book. By mixing Cherokee and English she inserts another ontology into the discourse. The poem “Learning Cherokee” seems to be a list but is a lesson in colonization as the phrase “*ga yo tli ga do hi*, just a little land” is repeated and eventually becomes “*ni gad a ga do a*, all your land” (72). The list also contains the word “*yonega*,” the term for white settlers, which appears first in the poem “Trickster Time” as a grandmother remembers what the “*yonega* ranchers” took and the circles of returning required to become nations again after “*nu na hi du na tlo hi lu i*, that Trail Where They Cried” (23). Readers also learn *ghi gua* is the Beloved Woman, the matrilineal leader who served seven clans (67). This use of Cherokee emphasizes language revitalization as an essential part of cultural sustainability a way to live in the present but also “to go back / to that first world / of belonging, being part of a whole, / *u li he li s di*, / joy” (42).

Dark Sister contains poems which Asga Ya Galun lati (the Great Spirit, Creator) will hear. Some are declarations, others are conversations, others still are chants and prayers to all the beings who take time to listen. They are songs of praise for mockingbirds, lightning, a loved one asleep in the same bed and “all things silent and hidden” (48). They are a reminder:

The world is waiting for you to know.
The sun is there. Bring it into being.
Listen to the blue wind.

Listen to that wind.
Something is being told in the woods (78).

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Dana Naone Hall. *Life of the Land*. 'Ai Pōhaku Press, 2017. 248pp. ISBN 978-I-883-52844-7. <https://uhpress.hawaii.edu/title/life-of-the-land-articulations-of-a-native-writer/>

Life of the Land chronicles the thirty-plus years of the work of Dana Naone Hall in her homeland of the Hawaiian Islands. As a poet and public advocate/activist for her lāhui and her 'āina aloha, she tells her story through public speeches, interviews, letters, essays, legal testimonies, and newspaper editorials. Adding another dimension of depth and insight, these accounts are interspersed with her poems. The beautifully designed volume reads like a personal journal as we move with the author through the conflicts she and others have shouldered for the protection of their kūpuna and their native land. Not only does the work inform the reader about the many and varied critical issues that Native Hawaiians currently face, it also speaks to the vigilance required to stand up to the relentless onslaught of an economic intrusion that profits the few at the expense of the many. *Life of the Land* illuminates the sustained strength and perseverance that Dana Naone Hall and her companions have expended over the years in the defense of what is unique to Hawai'i Nei and to our way of life. Her writings stand as a testimony to the continued presence of Native Hawaiians, past and present, in the world today.

“All around us, wherever we live, land is being changed beyond recognition.” (Hall p233)

Hall writes that witnessing the destruction of the landscape of her childhood in Kane 'ohe on the island of O 'ahu, motivated her to become active in trying to prevent the same kind of destruction in her new home on the island of Maui. For many of us of Hawaiian ancestry who grew up in Hawai'i in the 1950s and 1960s the rapid transformation of our childhood environments has become a source of collective anger and grief. This loss, much like a physical wound, has shaped our psyches in various ways. Now as adults, we have new words to describe these losses: fragile eco-systems, critical habitats, endangered species, extinctions, but as children and young adults, we had a more powerful and instinctual understanding that something we deeply loved was being taken away from us. If, like me, you were born and raised in the islands, this book will resonate with your loss. If you are not an islander, this book will help you to understand how thoughtless development can transform and erase the unique and valuable places of this world. What this book gifts its readers is that these changes are not inevitable, that action and community intervention can preserve special places, and that we all have the right to assert ourselves as stewards of our homelands.

“... activism is 99 percent trench work.” (Hall p2)

Life of the Land reveals the dogged stamina required to engage with the government and with the public on critical issues. One gets more than a hint of what this might mean when reading the detailed testimonials in this book. It is more than apparent that the author had to become familiar and literate in many disciplines including history, business, archaeology, and law to name a few. Not only did she have to have a solid understanding of these fields, she also had to be able to articulate that understanding. That articulation would be essential in order to present challenges to old policy, or suggestions to create new policy, or to call for adherence to the law. The exhaustive study and preparation required for her presentations can only elicit our admiration. A

review of Ms. Hall's writings reveals not only a sharp and prepared mind, but also a mind attuned to thoughtfulness and wisdom.

This text is certainly destined to become a valuable historical record, documenting, from a Native Hawaiian perspective, the landmark achievements of communities to preserve places of historical and cultural importance. Particularly moving are those passages that recount the efforts to preserve burial sites and to oversee the handing of our iwi kūpuna with reverence, respect and love.

*“the Ancestress beckons,
offering food, offering water
a place in the shade
to the passing travelers.”* (p202)

As a playwright, I am fascinated by subtext. When I read a story, whether fiction or nonfiction, I enter into a solitary relationship with the author, and all the while I am half listening for the “other” voice of the author that resounds throughout the work underneath the words and the story. I often ask, who is this person and what do they really want to tell me? *Life of the Land* reached out to me on two distinct levels. I heard the competent voice of a woman warrior, skilled in the art of beneficent disputation, a voice that touched my own love of historical, environmental and cultural preservation. But it was the voice of the poet that swept me away, captured my imagination and awakened the part of me that recognizes the larger, liminal space that contains our collective past and present. At first, when reading, I perceived these as two separate lines in the text, but at some point, I began to realize that they were not separate lines of thought, but a fluid reality that not only intermingled, but served as pillars of support to one another. In the end, one of the important things this book asks us is to join in honoring the infinite ways that the past permeates and influences our present. Equally important is the very real affirmation that goodness, when combined with intelligence, courage and resilience becomes a powerful force in creating a path for change.

“...when we are told up front that there is no way we can prevail, we will continue to watch and wait and assist where we can in maintaining the life of the land forever.” (Hall p109)

*Victoria Nalani Kneubuhl
Waiki ‘i, Hawai ‘i*

Contributors

Guest Editors

Rebecca Macklin is a PhD Candidate in Comparative Literature at the University of Leeds and was 2017-18 Fulbright Visiting Student Researcher in English at Cornell University, where she was affiliated with the American Indian and Indigenous Studies Program. Her research is focused on Native American and South African literary engagements with capitalism, (de)coloniality, and environmental justice and she has had writing published in *Native American and Indigenous Studies* and *Wasafiri*. She is interested in how the arts can be used as a tool for youth empowerment and has facilitated participatory arts workshops for young people in South Africa, as a project facilitator with Changing the Story (<https://changingthestory.leeds.ac.uk/>) and board trustee for the Bishop Simeon Trust (<http://www.bstrust.org/>).

Eman Ghanayem is a PhD Candidate in English at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Her research examines Palestinian and American Indian literatures, and the larger context of global indigenous and refugee narratives, through a framework of interconnected settler colonialisms and comparative indigeneities. Eman can be reached at e.ghanayem@gmail.com.

Contributors

Dr. Vanessa Anthony-Stevens, PhD., is an Assistant Professor of Social and Cultural Studies in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction, University of Idaho. As an educational anthropologist, Vanessa is interested in the intersections of policy and practice in public education and examines the ways minoritized communities strategically navigate historically oppressive institutions for purposes of self-determination and social transformation. She is the Principal Investigator and Director of Indigenous Knowledge for Effective Education Program (IKEEP) at the University of Idaho. Vanessa is a mother, a former K-8 classroom teacher, and an educator committed to projects of decolonization and educational sovereignty.

Dr. Kari A. B. Chew is a Chickasaw citizen and postdoctoral fellow for NETOLNEW_ 'one mind, one people' at the University of Victoria's Department of Indigenous Education. Her scholarship focuses on the motivations and experiences of adult additional language learners who are reclaiming their Indigenous heritage languages. Her current research considers the role of technology in connecting learners who live outside their communities to their languages. She earned her doctorate in Language, Reading, and Culture from the University of Arizona in 2016 and was awarded a Hunt postdoctoral fellowship, which supported her contributions to this manuscript, in 2018.

Dr. Amal Equeiq is a native Palestinian born in the city of Al-Taybeh in Israel/Palestine. She is an assistant professor of Arabic Studies and comparative literature at Williams College. Her research interests include: modern Arab literature, popular culture, Palestine Studies, feminism(s), performance studies, translation, indigenous studies in the Americas, and literature of the Global South. She is currently completing her manuscript, *Indigenous Affinities: A Comparative Study in Mayan and Palestinian Narratives*. Amal is also a creative writer and has published a number of short stories and essays in *Mada Masr*, *Jadaliyya* and

several anthologies, including *Being Palestinian* (2017) and *Min Fami: Arab Feminist Reflections on Identity, Resistance and Space* (2014). Her translation of selected poems by Hussein AlBarghouti (Arabic-English) and Miguel ´Angel Asturias (Spanish-Arabic) appeared in *Jadaliyya* (2011 & 2017). Amal keeps a Facebook blog called “Diaries of a Hedgehog Feminist” and is currently writing her first novel.

Jeremiah J. Garsha is a postgraduate researcher in the Faculty of History at the University of Cambridge. He researches the cultural history of violence with an emphasis on visual and material cultures of colonialism and anti-colonial resistance in world history. He specialises in transnational indigenous movements, repatriation of human remains and artefacts, and postcolonial historical memory, specifically the positioning and repositioning of physical memory structures within landscapes of atrocities. His PhD dissertation is a global history of a collected skull and its international travels throughout the twentieth century.

Dr. Audrey A. Harris received her Ph.D. from the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) in 2016. She teaches classes in Latin American and U.S. Latina/o literature and culture, and Spanish language, at the University of California, Los Angeles, and at the Cineteca Nacional in Mexico City. With support from the Mellon Foundation, she has taught prison workshops in Mérida, Yucatán, leading to the publication of *Nos contamos a través de los muros*, (*We Tell our Stories Through these Walls*) (Catarsis, 2016) an anthology of short stories and narratives written by incarcerated women in Mérida, Yucatán. More about that project can be found here: <https://vocesdelacarcel.wixsite.com/vocesdelacarcel>. North of the border, she has taught classes in Latin American fiction and narrative with incarcerated women through UCLA's Prison Education Program. She is a translator of Mexican author Amparo Dávila's *The Houseguest and Other Stories* (2019), and her writings and translations have been published and are forthcoming in *Harpers*, the *Paris Review Daily*, *Two Lines*, *Roads and Kingdoms*, *The Aztlán Mexican Studies Reader*, *Chasqui*, *Chiricú*, *Párrafo*, and elsewhere.

Danne Jobin is a PhD candidate in contemporary Native American literature at the University of Kent. Their project explores the fiction of Anishinaabe writers Louise Erdrich, David Treuer and Gerald Vizenor to show how Indigenous space extends beyond the reservation toward urban and transnational spaces.

Amanda LeClair-Diaz (Eastern Shoshone/Northern Arapaho) is originally from Ft. Washakie, which is located on the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming. She is a doctoral candidate in the Teaching, Learning, and Sociocultural Studies Department at the University of Arizona. Amanda's major is Indigenous Education, and her minor is Teaching and Teacher Education. Once Amanda obtains her PhD, she hopes to become a professor who works with pre-service educators and Native communities.

Dr. Paul McKenzie-Jones is an Assistant Professor in Indigenous Studies at the University of Lethbridge. As a settler-scholar he positions his work in solidarity with, rather than as an expert on, Indigenous peoples, and seeks to use his privilege to help create more spaces for Indigenous voices in academia. His research foci are Indigenous activism, treaty rights, and Indigenous pop cultures. His first book was a biography of early Red Power leader, Clyde Warrior, and he is currently working on two research projects – Indigenous cross-border (US/Canada) activism since 1900, and collaborative Indigenous activism in the CANZUS states.

Dr. Sheilah E. Nicholas is Associate Professor in the Department of Teaching, Learning and Sociocultural Studies, University of Arizona. She is a member of the Hopi Tribe located in northeastern Arizona. Her scholarship focuses on Indigenous/Hopi language reclamation; Indigenous language ideologies and epistemologies; the intersection of language, culture and identity; and, Indigenous language teacher education, and draws from her dissertation study, "Becoming 'Fully' Hopi: The Role of the Hopi Language in the Contemporary Lives of Hopi Youth – A Hopi Case Study of Language Shift and Vitality." She is co-principal investigator of a Spencer Foundation funded multi-university national study, "Indigenous-Language Immersion and Native American Student Achievement."

Dr. Thea Pitman is Senior Lecturer in Latin American Studies at the University of Leeds. Her research interests lie in the field of contemporary Latin American cultural production, especially online, and more broadly digital, works, as well as the appropriation of new media technologies by indigenous communities. She has published the anthology *Latin American Cyberliterature and Cyberculture* (LUP, 2007) and the book *Latin American Identity in Online Cultural Production* (Routledge, 2013), both with Claire Taylor, as well as numerous other articles and pieces of short-form scholarship on related topics. Her current research focuses on indigenous new media arts in the Americas.

Angel Sobotta is Niimiipuu (Nez Perce) and pursuing a doctoral degree at the University of Idaho in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction. She has worked for the Nez Perce Language Program in Lapwai, Idaho for over twenty years. Drawing on this experience, Sobotta's research focuses on learning and teaching her language, *nimipuutimt*, through Coyote stories. She is married to Bob Sobotta and has four children: Payton, Glory, Grace, and Faith.

Dr. Philip J. Stevens is from the San Carlos Apache reservation. He's parents are Homer and Nalani Stevens. Philip's clans are Tudilhilhi and Deschiini. He has two daughters, Carmen and Hazel, with Dr. Vanessa Anthony-Stevens. Philip is a Regent for San Carlos Apache College, an assistant professor of anthropology and the director of the American Indian Studies program at University of Idaho. He researches western education environments through Apache cultural values and the intertwining beliefs, nature, justification and scope of mathematics among Apache adults document cultural perspectives between Native Americans and non-Natives understanding of mathematical concepts.

Dr. Billy J. Stratton teaches contemporary Native American/American literature, Indigenous critical theory, and writing in the Department of English at the University of Denver. His criticism, fiction, commentary, and editorial work has appeared in numerous books and journals including, *Arizona Quarterly*, *Cream City Review*, *Salon*, *The Journal of American Culture*, *The Independent*, *Wicazo-Sa Review*, *Rhizomes*, *SAIL*, *Big Muddy*, *The Los Angeles Review of Books*, and *TIME*. He is also the author of *Buried in Shades of Night: Contested Voices, Indian Captivity, and the Legacy of King Philip's War*, while being contributing editor to *The Fictions of Stephen Graham Jones: A Critical Companion*. He has been instrumental in efforts to create dialogue and historical understanding at the University of Denver around the issue of the Sand Creek massacre.

Dr. Martin W. Walsh, Lecturer IV, holds a PhD. in dramatic literature from Cambridge University (1974). He taught at the University of Giessen, West Germany before joining the Drama Concentration of the Residential College in 1977. He has published widely in early drama and popular culture, with dual language editions of the

Dutch/English *Everyman* and *Mary of Nimmegan*. Other articles have ranged from modern Irish Drama to contemporary Caribbean Carnival to Native American masking traditions. He has also been an actor, director, dramaturge and translator for the semi-professional Brecht Company in Ann Arbor (1979-1993). In 1983 he started the early drama group “The Harlotry Players” which has recently participated in cultural festivals in Corsica. He has been active in Shakespeare-in-the-Arb since its founding in 2001, as well as appearing in numerous other local productions including the University Opera’s *Ariadne auf Naxos*.

Dr. Doro Wiese PhD, is a researcher at Düsseldorf University and Utrecht University. In her multifaceted research, she investigates how aesthetics is a manner of drawing people into an effective relation with the lacunae of knowledges and histories. In her first monograph *The Powers of the False* (Northwestern UP 2014), she determines how intermediality (photography, painting, music) in selected US-American and Australian novels allows readers to relate to histories that have been repressed or silenced by trauma and taboo. In her second book, *F – Faust* (Textem 2018), she asks how and to what effect different media affect the human body. Her current research project titled *Side by Side: Reading Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Literature* asks which epistemological, formal, and thematic distinctions and connections are present in post-war fiction on Native North America on both sides of the Atlantic. This study helps to develop cross-cultural and cross-epistemological research fields in literary, historical, and cultural studies.

Omar Zahzah is a PhD candidate in comparative literature at the University of California, Los Angeles.