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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, visuality, 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

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Editorial

The contents of Volume 5.2 of *Transmotion* reflect the interdisciplinary breadth of our editorial vision, which allows us to continue to highlight the diverse range of work being produced by scholars in the field of Indigenous Studies today. The scholarly articles in this issue explore texts and topics in the realms of contemporary film, visual art, museum studies, and musical performance.

In "Do You Recognize Who I Am?: Decolonizing Rhetorics in the Indigenous Rock Opera Something Inside is Broken," Shannon Claire Toll analyzes the decolonizing rhetorics displayed in an Indigenous rock opera that toured California and the Southwest United States in the Fall of 2016. Applying LeAnne Howe's concept of tribalography, Toll discusses the decolonizing potential of this musical performance, focusing on the implementation of Nisenan oral tradition, history, and language in its libretto. Leveraging the advantages of our online platform, Toll's article also includes links to songs from the production to allow the reader and listener to experience the music and Nisenan language featured in the work. While Toll's piece engages, in this way, in a bit of "curation" for the benefit of our readers, Courtney Cottrell's "Indian Made: Museum Valuation of American Indian Identity through Aesthetics" takes us directly into the heart of some key theoretical questions in museum studies. Cottrell explores that ways that ethnographic museums create and communicate a taste for American Indian art through their acquisition practices and their "rhetorics of value." She goes on to argue that these rhetorical practices are creating rigid standards for what constitutes American Indian art that is deemed worthy for museum display, standards that often exclude traditional art forms and contemporary motifs deemed important by tribal nations and individual American Indian artists. Cottrell concludes her piece by exploring how some tribal museums (such as the Oneida Nation Museum) are employing their sovereign authority and citizenship standards to develop more inclusive collections and broaden the taste for American Indian art.

Contributing to this taste-expanding work, Kristina Baudemann's "Laughing in the Dark: Weird Survivance in the Works of Bunky Echo-Hawk and Daniel McCoy Jr." employs and extends Vizenorian theoretical lenses to explore the role of humor in the work of two major contemporary visual artists. Focusing on the surreal, strange, outraging and simply *weird* elements in the artwork of Bunky Echo-Hawk and Daniel McCoy Jr., Baudemann introduces the concept of "*weird survivance*" as a way of encouraging readers to remember that survivance is not exclusively produced by positive and pleasing images. Her article focuses instead on dark humor—a kind of laughter that is spurred by confrontation with the weirdness of our reality, and that comes from a place of sadness, frustration, or even disgust, in spurring renewal and resistance. In this way, she engages in the playful, *transmotional* exploration of critical categories that is part of the spirit of this journal. Finally, turning to film, we have Matt Kliewer's "Translating Images of Survivance: A Trans-Indigenous Corporeal Analysis of *Spear* and *Maliglutit*." Drawing on Michelle Raheja's theorization of visual sovereignty, Kliewer argues that, while the creation of tribally specific images of survivance represents a fundamental process in reinforcing visual sovereignty and enacting self-determination, the application of survivance characteristics across tribal boundaries creates a powerful inter-tribal, globally Indigenous challenge to the colonial gaze. Analyzing Indigenous images from vastly different geographical and colonial contexts, he suggests, allows us to find common colonial images that

Indigenous image makers strategically deconstruct and remake in performative acts of inter-tribal sovereignty. By analyzing Stephen Page's *Spear* and Zacharias Kunuk's *Maliglutit*, Kliewer demonstrates how this inter-tribal aesthetic directly engages Western colonial film conventions and colonial imagery, reframing narratives where Indigenous bodies encounter and resist their historically limited positionality in filmic mediums.

We complement these articles, as always, with our wide-ranging reviews section and cutting-edge creative work. For this issue, we feature a piece by Sámi poet, Niilas Holmberg titled "Máttu oahpus / A Lesson from an Ancestor." We are pleased to reprint this poem, both in the original Sámi version and in an English translation. Our readers will appreciate Brad Hagen's sharp reflection piece, a meditation "On Dreamcatchers" that opens up into wider consideration of memory, tradition, and identity. We are also pleased to feature a reflection (with video accompaniment) on indigeneity in Star Wars, by Stephen Graham Jones. With too many reviews to highlight individually here, we will content ourselves with drawing particular attention to Matthew Fletcher's graphic review of John Borrow's *Law's Indigenous Ethics*. Fletcher's piece highlights the innovative expansion of the boundaries of academic writing made possible by our journal's format. Also deserving of specific mention here is Deborah Madsen's review essay (really an article in itself) of Adam Dahl's, *Empire of the People: Settler Colonialism and the Foundations of Modern Democratic Thought*, which Madsen considers as a thought-provoking, yet limited, example of "complementary scholarship" for the field of indigenous studies.

Transmotion is open access, thanks to the generous sponsorship of the University of Kent: all content is fully available on the open internet with no paywall or institutional access required, and it always will be. We are published under a Creative Commons 4.0 license, meaning in essence that any articles or reviews may be copied and re-used provided that the source and author is acknowledged. We strongly believe in this model, which makes research and academic insight available and useable for the widest possible community. We also believe in keeping to the highest academic standards: thus all articles are double-blind peer reviewed by at least two reviewers, and each issue approved by an editorial board of senior academics in the field (listed in the Front Matter of the full PDF and in the online 'About' section).

David Carlson December 2019
Theodore C. Van Alst
James Mackay
David Stirrup

Do You Recognize Who I Am? Decolonizing Rhetorics in Indigenous Rock Opera *Something Inside is Broken*

SHANNON TOLL

> Dear Dr. Miranda,
>
> What is your source for this? "In the 65 years that the California Missions were run by the Catholic Church, the numbers of California Indians went from about one million to 350,000."
>
> Mr. D. Thomas
> Theology Department
> Saint Junípero Serra, pray for us!
> Junípero Serra High School
>
> - "A Short Correspondence About a Long Story," *Bad NDNS*

The excerpt above is from a blog post by Chumash/Esselen writer and scholar Deborah A. Miranda, entitled "A Short Correspondence about a Long Story," on her website *Bad NDNS*. The post is a transcript of an email exchange with "D. Thomas" (a pseudonym she gave the inquirer to protect his identity), a Theology teacher at Junipero Serra High School.[1] In response to the question above, Miranda politely offers a thorough explication of the available research on the subject, only to be met by resistance from D. Thomas, who continues questioning Miranda's findings and expertise in the name of being "fair." In the face of Miranda's meticulous enumeration of the myriad ways the mission system resulted in the precipitous decline of Indigenous population (i.e. measles, displacement of traditional food practices by European agriculture, physical and sexual violence) and her refutation of his notion of "fairness," D. Thomas can only respond "I am sorry that my question offended you. I am Catholic. Your assertion deals with my history" ("A Short Correspondence").

This anecdote highlights the emotional labor Indigenous people are constantly compelled to expend on unwilling listeners such as D. Thomas, whose incredulity and insistence on

protecting what he calls "my history" is a microcosm of settler-colonial denial of Indigenous experiences of this *shared* history; the history of stolen spaces and the mythologies that protect the claims and the feelings of individuals who fear any narrative that undermines their own. Native California scholars, artists, and writers like Miranda and Jack Kohler—the creator of the Indigenous rock opera *Something Inside Is Broken*—are actively telling their histories and questioning California's celebration of its own history, which is mired in greed, racism, and outright theft in the name of 'progress.' *Something Inside is Broken* dramatizes the Nisenan people's experience of settler-colonialism, focusing particularly on the Gold Rush era and its broadly celebrated frontiersmen, such as Johann Sutter and Kit Carson.

Told from the perspective of Nisenan women, who were the subject of Sutter's sexual exploitation and slavery, the opera literally gives a voice to Indigenous experience that was otherwise historically silenced. Kohler explains how this work rights the wrongs of historical record, writing that "[s]eldom do we hear the stories of the women whose bodies, lives, and children were sacrificed to the men of the dominant culture in order for there to be some chance of survival" ("Author's Note 1). Kohler, founder of the *On Native Ground* media network and a member of the Hoopa Valley tribe in Northwestern California, co-authored *Something Inside is Broken* with Alan Wallace, a Nisenan storyteller. The men began collaborating on the production after Wallace attended a rock show that featured some students from Kohler's after-school program. Wallace shared Nisenan stories with the young people, who encouraged Wallace and Kohler to write a musical sharing the Native stories they were not reading in their assigned textbooks. Ultimately, Kohler and Wallace collaborated with half a dozen Indigenous California tribes to write, produce, and then present *Something Inside is Broken* throughout California and the Southwest (Trimble).

It is through the character of Lizzie Johnson, a Nisenan woman and daughter of star-crossed lovers Iine and Maj Kyle, that these canonically elided effects are explored, notably in her scenes set during the Congressional hearing for the State Appropriation Act of 1906. Lizzie is in attendance in order to pursue "appropriation" for her tribesmen and other displaced California tribes, who experienced first the theft of their ancestral homelands, and then subsequently the 'disappearance' of treaties that guaranteed them land, treaties which were actually hidden away under an oath of secrecy by the State Senate for 53 years (Covert 20). Supported by Helen Hunt, a member of the Daughters of the Western Frontier who acts as her

friend and translator, Lizzie presents these unratified treaties to skeptical and increasingly incensed senators, 'talking back' to the state legislature by reminding them of their responsibility to Native peoples, whose rightful claims to their lands are still not properly recognized at the state and federal levels. And, at the macro and micro levels, this scene demonstrates the transformative capability of what celebrated Choctaw writer LeAnne Howe terms tribalography to engender new understanding of difficult histories, particularly for a non-Native audience. As a work of tribalography, *Something Inside is Broken* combines traditional language and dance with the uniquely contemporary oeuvre of the rock opera, crossing time and genres to bring the power of Native storytelling to a historically non-Native space.

Tribalography has become a seminal term in Native Studies, centering Indigenous storytelling as cultural praxis by recognizing its epistemological and rhetorical importance, and removing it from the realm of 'folktales.' As a lens, tribalography highlights how

> Native stories, no matter what form they take (novel, poem, memoir, film, history), seem to pull all the elements together of the storyteller's tribe, meaning the people, the land, and multiple characters and all their manifestations and revelations, and connect these in past, present, and future milieus (present and future milieus mean non-Indians) ("The Story of America" 42).

In this sense, tribalography reflects Indigenous experience but also radiates outward, connecting Native and non-Native people in a shared experience. Stage and film have become formative spaces for Native storytelling, as described in Howe's essay "Tribalography: The Power of Native Stories." Howe relates the experience of attending the "A Celebration of Native Women Playwrights" conference, and how a particular work that focused on the trauma experienced by First Nations children at Catholic boarding schools in Canada led to a complicated but ultimately productive exchange between Native and settler scholars. The conversations caused Howe to consider how "native stories have the power to create conflict, pain, discord, but ultimately understanding and enlightenment - a sacred third act" ("Tribalography" 117). The catalyzing effect of performance, whether a reading, play, or any other of its diverse forms, can create conversations and mend cognitive dissonance in ways that extend beyond the immediacy of the theatrical space, making tribalography a "story that links Indians and non-Indians" ("The Story of America" 46).

By applying Howe's concept of tribalography to *Something Inside is Broken*, I will analyze the decolonizing rhetorics of Lizzie Johnson's testimony before the California State Senate, focusing on the songs "1852," "Appropriation," "Emelulu," and "Home Sweet Home." I have embedded audio files of the songs discussed in this article—the cast album is available for purchase on iTunes—in order to better illustrate the profundity of Lizzie's testimony and to allow the reader (and listener) to experience the Nisenan language, which is foregrounded in multiple songs in the production. Throughout this scene, Lizzie asserts herself as a representative of the interests of the Nisenan people in front of an increasingly hostile audience and shifts away from attempting to cater to the discursive norms of the Western legislative space. Instead, through her use of détournement, using the colonizers' own language against them, she upends these protocols and tells her story in her own language, with Helen acting as her translator. Specifically, Lizzie first uses the federal and state government's understanding of their own legal and legislative processes to critique their abuses of the California tribes, undermining their claim to legal and moral superiority over matters such as appropriation. Next, Lizzie takes on the role of storyteller as the opera features an important moment of "embodiment" in the song "Emelulu," in which her testimony comes to life onstage in vignettes that illustrate the difficulties faced by enslaved California Native peoples. Finally, in "Home Sweet Home," Lizzie rejects the ideology of the legislators and asserts her desire for survivance for her people, doing so in her own language and thereby enacting what Scott Lyons terms "rhetorical sovereignty" (449). While the flags of the United States and California hang from the walls, Lizzie's use of the Nisenan language acts as a reminder to the legislature that the land they currently occupy was once inhabited solely by California's existing Native populations and should be returned to these peoples. In her progression as a rhetorician in this scene, Lizzie reclaims the physical narrative space by telling the real story of its establishment in the language of those who were otherwise silenced, and how the primacy of these claims persists in the past, present, and future.

As a work of tribalography, *Something Inside is Broken* does not rely exclusively on Lizzie's voice to convey these stories; instead, the experiences of her mother and tribespeople during the reign of Johann Sutter are given voice in the opera, and "through multiplying stories, a communal worldview" is engendered (Stanlake 119). *Something Inside is Broken* does portray the exploitative and inhumane treatment of Native Californians during the Gold Rush, but also focuses on the Nisenan tribal members as people with a history on the land that precedes

European claims. Rather than only depicting reactions to colonialism, the opera emphasizes the wholeness of the Nisenan people's humanity, and it resists casting them merely as victims. Moreover, the opera orients its audience within an Indigenous narrative framework by not only featuring Nisenan songs and stories, but also reflecting Indigenous storytelling structures that trouble chornonormative temporalities. The opera reflects this synchronicity by opening the production with the song "Creation Story," during which the "Worldmaker" creates the first human beings and the character of Peheipe, a trickster figure. As a character, Peheipe is described in the Author's Note as a "spiritual guide" who is "neither good nor bad" and "can be seen by the audience, but not by the cast on stage" (Kohler 1). Traditionally, Peheipe is neither male nor female, and while the character of Peheipe is assigned to a female soprano, I will still use the pronoun 'they' in reference to this character throughout my analysis.

Peheipe guides the audience through the opera, offering historical contextualization and commentary on the events taking place. Kohler identifies these issues as ones that continue to plague America, such as gendered violence, ecological destruction, and systemic attacks on the health and continuance of marginalized communities (Trimble). *Something Inside is Broken* features tribalography's pivotal "synchronicity of storytime, the 'mythic,' including spiritually charged tricksters [Peheipe] and creation stories [Worldmaker], [which] intermingle with the 'facts' of daily experience" (Stanlake 120). Thus, the opera interrupts the linearity of colonial history that allows settler institutions to dismiss Indigenous knowledge production as obsolete and relegated to an irreproducible past. Instead, Peheipe is an active embodiment of a non-linear perspective, a personified "manifestation of cultural philosophies" that assert a "view of time in which the past, present, and future coexist and possess the vital ability to affect one another" (Stanlake 120). Through the guidance of Peheipe and the voices of Nisenan characters such as Lizzie Johnson, Maj Kyle, and Iine, *Something Inside is Broken* tells a story that may have its roots in 'history,' but continues to reproduce itself through settler-colonial ideologies and institutions. In the face of colonial misremembering, Nisenan stories and language provide an epistemological and rhetorical structure to bridge this knowledge gap and create a shared sense of understanding of land that is currently called California.

The persisting, devastating effects of these 'civilizing' forces in California are reflected in the sharp attenuation in the Indigenous population from the pre-contact period to the late nineteenth century. Scholars have estimated that between 705,000 and one million Indigenous

people lived in what is currently California, a number that far exceeds earlier estimations accepted as fact by both the academy and the aforementioned "D. Thomas" (Thornton 33).[2] After contact, it is believed that the population of Native Californians dropped sharply during missionization, down to 85,000 in 1852, declining even further during the Gold Rush era and to as low as 18,000 by 1890 (Thornton 109). As swarms of settlers descended upon Native lands in search of fame and fortune, "tribes were aggressively removed from their territories by state and state-funded public militia in violation of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848, which had provided that the United States would protect Native land grants in the treated areas" (Barker 149). Next came the passage of the Act for the Government and Protection of the Indians in 1851, which stipulated that any "white" property owner could force a "vagrant" Indian into work, opening the door to the enslavement of Indigenous people by white landowners and ranchers.[3] Since Native people were not permitted to testify against white people in court, they were unable to challenge either their enslavement or the rapid loss of their homelands. As Lenape scholar Joanne Barker writes, despite California's "status as a free state, [it] permitted the open sale and trade of Native people for labor and sex trade purposes" and powerful, well-connected men like Johann Sutter took full advantage of the utter lack of protection afforded to Indigenous Californians (149).

During this same year, Congress sat down with tribes to negotiate treaties "in order to secure land cession and tribal relocation onto reservations and under federal jurisdiction. By 1852, eighteen treaties had been negotiated with more than one hundred tribes. The treaties would have provided the tribes with approximately 8.5 million acres divided into eighteen reservations" (Barker 150). This effort was thwarted by the California governor, the California senate, and a coterie of 'concerned' wealthy landowners, resulting in an 'injunction of secrecy' being placed on the treaties, one which was set to last until 1905. The tribes who signed these treaties were never informed of their unratified status and were moved onto ostensibly temporary "rancherias"—which were far smaller than the original acreage promised in the treaties—allegedly until they could be moved onto their permanent reservations, while their "deserted" land was scooped up by prospectors (Barker 150).

In the Author's Note to *Something Inside is Broken*, Kohler describes this context as a reign of terror, with Sutter exerting unchecked power over the "Sacramento Valley like a king." He writes that while Sutter had an understanding with the local Nisenan chief, his slave hunters

continued their unrelenting search for "vagrant" Indians to work at Sutter's Mill, "especially young boys and girls, to work the fields, service the food and service the men" (1). The Nisenan women in the opera are prey to the violent desires of the 'civilized' men who have come to Nisenan lands to seek out fame, fortune, and plunder in all forms.[4] Along with Sutter, we see dramatizations of "Captain Fremont, Kit Carson and US forces" exploring what stores of wealth California could offer them. Altogether, *Something Inside is Broken* presents a confluence of celebrated historical figures whose portrayals show that there was little to celebrate and characterizes the toll that the tenets of Manifest Destiny wrought on communities there. In *Something Inside is Broken,* hidden treaties and the enslavement and exploitation of the Nisenan people in particular, and California Native peoples more broadly, are at the heart of Lizzie's testimony to the Congressional hearing of the Appropriation Act of 1906. In this scene, the state of California is forced to confront the eighteen unratified treaties of 1852 with the peaceful tribes of California.[5]

The political intrigue, romance, and tragedy of *Something Inside is Broken* make it a compelling addition to the American operatic canon, which has had a complicated relationship with Native American representation. Beverley Diamond explains that, historically, Indigenous people were not only featured in operas (though usually limited to representing the exotic Other) but also attended and enjoyed the productions as foreign dignitaries while visiting European capitals, particularly during the 18th century and the years of the Red Atlantic exchange (32). In the early 20th century, at the height of ethnographic and anthropological efforts to 'save' Native American cultures from their assumed demise, American opera began featuring "exotic representation of Indians and Indian life." These renderings were presented as 'authentic' to American audiences struggling to "fill a spiritual void created by the nervous energy of modernism and the diminishing roles of religion and high culture" (Pisani 3).[6] In later eras, Indigenous performers were featured in opera, from traveling Maori singers to North American performers such as Tsianina Redfeather (Muskogee-Creek/Cherokee) (Diamond 32-33). During this time opera also became an unlikely but important space for Indigenous performers to assert themselves not just as singers, but also, in the case of women like Redfeather and Gertrude Bonnin (Yankton-Sioux), as storytellers who used the genre to present actual Indigenous narratives and perspectives. Collaborations between these women and mainstream composers—Charles Wakefield Cadman and William F. Hanson, respectively—produced the operas

Shanewis and *Sun Dance Opera*, both of which appeal to Western opera's desire to portray the 'romantic Indian' while complicating the tropes of the disappearing Indian that had lodged in the national consciousness.

Since then, contemporary Indigenous operas from around the globe have expanded the capabilities of this genre, centering on Indigenous stories and interrogating sociohistorical narratives of contact that privilege nationalistic and imperialistic interests. The transindigenous body of Indigenous opera by First Nations, Native American, Maori, Sami, and Aboriginal peoples has galvanized a decolonizing energy within the genre by integrating their respective oratures, dances, and linguistic traditions, thus transcending a frame of mere reaction to invasion and instead creating a multidisciplinary immersion into their lived experiences as people. There is no singular set definition of what constitutes an Indigenous opera. Generally speaking, though, these productions are collaborations between Indigenous lyricists, choreographers, and performers who are invested in "addressing the social and political issues and honoring the worldviews of the indigenous communities these operas are written in association with, as well as presenting such works for the benefit of those very communities" (Karantonis and Robinson 5). As a work of indigenous opera, *Something Inside is Broken* is an intertribal collaboration between Kohler (Hoopa Valley tribe) and Alan Wallace (Nisenan tribe) to tell a Nisenan story that is oriented around Nisenan worldviews. Although Kohler states that the show is in fact "geared toward non-Natives" as a means of educating them about California's history, it focuses on the humanity and survivance of the Nisenan people, avoiding the narrative traps of the 'exotic Indian' or 'white savior' that often plague Western opera (Trimble).

More specifically, Diamond views these contemporary productions as having three distinct "creative dimensions" that create the "transformative possibility" of decolonization: "language, genre shifts, and embodiment" (36). First, opera is uniquely situated to present Indigenous languages to non-fluent audience members, as it "often crosses language barriers, with surtitles in the local language allowing audiences to understand performance in the original one" (36). Second, Indigenous operas are hybridized affairs, featuring a variety of performers with "skills honed within contrasting artistic worlds, as culture bearers of oral traditions with no music literacy skills, as pop musicians, or as opera singers with no knowledge of or competence in indigenous traditional song. Hence, such productions must bridge orality and literacy" (36-37). Finally, Diamond notes that Indigenous operas often experiment with "embodiment,"

exhibiting that "fluid boundaries of existence—crossing animal, human, and spirit—are more fundamental and integral" (37). These elements of Indigenous opera enhance the impact of the stories being told—their ability to "transform"—and as a genre, opera becomes a rich site for the enactment of tribalography, as the "power of Native storytelling is revealed as a living character who continues to influence our culture" (Howe "Tribalography" 118). Thus, opera has become a transindigenous vehicle for expression and storytelling that literally gives a voice to untold or erased histories.

In the Congressional Hearing scenes, Lizzie wields a variety of rhetorical tools that reflect both Western and Nisenan oratory practices. While the courtroom of the colonizer might be an unexpected space for Native storying to take place, Lizzie deftly demonstrates the latter's importance as a decolonial praxis while undermining the former's claim to 'rationality' or 'neutrality.' To highlight the government's hypocrisy in its dealing with the California tribes, Lizzie engages in "détournement…using the government's language against it" (Black 12). Jason Black writes that within colonizer-Indigenous political relationships, there exists a rhetorical "presentation of resistance," a "decolonial move" that unsettles the primacy ascribed to settler governments and "unmask[s] governmental cycles of abuse" inflicted on Native communities (11). Specifically, by "repurposing the rhetoric of those in power in order to drain the original language of its oppressive assaults," Native rhetoricians and politicians have been able to "clarify how the powerful, or *master*, rhetoric presents problems, inaccuracies, hypocrisies, distortions, and inconsistencies" (Black 12). The act of détourning the colonizer's language highlights its inherent contradictions and offers a framework for Indigenous interpretations of narratives that otherwise privilege the colonizer's position. To acknowledge the longstanding presence of détournement in Indigenous rhetoric is to understand that rather than remaining passive in the face of settler aggression, Native communities have "*acted* by maneuvering to possess economic modalities, sovereignty, safety, and other subsistent needs of the human experience" (Black 12, emphasis original). And in viewing these purposeful *actions,* we can see how Indigenous communities have always and continue to advocate for Indigenous survivance, rather than accept the fate of assimilation and disappearance that colonial rhetoric demands.

Lizzie Johnson's testimony before the state senate is a both a plea for a better future for California tribes and a powerful denunciation of their treatment at the hands of the nascent California government. The scene opens with the Congressional Hearing being brought to order,

and the song "1852" begins with the Chairman recognizing Lizzie Johnson as a representative of the Nisenan tribe, with Helen Hunt acting as her translator. While Lizzie has prepared a statement for her testimony she is overcome with emotion in the moment, and Helen steps in to assist her in reading it. Over the objections of the senators, Lizzie and Helen present a "document of grave rescission," detailing how the eighteen treaties that were signed by Indian nations were left unratified and declared dead "under an injunction of secrecy" by the California senate (Kohler et al 8). As the women speak, the room descends into chaos, with senators accusing the women of "lies," "hearsay," and "trickery," with one senator declaring "I'm not learned on what you spew!" and another threatening "And some evidence to prove this too!" (9-10). The senators' hostile reaction to Lizzie's statement and the emphasis on their lack of previous knowledge on the subject serve to undermine Lizzie's credibility, privileging their narratives over her own.

Amidst the fray, the Chairman calls for order and asks Lizzie to continue. She and Helen begin the song "Appropriation," calling for the senate to ratify the hidden treaties and provide land for the homeless California Indians. Helen begins by demanding "Appropriation… for all of the tribes," who have been denied the land promised to them, while Lizzie decries the "extermination" that "became law of the land" under "Burnett, Bigler and the Senators of California" (referring to previous California Governors Pete Burnett and John Bigler, whose tenures were disastrous for California Indians) (Kohler et al 11). As the women continue their testimony, the Chairman reads aloud from the evidence Lizzie has provided him, noting the "official seal, dated 1852. The 18 unratified treaties of California," only to be interrupted by the haranguing of the senators, who are irate by what they perceive to be "hearsay…lies…[and] trickery" at play (Kohler et al 12). Their objections notwithstanding, Lizzie and Helen persist, denouncing the land theft and the concealment of the treaties that were bargained in good faith by the Indigenous leaders, leaving the tribes facing potential extinction. Lizzie champions the need for appropriation, stating that "what they did was wrong," and begging "Let us live, Let my tribe live." The blunt response from the irate senators is "that will never be the outcome," and "that's not why we're here" (Kohler et al 13). As a song, "Appropriation" is a cacophony of competing interests and competing voices and plays out as a tense dialogue between determined women and antagonistic men, but the heteroglossic discord does not undermine the work of tribalography in the opera. Indeed, "incongruity is at the core of tribalography, because the

discourse is concerned with the process of gathering multiple voices, diverse points of view, and competing perspectives," and the tensions revealed in this scene produce cracks in otherwise stable narratives of settler-colonial moral superiority (Stanlake 129). It is in these uncomfortable spaces that the audience can grapple with their own assumptions and selfhood in relation to the voiced experience of the Nisenan.

Within this dialogue, we see Lizzie and Helen forcing the legislature to face the dark history of their early statehood, and how the government engaged in a calculated campaign of death and disenfranchisement of the California tribes. When Lizzie invokes "extermination" in the song, she refers to state-sanctioned genocide brought to fruition under the orders of Governor Peter H. Burnett. In an 1851 address to the California legislature, Burnett called for a "war of extermination" against the tribes that would only cease once "the Indian race becomes extinct," a measure approved by the legislature two years later (Barker 149). This led to a cooperative effort between the state and federal government to pay bounties on the scalps of Native men, women, and children, resulting in over one million dollars being paid outs to bounty hunters (Barker 149-150). Lizzie's repeated invocation of the word "extermination" directly mirrors Burnett's own language despite pushback from her audience, and she refuses to hedge or choose a euphemism to appease them. As Helen continues her appeal for appropriation for the tribes, Lizzie insists on reminding the senators, through détournement, why appropriation is a necessary measure in the first place, using their own language of "extermination" to show that they, as members of the governing body of California, have benefited from this campaign of extermination. Consequently, she illustrates that they have inherited the responsibility for the sufferings of the eighteen tribes, which must result in recompense for these atrocities. For all her early fears and misgivings, Lizzie becomes a powerful voice in this unfriendly environment, and continues to pursue a future for her people.

After "Appropriation," Lizzie's testimony continues, and one senator asks her how she came to know English so well. Lizzie describes her negative experiences at boarding school and is immediately accused of "trying to instill sympathy." The Chairman asks Lizzie to "stick to the facts," a request she responds to by presenting her "historical documents," pictures of Sutter and his "workers" (read: slaves), including Lizzie's mother, Maj Kyle (Kohler et al 14). As these pictures are shown to the legislature, the audience sees Peheipe enter, unseen by the cast members onstage. Peheipe is followed by Nisenan men and women, who file in as Peheipe sings

"Emelulu" ("housefly"), an operatic adaptation of "Ten Little Indians." Peheipe sings through the song once, "One little, two little, three little Indians…" with the small but poignant closing edition "Ten little Indian *slaves*" (Kohler et al 15). The slaves respond by singing the song back in Nisenan,

> myynte ni 'emelulu wek'etk'eti
> 'emelulu
> tol nik'i paj nik'i maa nik'i
> 'emelulu
> myynte ni 'emelulu wek'etk'eti
> 'emelulu
> tol nik'i paj nik'i maa nik'i
> 'emelulu (Kohler et al 15).

Peheipe is then joined by Sutter, who repeats the song in English, with another response by the slaves in Nisenan. As the song ends, they all exit the stage, and the focus is brought back to Lizzie and the senators. Lizzie declares that her mother "was a slave" of Sutter's, angering one Senator to the extent that he "jumps to his feet," insisting that:

> Slavery was a Southern
> thing, a Negro thing. Indians were
> never proven slaves, but servants.
> Sutter paid his servants. The
> witness is trying to instill
> sympathy again. (Kohler et al 16)

The repeated interruptions and negations of Lizzie's assertions are emblematic of the erasure of Indigenous experience under settler-colonialism, a force that was touted as being civilizing and positive for Indigenous people, when in reality it resulted in genocide and subjugation. This repeated insistence that she "stick to the facts" by complying with the rigid norms of the Congressional hearing privileges what Kimberly Wieser refers to as the "linear, analytical reasoning that argues for the 'right answer' by creating misleading dichotomies and discounting other kinds of reasoning" endemic to Western institutions (7). Lizzie does not comply and continues her impassioned testimony, which comes alive onstage with the characters of Sutter, Maj Kyle, and other Nisenan slaves enacting the horrors Lizzie, and at times Helen, describe. In

one such vignette, Lizzie narrates how her mother, Maj Kyle, was one of Sutter's house servants who was "treated like an animal. She cleaned the house, made the food, fed the slaves and sometimes was used in other ways" (Kohler et al 18). As Lizzie recounts this, we see a flashback illustrating Sutter's treatment of Maj Kyle: Sutter rings for Maj Kyle who enters, carrying a pitcher. Maj Kyle leans in to serve Sutter and he aggressively grabs her wrist, causing her to drop the pitcher. He then drags her offstage as she screams.

While the senators are not privy to this reenactment, the audience sees a clear picture of the depraved treatment women like Maj Kyle were subjected to in their 'servitude' and are faced with the legacy of trauma experienced by Native women across the United States. As Sarah Deer (Muskogee [Creek] Nation) writes in *The Beginning and End of Rape: Confronting Sexual Violence in Native America*, the widespread sexual abuse of Native American women is not an inexplicable phenomenon but a "fundamental result of colonialism" (x). Maj Kyle is one of many victims whose trauma extends as far back as first contact and continues into our present day.

The staging of Lizzie's testimony, while disturbing in its implications, is an important example of "embodiment" in Indigenous opera; while Lizzie euphemistically describes her mother's abuse as being "used in other ways," Maj Kyle's body tells the true story on stage. This encounter introduces the physical and psychological toll of Sutter's enduring sexual exploitation of Maj Kyle, and her anguished bodily response (her resistance, her scream) becomes "comment[ary] on encounter" and its atrocities (Diamond 36). Moreover, this embodiment resonates with the audience, who are confronted by the enforced emotional sterility of the courtroom and the raw emotional exchange between Maj Kyle and Sutter. While Lizzie is acting as a witness for her tribe, the audience is *witnessing* the testimony unfold beyond the words themselves, as Lizzie's allusions to Sutter's rape of her mother are shown to "transcend [her] own memories, to include those of [her] relatives and tribal community" (Howe "The Story of America" 43-4). Lizzie's testimony is crafted to persuade the members of the legislature, but Christy Stanlake argues that in staged works of tribalography, "audience members often do not derive meanings…from following a single story or protagonist, but from witnessing a multitude of stories" (130). Therefore, it is Maj Kyle's voiced and embodied experience (and those of other Nisenan women and men) that engenders the "multi-vocal authenticity" that "models for audiences the concept of communal truth" (Stanlake 129). This staging of Lizzie and Maj Kyle's

stories reminds the audience of what is omitted from the historical records that they are meant to take as fact, and presents them with a more collective understanding of the human toll that these institutions have wrought.

Through these reenactments of the treatment of slaves during her testimony, Lizzie bears witness to the experiences of the Nisenan people. The scene-within-a-scene that shows Lizzie's words in motion, embodied in Maj Kyle's suffering, serves as a critique of "master narratives" while amplifying the voices of those who experienced this treatment (Black 7). In this moment, as the committee and the audience are experiencing Lizzie's decolonizing narrative of California history, the committee stand in as avatars for the audience, whose own understanding of this history might provoke feelings of resistance to the information being presented. As Diamond writes, the "transformative possibilities" of Indigenous operas such as *Something Inside is Broken* as decolonizing works lie not just in the telling of Indigenous stories, but in the reactions of mainstream audiences to their content, especially if these narratives contradict deeply held beliefs or privileged histories (31). The audience observes the senators' dismissive and hostile reactions to Lizzie's painful testimony, and in turn, the audience may reflect on their own responses to the multiple stories being presented, demonstrating how the "significance of collective creation resides not in a play's ability to model concepts of tribalography but in the potential for the play's stories to enter the audience and change the world" (Stanlake 153). Non-Native audience members might be challenged to consider whether they would be dismissive or hostile to someone sharing these difficult stories in other spaces, thus, as an Indigenous opera and a work of tribalography, *Something Inside is Broken* can extend its ideological impact beyond the stage and into outside conversations.

As the senators become increasingly resistant to Lizzie's story, she upends the power dynamic, insisting on continuing her testimony in the Nisenan language. This is a radical shift that I view as an act of Lyons' notion of rhetorical sovereignty. After the committee's Chairman addresses Helen to ask her "if her client [is] going somewhere with this" (rather than addressing Lizzie herself), Helen responds; "Chairman, did we not come here to/ hear the history of her tribe, her/history, she should be free to tell/ her own story" (Kohler et al. 18). This leads into the song "Home Sweet Home," as Lizzie decides to "tell her own story" in her own language with Helen acting as her translator. Lyons writes that "rhetorical sovereignty is the inherent right and ability of peoples to determine their own communicative needs and desire…to decide for

themselves the goals, modes, styles, and languages of public discourse" (449-50). Lizzie's insistence on speaking Nisenan and absolute resistance to the repeated admonishments of the Chairmen to speak English, then, reorients the "goals" of the hearing to fit her purpose of representing her community's collective experience. Lizzie begins by repeating "Homaa nik' c'esak' bemi," which Helen translates to "Do you recognize who I am?" Their statements are met by objections to her use of Nisenan language, and the Chairman retorts that they "recognize Lizzie Johnson" or "recognize case number 95603" (Kohler et al 19). While the court recognizes Lizzie as an individual representative within the scope of the proceedings, they struggle to locate her within a collective, within "the logic of a nation-people, which takes as its supreme charge the sovereignty of the group through a privileging of its traditions and culture and continuity" (Lyons 455). In a move that privileges the primacy of Nisenan language and demonstrates its continuity, Lizzie continues her calls for "recognition," asking "nik' majdy mee'u meem," ("Do you recognize my plea?") and "niseek' k'awi mee'u min" ("Do you recognize what I stand for?") (Kohler et al 19).

It is in this moment that Lizzie comes into her own as a speaker, abandoning the insufficient language of the colonizer to convey her message and instead asserting herself in Nisenan. *Something Inside is Broken*'s co-creator Wallace has emphasized the importance of the use of Nisenan in the opera, stating that "I've always thought the Nisenan language had the potential for a much higher level of communication than can be done in English…It's much more intellectual. It's much more multi-dimensional" (qtd. in Madeson). When Lizzie first engages in English, the senators and chairman understand her words but reject her meaning; when she switches to Nisenan, they are are confused and unable to follow her without Helen's translations. While it may seem that Lizzie is complicating her pursuit for appropriation and recognition, she wields the Nisenan language as a "multi-dimensional" assertion of the rights of California tribes to "rebuild…to exist and present [their] gifts to the world." Moreover, her "rhetorics of sovereignty" constitute an "adamant refusal to disassociate culture, identity, and power from the land," as the appropriation she seeks is in the form of the land promised to the tribes that was withheld in an of bad faith by the legislature (Lyons 457). While Lizzie's words are ostensibly framed as a series of questions, they emerge as demands made of the committee to reorient their perspective of her and what she represents, as well as her own recognition of the importance of the position she is taking in this space —what she "stand[s] for." Moreover,

although Helen still has to translate Lizzie's words in order for the members of the committee to understand her, her decision to make these demands in her language and disregard the conventions of the colonized space serves to reassert Indigenous claims to this space, and to place the needs of her people and other California tribes on par with the interests of the nascent state.

The Chairman demands that Lizzie adhere to the colonial conventions of the courtroom, but she continues her testimony in Nisenan. She accuses the state of enslaving and attempting to "exterminate [her] race" (Kohler et al 20), and breaks into the following solo, which is translated by Helen:

LIZZIE:
homaa nik' c'esak' bemi
homaa nisee c'esak' bemi
hedem k'awinaan 'ydawmukum
neseek' hypy wentin hypym
homaa nik' c'esak' bemi
homaa nisee c'esak' bemi
homaa nik' c'esak' bemi
homaa nisee c'esak' bemi
hedem k'awinaan 'ydawmukum
wej wej ha nik hipin k'ojonaan
wej wej ha nik jamanmanto
bomy nik hedem k'awi wentin

HELEN:
What truth or facts will prove the
case I plead
How can I try
To undo all that's been decreed
You took my people
You took our land
Then you made us homeless Indians

Here I stand
Here I stand (Kohler et al 20)

In this song, Lizzie implies that the senatorial committee's insistence on "truth and facts" is actually arbitrary, self-serving, and insufficient to encapsulate the depth of the "homeless Indians'" struggle to survive. As Wieser writes, within Indigenous epistemologies, "experience in general—whether derived from experiences of the culture encoded in story, those of an authoritative elder, or those of an individual who shared the same cultural values—is held as evidence" (Wieser 37). The senators' repeated interjections attempt to invalidate Lizzie's claims either on the grounds that they are steeped in the pathos of experienced suffering or contradict 'facts' that the senators have already accepted as true. And this belies the committee's underlying desire to dismiss her claims precisely because of their potential impact.

To disregard experience as somehow counterfactual has consistently benefited white, heteropatriarchal Christian society by disqualifying oppressed peoples from social discourses that affect their communities based on their supposed inability to remain 'unbiased' in their experienctial narratives. In her own language, Lizzie makes it clear that she will not be deterred by their attempts to discredit her or deflect from the truth of her testimony. Instead, within the 'theater' of the Congressional Hearing and Howe's concept of the "living theater" of the performative space of the stage, *Something Inside is Broken* "responds to colonization's harm by listening to, remembering, and repeating stories on behalf of the collective" (Horan and Kim 29). The repetition of "Here I stand" is an assertion of continuance for both the Senators and the audience: California Indians have not disappeared, despite the best efforts of colonial forces, and they will continue to assert their rights to their land, language, and traditions. As Wieser reminds us, "art may engage heavily with the mainstream, but it asserts cultural difference, and a Native perspective on history within the milieu of popular culture is a statement: we are still here" (56). Like "we are still here," "Here I stand" shows what recognition actually entails: reinstatement, repatriation, recompense, and hopefully, one day, *actual* reconciliation. They show that the story is not yet complete.

This recognition is at the heart of what the show means to its performers, particularly its Indigenous performers. In an interview with *Indian Country Today,* Natalie Benally (Navajo), a dancer and actress who portrayed Pulba in the 2016 touring show, describes that she had "been

waiting for something like this to come about…When I was acting in school shows at Fort Lewis College, I'd think, maybe someday I'll be able to play one of my people in a show" (Madeson). Benally's desire to "play one of my people" is more than a self-affirming statement or an articulation of communal connectivity; it is a recognition of the potential of and responsibility inherent to tribalographic enactments. That one must, as Howe writes, "learn more about my ancestors, understand them better than I imagined. Then I must be able to render all our collective experiences into a meaningful form" (qtd. in Horan and Kim 29). It acknowledges the potential of the theater as a site of cultural continuance, where historically silenced voices can interrupt and interact with mainstream narratives to produce collective understanding. This echoes back to Howe's narrative about the "A Celebration of Native Women Playwrights" conference and the piece discussing the ramifications of residential schools. Howe notes that while certain members of the audience were intitially hostile to the subject of the piece, others were moved to share their families' experiences with persecution and oppression, from fleeing the Holocaust to surviving chattel slavery on American soil. As they shared their respective stories, Howe noticed a shift in the room, as the non-Native audience members ceased their denial of Indigenous history and instead "were threading their lives and experiences into ours. A shift in paradigm, it's generally believed to be the other way around: Indians assimilating into the mainstream" ("Tribalography" 124). Benally and Howe's words interweave with the concept of this "shift in paradigm," of genres and spaces being assimilated to account for the experiences of Indigenous people, rather than "Indians assimilating into the mainstream." By portraying alternative narratives that complicate and contradict the historical accounts that we otherwise accept as complete, *Something Inside is Broken* reaches out to a non-Native audience as well as Native ones, assimilating the former into a new reality that acknowledges the wrongs of the past and present, and creates a catalyzing environment to have dialogues that envision a different path forward.

Notes

[1] In "Serra the Saint: Why Not?" Miranda articulates the frustration and anger Indigenous Californians felt at the canonization of Father Junípero Serra in 2015. Miranda writes that "Serra did not just 'bring' us Christianity; he imposed it, he forced it, he violated us with it, giving us no choice in the matter." Moreover, Miranda dismisses the claims invoked by Serra's supporters,

who deemed him a "man of his times" to excuse his culpability in the abuse and exploitation experienced by Indigenous Californians at the mercy of the mission system (Miranda, "Serra the Saint: Why Not?").
[2] In "A Short Correspondence," Miranda writes that she double-checked Russell Thornton's amendment of earlier estimates of the California Native population with Dr. William Preston, whose research focused on the California mission system. Preston responded that "[a]t this point I think that Thornton's high number is totally reasonable. In fact, keeping in mind that populations no doubt fluctuated over time, I'm thinking that at times 1 million or more Native Californians were resident in the state" (qtd. in Miranda, "A Short Correspondence About a Long Story").
[3] During the Gold Rush era, "Mexicans were then legally classified as 'whites' by the state law," and also engaged in the enslavement of Native Californians (Barker 149).
[4] The experience of the Nisenan and other Indigenous California women is neither unique nor relegated to the past. Currently, reservations are treated as hunting grounds by workers in the extractive industries. This issue is further articulated in a report issued by the 2016 American Indian Law Clinic, which describes the significant and "unprecedented" spike in violent crimes, including sexual assault against Native women, children, and men on the Fort Berthold reservation. Men in particular have experienced a 75% increase in sexual assault, and the report draws a connection between these upward swings of crime and the "influx of well-paid male oil and gas workers, living in temporary housing often referred to as "man camps" (Finn et. al 2-3). The report attributes this rise in trafficking in Fort Berthold to a "combination of economic hardship, an influx of temporary workers, historical violence against Native women, a lack of law enforcement resources, and increased oil and gas development," and notes that the complexities of federal Indian law create issues in enforcing and prosecuting offenders (9). Moreover, the authors discuss how "resource-based boom communities" lead to an overwhelming of local law enforcement, who must respond to a sharp uptick in calls to respond to a variety of violent crimes, leaving tribal communities vulnerable (8).
[5] Kohler's linking of the issues facing Native Californians in the Gold Rush era to our present moment is an unfortunately appropriate analogy, and the repercussions of settler aggression continue to play out in similar ways. One must only replace Johann Sutter with Energy Transfer Partners and the private and state-enacted violence inflicted on water protectors at Standing Rock or consider the current administration's opening of federal land in Utah--including Bears Ears, a sacred site for Native American nations and tribes, including the "Hopi Tribe, Navajo Nation, Ute Indian Tribe, Ute Mountain Ute Tribe and Zuni Tribe"—to a variety of energy prospecting interests (Kestler-D'Amours). Specifically, this administration is invoking the General Mining Law of 1872, which functions in the same manner *as* Gold Rush era policies, merely requiring prospectors who wish to mine for precious metals to "hammer four poles into the ground corresponding to the four points of a parcel that can be as big as 20 acres," with a corresponding description of the claim attached to one of the poles (Volcovici).
[6] Charles Wakefield Cadman, the celebrated American composer, professed the importance of "idealizing" Native American music for Western audiences. He recommended that Indian composers" should, to the best of their abilities, "be in touch with the Indian's legends, his stories and the odd characteristics of his music, primitive though they may be, and one should have an insight into the Indian emotional life concomitant with his naïve and charming art-creations. And while not absolutely necessary, a hearing of his songs on the Reservation amidst

native surroundings adds something of value to a composer's efforts at idealizing. (qtd. inLevy 91).

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Indian Made: Reframing the Rhetorical Parameters of Indigenous Aesthetics

COURTNEY COTTRELL

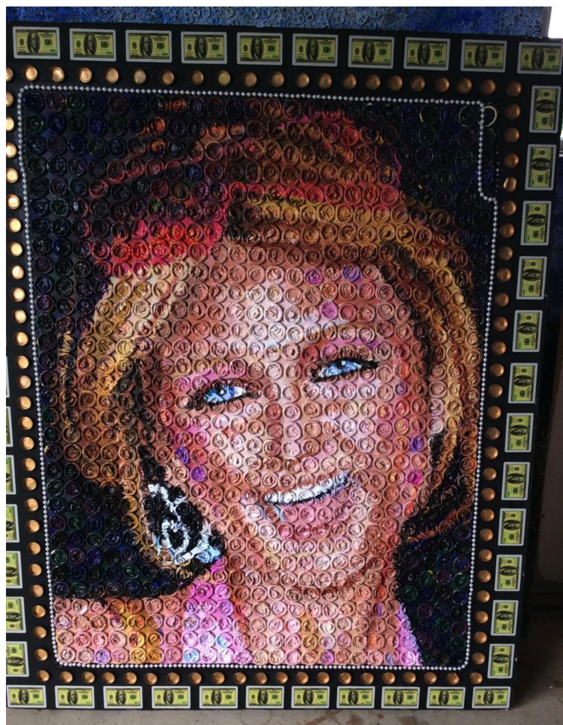
The Oneida Nation Museum (ONM) anticipates moving into a new building in 2021. This has been a long-awaited and hoped-for move, once postponed in favor of building a nursing home for tribal elders. The new building will be more accessible to tourists and have space for both exhibitions and collections storage under one roof. A large and daunting project for a small, dedicated staff, the ONM contracted me to prepare the collections for their physical move. Having worked with the ONM as an intern, volunteer, and consultant in the past, I was eager to help a museum that has helped build my career. Now as I stand in front of an extensive art collection recently acquired by the museum, swimming in options of how to best tackle packaging, tracking, and moving, I'm struck by a thought about art aesthetics.

The new collection is by Oneida artist, David Ninham. It was donated by Ninham's surviving parents and consists of roughly 200 pieces of art. Some Native artists are wary of placing their work in a tribal museum for fear of it being tagged solely as "Native art" rather than "art;" a niche that can be near impossible to get out of. However, by placing Ninham's art in the ONM collection, the family was ensuring that Oneida citizens would be able to see the evolving nature of contemporary art made by a fellow community member. The influence of his art on younger generations, and other Oneida artists could be invaluable.

As a prolific artist, David Ninham created works of art out of everyday objects he collected. He used thumbtacks, bottle caps, spools of thread, can tabs, and toy cars not only to create breathtaking landscapes but also to depict celebrities with stunning accuracy. One of my personal favorites depicts a naked man sitting on the American flag, holding his knees to his chest. His body language suggests he is trying to protect himself as streaks of color stream towards him from every direction. When you look closer, the man is made out of toy soldiers painted flesh color, and the streaks are painted bullets in various gauges. The title of this piece is *The War on Terror*. I imagine this piece can speak to the countless number of Native veterans who struggle with PTSD. The number of veterans that identify as Native American is

astounding. The Oneida Nation can boast that they have tribal members who have fought alongside other American soldiers in every single U.S. conflict.

Another one of Ninham's pieces that is a staff favorite is titled *A Night in Paris*. It features a likeness of Paris Hilton, great-granddaughter of the hotel mogul. Hilton's likeness is made by gluing painted condoms to a large piece of dense foam painted black with a border of small fake $100 bills. From a distance, it looks like a portrait of Paris Hilton, but as you step closer, you realize what materials Ninham used. As viewers realize what the portrait is made out of, they understand that the title of the piece is playing off both the medium and the subject matter (Image 1).



(Image 1: *A Night in Paris*, photo courtesy of the Oneida Nation Museum)

A Night in Paris stands just over four feet tall. The other 200 or so pieces range in sizes from five feet to small picture frames. But it isn't necessarily the size of the art that causes problems for the move. The 3-dimensional nature with varying depth of many of the pieces has slowed progress in storing these works on a small museum budget and with a lack of space. Ideally, I would be able to pack each piece in its own customized storage container with space

between each piece. But more striking than the collection management issues, is the seeming lack of an "Indigenous aesthetic" attached to these pieces. Having been acquired by a tribal museum dedicated to sharing and informing the public about their history and culture, the lack of visual cues to an Indigenous aesthetic was striking for possible future exhibits featuring David Ninham's work.

Questioning the Indigenous aesthetics of Ninham's art would not typically cross my mind. Ninham was an artist and a member of the Oneida Nation. He also clearly depicts topics discussed heavily in Native communities like veterans with PTSD and critiques on capitalism.[1] But a few years ago, I was mediating a possible acquisition for a sizeable ethnographic museum in Germany. I sent the curator of the Americas collection names and contact information of numerous Native artists who would be more than happy to sell the museum a piece of their art for display. I pushed for a particular artist because the art was truly exceptional and something I had not seen in my travels to dozens of museums in Germany. Unfortunately, there was a remark made by the museum to the artist that suggested their work was not "Indian enough," an interesting phrase for a European museum to make about a Native artist from a list compiled by a Native American.

This mediation has haunted me ever since. I felt guilty for putting the artist through those interactions even though I was trying to promote their work to an international audience. Since learning about the museum's comments about the authenticity of a Native artist, I cannot walk through a contemporary Native art exhibition without thinking about those comments. As I stand in front of this extensive collection of Ninham art, owned by a tribal museum, made by a tribal citizen, I wonder what Native art is? Are there Indigenous aesthetics that can readily pinpoint a work of art as Native? And who gets to decide what this aesthetic looks like?

By viewing Indigenous aesthetics as a process (Leuthold 2), we can trace ethnographic museum approaches to acquiring Native art historically. Looking at the history of collecting Native art illuminates how limited the examples of Native art are in most major museums. Had museums consulted with more Native voices, this narrow scope would have been avoidable. This article is doing just this—calling museums out for not utilizing Native participation in the discourses surrounding Indigenous aesthetics. It does so by looking at more Native-centric standards for recognizing and promoting numerous Indigenous aesthetics in the conclusion.[2] But in order to broaden our understandings of Indigenous aesthetics, we must first define it.

Steven Leuthold, a historian of art and design, characterizes an Indigenous aesthetics in his book *Indigenous Aesthetics: Native Art, Media, and Identity* (1998). For Leuthold, Indigenous aesthetics encompasses experiences as well as expressions held by Indigenous Peoples. Leuthold acknowledges the intercultural nature of contemporary Indigenous aesthetics due to long histories of contact, immigration, missionaries, and colonialism. However, the critical aspect of Leuthold's understanding of Indigenous aesthetics is that they are social processes interrelated with other social systems (politics, economics, spirituality, etc.) within Indigenous communities.

Leuthold takes inspiration from Hopi and Miwok writer/poet Wendy Rose and her understanding of art and the artists' role in society. Rose acknowledges the community-oriented focus of Indigenous aesthetics as well as their function and beauty (412). Leuthold takes Rose's social rules for Indigenous aesthetics and explicitly states that aesthetics must be continuously redefined through their interactions within social systems, shifting the focus away from individual artists to experiences and environmental emphases.

Art historian, David Penney, discusses a similar approach in his book *North American Indian Art* (2004). Penney recognizes that no single Indigenous aesthetic standard can be defined. Instead, Indigenous aesthetics are culturally based expressions. He suggests that representations of a group or community, even through art, have their own "cultural system of aesthetics" (Penney 10). Because they are culturally based, there is a need to identify and recognize Native participation in the discourse surrounding Native arts.[3]

This article takes Leuthold's, Rose's, and Penney's understandings of Indigenous aesthetics as culturally and historically relevant and intimately intermingled with other socio-political systems and applies this understanding to the collections held by the Oneida Nation Museum. It begins to urge ethnographic museums to recognize individual Native artists' contributions to Indigenous aesthetics as well as the community's involvement in art. By turning to the ONM's standards for acquiring art, I hope to add to the understandings of Indigenous aesthetics that avoid essentializing Indigenous aesthetics and Native art. This is especially important when we consider that essentialism is often linked to claims of authenticity. For Native artists, the consequences of essentialization of an identity, as we will see in this case, an Indigenous aesthetic, "risks drawing boundaries around authenticity that exclude people within [their] own community" (Onciul 165).[4]

Brief History of Indigenous Aesthetics

The buzz around Indigenous aesthetics started in the 1960s and 70s when a perceived threat of non-conformist Native art started to pop up in the ethnic art market. Of course, Indigenous aesthetics far predates this time, but artists behind the works that started the buzz were finally being recognized in a larger arena. These artists wanted to explore their personalized sense of art and show that Native Americans were and are part of the present and not some mystic past (Bolz and König 18). Santa Fe, New Mexico in particular, is acknowledged as a place where contemporary Native art began to emerge through the Santa Fe Art Institute and the Institute of American Indian Art (IAIA). Most notable for revolutionizing contemporary Native art was Luiseño (Payómkawichum) artist, Fritz Scholder. Scholder (1937-2005) was not only an enrolled member of the Luiseño Tribe, located in California, but he was also of German descent.[5]

Although he may not have grown up in a Native lifestyle, his work holds great significance for fighting Native stereotypes and moving Native art in new directions that engaged not only Native traditions, environments, and teachings, but also had a political and activist edge (Steffen 2015). One style readily identifiable as Scholder's are his images of Native Americans wrapped or draped in American flags; a commentary on nationally held stereotypes about Native Americans. Along with his paintings, Scholder was also an accomplished sculptor. One of his most famous sculptures is displayed in the George Gustav Heye Center of the National Museum of the American Indian in New York City. Titled *Future Clone*, the sculpture was featured in the 2010 film *Black Swan*.

Scholder's unfamiliar style caused quite a stir in the Native American art market and inspired many others. Some of Scholder's contemporaries and students include Tom Wayne 'T.C.' Cannon (Kiowa/Caddo), Kevin Red Star (Crow; https://kevinredstar.com/), Linda Lomahaftewa (Hopi-Choctaw; https://lomahaftewa.weebly.com/), and Billy Soza War Soldier (Cahuilla/Apache). Each of these artists' new, non-conformist art left gallery owners feeling uneasy (Bolz and König 19). Their Indigenous aesthetics spoke to social and political problems of Native Peoples, often at the hands of non-Natives. While the ethnic art market and gallery owners felt uncomfortable with these changes, the artists felt they were finally able to depict reality without displacing traditional artistic mediums. The artists found a coexistence between tradition and reality in their art.

Many of the museums I visited in both Germany and the U.S. display originals or prints of Scholder's work. My methodology for understanding Native American representation in ethnographic museums included walking through exhibition halls with the curators who envisioned these halls and talking about their message. I would ask what they had hoped to accomplish and what they were able to accomplish. Two curators, one at the *Berlin Ethnologisches Museum* and the other at the *Museum für Völkerkunde Hamburg,* boasted that their Scholder art was displayed prominently in their contemporary art sections. At Hamburg, there were only three pieces displayed in the contemporary Native art section, one of which was Scholder's *Buckskin Indian*. Additionally, Scholder's *Indian Portrait with Tomahawk* was used as the cover art for Berlin's exhibition catalog, *Native American Modernism: Art from North America,* that supplemented the contemporary Native art exhibition written by the curator and museum director (Bolz and König 2012).

The popularity of Scholder's work in Germany could be due to his German ancestry and the German fascination with Native North America. Germany hosts clubs dedicated to the fascination of Native American history, culture, and materials. Often referred to as German Indian Hobbyism, the hobby is over a century old and allows Germans and other Europeans to embody their interest in Native Americans.[6] But, specifically, Scholder's popularity may also stem from a popular exhibition and accompanying catalog presented in Stuttgart called *Indianische Malerei in Nordamerika*, Indian Painting in North America, in which Scholder's work was highlighted (Schulze-Thulin 1973; Bolz and König 2012). Now, Scholder's work sits prominently in contemporary Native art exhibits alongside other politically charged paintings by Native artists, many of whom found inspiration through Scholder.

However, acquiring Scholder's art and displaying it does not ensure the museum's or the public's understanding of Indigenous aesthetics. It does, however, suggest that museums seek out artists that have already been vetted and valued by other museums and art connoisseurs. This sharing of contemporary artists displayed across museums alludes to a cultural capital boost for the museum as a repository. It does not mean museums are actively trying to understand and promote Indigenous aesthetics, though this can also be the case.

An essential aspect of this cultural capital is visitor expectations and their influence on acquisitions. Visitor expectations are both fostered by and reinforced by ethnographic museums. When visitors enter the museum, their previous experiences in other museums have set up

standards by which to judge the current exhibit they are viewing. Exhibitions provide visitors with examples of how to judge and value quality and taste. They take these experiences and build upon them as they view more exhibits and judge more art.

When we begin to see exhibits as sites for manufacturing taste for visitors and swaying public discourse, we see that museums "configure particular ways of knowing and perceiving" (Macdonald 95). However, they are also conscious of the fact that visitor expectations drive interest and revenue. Therefore, some acquisition decisions consider visitor expectations, expectations that were already fostered by previous visits to other museums. This circular process of acquiring and displaying contemporary art that may interest visitors in order to interest more visitors can limit the scope of new art acquisitions in terms of imagery, type, and medium.

In other words, museums foster visitor taste in contemporary Native art, which then dictates the museums' acquisition policies that include the same or similar contemporary art/ists that visitors expect to see. Imparting taste on publics for what they can expect to see, judge, and value in Native North American exhibitions as something worthy of display is what anthropologist Corinne A. Kratz calls "rhetorics of value" (22). "Rhetorics of value" are communicated through the choices museums make in what they display, how they display it, and even how they determine what to acquire.

Every museum reserves the right to determine what to acquire for their collections based on collection need, exhibition narratives, and personal preferences held by curators, directors, and museum boards. I acknowledge that it is challenging to acquire new art and artifacts when prices are always on the rise and museum budgets are often shrinking. The determining factors, therefore, are based on things like visitor expectations and cultural capital.[7] Desirable purchases that may push the boundaries of what we consider contemporary Native art are too risky for museums which are forced to be more discriminatory in their acquisitions. Often times, a shared taste between museums looking to maintain their social and even political capital through the status of their collections becomes *the* distinguishing factor in deciding what art/artists to acquire.

By focusing on which contemporary artists other museums acquire, Native art continues to be valued through a Western connoisseur's gaze.[8] Analyzing Indigenous aesthetics through Western aesthetic standards only reinforces the priority Western aesthetics receives over

Indigenous art forms. The consequences of which include freezing Indigenous Peoples in a distant past, misrecognizing Indigenous representations, and limiting the type of art Native artists are recognized for. In this way, Western connoisseurship has assumed an early responsibility of defining, conserving, and marketing the future of the world's arts and continues to maintain control over the definition of Indigenous aesthetics.

This does not mean that museums have not found new ways to incorporate Indigenous aesthetics into their exhibitions. John Paul Rangel explores how one museum, the Museum of Contemporary Native Arts (MoCNA) in Santa Fe, NM, not only encourages the recognition of Indigenous perspectives of aesthetics but actively promotes these perspectives. They do so by first calling out dominant stereotypes and intervening through the promotion of Indigenous ways of knowing as a decolonial methodology.[9] Through the examples of art at MoCNA, Rangel argues they try to move beyond the label of "cultural art forms" as either contemporary or traditional and focus more on expressions of cosmologies, belief systems, values, traditions, and ideologies all mingled with language, community, and place (40).

A second example of museums trying new ways of incorporating Indigenous aesthetics can be found in the series of co-curated exhibitions by the Chicago Field Museum. Native artists were asked to co-curate an exhibit that featured not only their artwork but also the Field's collections in some way. The first three artists the Field partnered with were: Bunky Echo-Hawk (Yakama and Pawnee), Chris Pappan (Kanza), and Rhonda Holy Bear (Lakota).

Bunky Echo-Hawk, well known for his politically charged imagery, created an exhibit that showcased his work critiquing contemporary Native issues. Issues such as environmental pollution, endangerment of Native communities through chemical waste sites, and historical and modern genocidal practices were presented. Along with the exhibition, Echo-Hawk had a special seminar where he created art in front of and with the help of audience members.[10] A blog by Field curator, Alaka Wali, was also posted to the Field website discussing some of the topics raised by the exhibit in more depth.[11]

Chris Pappan's co-curated exhibit also critiqued Western societal practices of representation, but more subtly than Echo-Hawk's. Pappan is known for his ledger art, which is a Plains style of narrative art illustrating stories and events. Most notable about ledger art is its connection to the imprisonment of 72 Native men at Fort Marion following a series of uprisings between Plains tribes and the U.S. army in the mid 1780s. While imprisoned, these Native men

produced a large number of drawings on ledger paper. They were encouraged to draw by U.S. army Captain, Richard Pratt, which would be the foundation of Pratt's education plan to assimilate Native Americans by "kill[ing] the Indian in him, and sav[ing] the man" (Pratt 260).[12]

Pappan created ledger style art that interacted with the outdated displays at the Field Museum by printing them on semi-transparent laminate and laid them over display cases. For example, a buffalo hide commissioned by the Field Museum in 1904 depicts Cheyenne war stories by Kiowa artist Silver Horn titled *Tipi liner* (Image 2). The hide depicts U.S. soldiers riding horses in blue uniforms pointing guns at Native warriors both on horses and on foot. It also depicts Natives warring with other Natives and even a group of Native men on someone's trail. On the plexiglass that separates visitors from this Field artifact, Pappan placed a transparent rainbow above a group of Natives wearing robes in a semicircle. The display of Pappan's art was meant as a critique of traditional museum displays, which for the Field have not changed since the 1980s in half of the Americas exhibition.

(Image 2: *Tipi liner* with Pappan art overlay, photo by author)

Rhonda Holy Bear's art, unlike Echo-Hawk's and Pappan's, incorporated multiple mediums to make miniature figures of some of the most iconic looks to originate from Plains tribes. Her figures wear intricate beadwork, quillwork, and bone on their clothing while others wear miniature feather headdresses. Visitors can find life-size examples of Holy Bear's art in the

Field Museum's collections allowing her art to meld well with the Field's ethnographic displays. Visitors can shift their attention seamlessly from her contemporary artwork to the museum artifacts that have similar designs and materials to compare, contrast, and appreciate the delicacy of her work on a miniature scale.

Though these contemporary Native art exhibitions created an innovative way to bring a diverse set of voices and Indigenous aesthetics into the exhibition hall, there was a theme that emerged from these three temporary exhibits: each was overtly Native. Echo-Hawk's art is overtly Native in its imagery, featuring Natives wearing large headdresses along with gas masks. Pappan's ledger art is a continuation of a Plains artistic and narrative style readily identified as Native American. And Holy Bear recreated miniature versions of iconic fashion and artifacts from the Plains, also readily identifiable as Native American. Therefore, the incorporation of these three Native artists ensured that visitors could identify the art immediately as Native art. The art points to its Indianness and emphasizes the ethnic and racial difference of these three artists and their work on display.

However, as we have already seen in the first example from the Oneida Nation museum and as we will see in a second example from ONM, the art itself does not need to look Native to be incorporated and be recognized as an Indigenous aesthetic. Viewing Indigenous aesthetics as Indigenous rhetoric, we can see Native art as something that can be read, something that speaks about people and speaks to people as a strategy of and for rhetorical sovereignty (Lyons 449-450). By claiming one's own identity through art by drawing on experience, worldview, and commitment to bettering one's community, art becomes an act of sovereignty for Native artists no matter what form and imagery it takes.

In viewing contemporary Native art in this way, we can see how art is a mode by which Native Americans communicate self-determination to influence public discourse and educate audiences about their needs, values, and worldviews. This does not imply that all Native art needs to be political nor that Echo-Hawk's, Pappan's, and Holy Bear's art does not do this. By broadening understandings of Indigenous aesthetics, I hope to force art enthusiasts to move beyond what is visually and therefore overtly Native. To instead look at and analyze what the artist themselves might have been thinking about, identifying with, and hoping to accomplish through their art.

Considering Indigenous aesthetics in this way means the pieces acquired and displayed as art may not look like what is expected, but they still speak to particular lifestyles and histories deemed essential not only to the artist but perhaps also to the community. They are narratives of survivance that speak directly to Indigenous rhetorics surrounding colonization and decolonization, kin networks, and sovereignty.[13] Above all, they are choices that speak directly to self-representation efforts. The next section looks at the Oneida Nation Museum's display practices for Native art, focusing closely on one exhibition about lace-making, the aesthetic beauty of lace, and its function for Oneida women at the turn of the 20th century.

Oneida Nation Museum

The Oneida Nation Museum, located in Oneida, Wisconsin, serves the Oneida Nation, part of the Iroquois Confederacy or Haudenosaunee.[14] The current ONM building opened in 1989 with a small collection loaned and donated by tribal citizens.[15] It was among the first tribal museums to open, with only 25 tribal museums preceding it. Between 1994-95, the collection at the museum grew dramatically when the Oneida Nation of Wisconsin purchased a large collection from the Turtle Museum. The Native American Center for the Living Arts, or the Turtle Museum as it was dubbed because of its architectural design shaped to look like a turtle, was located in Niagara Falls, New York. Funded through a grant, the Turtle Museum had unforeseen budget problems after the grant trickled away, forcing it to close its doors in the mid-1990s. The majority of its collections were sent to auction.

After integrating the Turtle Museum collection into the museum in Wisconsin, the ONM made a strategic plan to become the leading research archive for all things Onʌyoteˀa·ká· (Oneida) and to some extent, Haudenosaunee. The ONM is working towards this aim by creating an accessible and digital repository of the photograph and archive collections as well as a researchable database of all three-dimensional objects in the collection for safe and easy access by visitors, researchers, and tribal citizens. I have been collaborating on this project for over thirteen years, and we are taking the upcoming move as an opportunity to finish uploading all current collections to promote the new museum.

In conjunction with this large digitization project, the current ONM staff are busy updating the current exhibition space on a quarterly rotation. Every three months, a section of the exhibits are updated, and within 12 months, all the exhibit cases are changed. This curation plan

stems from the desire to continuously draw community members into the museum and is also due in part because of the small size of the museum (a 1500 square foot room, divided into sections by half-walls).

The ONM's exhibition mission is to present Oneida culture and a broad history of the Oneida and Haudenosaunee through storytelling, visual engagement, and interactive activities. When visitors enter the exhibition, they are greeted by Skywoman and the Creation Story. They move counterclockwise through the museum, walking through a small replica of a longhouse with interactive stations and staged living conditions before entering themed portions of the exhibition. Currently, a contemporary cornhusk art section featuring community artists immediately follows the longhouse structure and moves seamlessly into Oneida history and politics.[16] These displays are focused on Oneida involvement in US military services, language revitalization, land loss, and sovereignty. The exhibition ends by bringing visitors' attention back to community members' accomplishments and talents with more contemporary art displays.

Each of the contemporary art sections in the ONM highlight local Oneida artists. Photos of the artists are displayed next to their artwork and narratives that are unique to the artists. Some of these narratives illustrate how the artist came to that particular type of artwork. Others showcase what inspires their artwork. While others portray personal details of the artists' life, such as where they grew up in the community and even health concerns that are preventing them from continuing their art. But what ties each of these narratives together are stories of how the artist's identity has driven their art.

When acquiring contemporary art collections, the ONM practices what could be construed as a lenient acquisition policy even while dealing with the same obstacles larger museums face such as lack of funding, lack of staff, and lack of space. For many museums, lack of funds, space, and staff means being selective when it comes to objects that do not meet the museum's collection or educational missions. However, due to Native American mistrust of museums as colonial institutions, tribal museums receive less donations than non-Native ethnographic or regional museums. This lack of contributions (whether monetary or physical items for the collections) forces tribal museums to focus on creating trust and establishing a rapport with community members in ways that large ethnographic museums do not have to do. Because tribal museums welcome donations from the community through seemingly more

lenient acquisition policies, de-acquisition policies become just as crucial for maintaining a healthy collection.

The ONM's unit of measurement for determining what to acquire is based on current tribal citizenship and descendant standards that are determined by the tribal governing body and their constitution. Current citizenship requirements are based on blood quantum set at a fraction that took into consideration the (then) current make-up of Oneida citizens and considered future generations' ability to meet these standards.[17] Blood quantum requirements also took into consideration the resources the tribe had at the time, the rate in which the tribe would grow both in terms of citizenship and as a business, and how many citizens those future resources could accommodate. Descendants (those who do not meet the minimum blood quantum but are descendants of an individual who does) are tiered differently in terms of the social services and benefits they can receive but are still community members.

The ONM, as part of the Cultural Heritage area under the Governmental Services Division of the Oneida Nation's organization, uses these citizenship requirements to create a consistent standard for museum acquisitions. The acquisitions affected by these criteria are artifacts, art, and archives that do not directly illustrate or discuss Oneida history or culture.[18] Determinations for what to acquire is made on a case-by-case basis by a Collections Advisory Team. The Collections Advisory Team consists of the Business Committee secretary or appointee, manager of the Cultural Heritage area, Museum director and assistant director/collections manager, tribal historian, Records Management director, Tribal Historic Preservation Officer (THPO), tribal archivist, and cultural advisor(s). These individuals, who are all Oneida citizens, bring their expertise to the meeting, including knowledge about tribal history, culture, collections management, and preservation.

This small team suggests that only a few individuals determine what enters the museum and therefore, what represents the Oneida People. However, to say that they are setting precedents for what it means to be Oneida through the acquisition of certain items or collections into the museum does not mean that only a small group of people are determining what it means to be Oneida. Instead, these individuals were hired and placed on the Collections Advisory Team because of their expertise. They are individuals who know Oneida culture because of their commitment and upbringing in the community, they have been doing this work for a long time, and they are individuals who received graduate degrees in related fields and have decades of

training and experience. And most importantly, their expertise and experiences are based on communal standards and understandings of what it means to be Oneida.

In terms of an Indigenous aesthetic or taste, the museum leaves that to the artists' discretion. The ONM does not discriminate based on what they think should represent Oneida art. Instead, they acknowledge the diverse and ever-changing nature of art, even by Native artists like David Ninham discussed in the introduction. Additionally, because the ONM is trying to brand themselves as a repository for Oneida and Haudenosaunee culture, lifeways, and history, they allow Oneida and Haudenosaunee artists to determine what this looks like artistically. In this way, the ONM is serving the Oneida community as it determines what it means to be Oneida for themselves.

Besides David Ninham's work and its acquisition by the ONM as an example, the ONM is broadening its own understanding of Indigenous aesthetics through a recent display in 2016-2017. It displayed some of the collection's lace table runners alongside community members' lace handkerchiefs. The exhibit case was titled "Extravagant Strings: The Story of Oneida Lace Makers" and it told the story of how lace-making became a lucrative art for Oneida women (Oneida Nation Museum 2016; Image 3).

(Image 3: "Extravagant Strings: The Story of Oneida Lace Makers," ONM, photo by author)

The text panels for this display explained the interesting history of lace-making in Native communities and how it was not just a craft that was lucrative for Native women, but how it was historically acknowledged as an art form. The display credits Sybil Carter as the pioneer who brought lace-making to Native reservations. Carter was a missionary and a socialite from the east coast. She learned to make lace as a child but did not pick it back up until she was a missionary in Japan. While in Japan, Carter realized that lace was a profitable craft and also thought it would be an excellent way to continue her missionary work upon her return to the states. Eventually, the Sybil Carter Lace Association, which existed between 1904 and 1926, organized and paid for the lace-making supplies and classes that reached reservations across the United States.

Her first lace-making class was on the White Earth reservation in Minnesota in 1889. Within four years, she had opened new lace-making schools on Native reservations across Wisconsin into Minnesota, and as far west as California. By Carter's death in 1908, schools were operating in Wisconsin on the Oneida reservation, numerous Anishinaabe reservations, and on the Ho-Chunk reservation. East of Wisconsin, schools also ran on the Onondaga and Seneca reservations in New York, and west of Wisconsin, schools operated on Arapaho, Kiowa, and Paiute reservations, along with various Californian mission groups.

It was the Order of the Sisters of Holy Nativity in Fond du Lac, WI under the direction of Bishop Grafton who hired Sybil Carter and her fellow Hampton Institute teacher, Cora Bronson, to teach the Oneida of Wisconsin how to make lace (Jenson 1901).[19] History becomes hazy when crediting a specific individual with bringing lace-making classes to the Oneida outside the broad Episcopal missionary work. Besides Bishop Grafton, notable names include a Miss Hemingway and missionary Frank Wesley Merrill who traveled to New York to raise funds for the mission and helped transport some of the lace directly to the Sybil Carter Indian Lace Association for sale.

Lace-making classes began in August of 1898, and by September of 1899, the class had grown to 75 Oneida women. Initially, Sybil Carter's mission was to civilize Native women and make them "abandon traditional patterns of Indian life" by teaching them how to care for their homes.[20] The Sybil Carter Lace Association wanted classes to be held outside of Native homes for presumed cleanliness reasons, but there were no buildings suitable to teach the number of Oneida women who wished to make lace. Instead, the women were allowed to work on their lace from home, which enabled them to work on their own time and around their other

responsibilities. Even though they were allowed to bring their lace home, Betty McLester and Judy Skenandore recall "The women often repeated the phrase, 'Jiot Kout sa-tso-bulon' or 'Be always washing your hands'" to ensure the lace was clean and profitable (McLester and Skenandore 160).

Not only was it profitable through sales, the women did not have to purchase the materials to make more because the Sybil Carter Lace Association used the profits from the finished products to buy more materials. Most of the finished products were sold in a New York City office with small private lace events held in affluent households. Unfortunately, however, because white women only worked these sales, the Sybil Carter Lace Association was accused of underpaying the Native workers even when all proceeds went back into the industry, and Oneida women had control of their output.[21] Merely five years after the lace-making industry began in Oneida, Josephine Hill [Webster], a former student at Hampton Institute and daughter of Chief Cornelius Hill, took over the supervision of the work in Oneida, placing it firmly in the hands of Oneida women.

Lace-making brought in between fifty cents and a dollar per day. It is said that in Oneida alone between October 1900 and July 1901, the 150 women making lace made $1125.[22] Amelia Wheelock Jordan reminisced to Ida Blackhawk in August of 1941, saying "we used to get a good price for our lace. I made about twelve to fifteen dollars a week" (Lewis 201). In an interview between Tillie Baird and Josephine Hill Webster, Webster recalled sending in "the finished work every two weeks, sometimes one to three hundred dollars' worth of finished work in one sending" to distribute to the lace makers (Lewis 408n24).

It was no wonder women who made lace made more money than farmers, and one did not need to be an expert lacemaker. According to Kate Duncan, lace sales at the turn of the century were helped by the ethnic nature of the lace makers because "sentiment was strong towards helping the Indian" (34). This is surprising because the majority of the designs, which were generic European designs, did not visually suggest that they were made by Native women. Today, due to generic designs, it is hard to determine if existing lace in both private collections and museum collections are in fact Native-made without a complete provenance. However, there are still examples where Native women would incorporate everyday items like flowers, carpets, and even church windows along with Native motifs from beadwork, Native infants in cradleboards, canoes, and bows and arrows.

Even though many of the designs were duplicated from European lace, Native lace-making stood out across the globe and won many awards. Native lace won awards at the Paris Exposition in 1900; the Pan-American Expo in Buffalo, NY in 1901; at Liege in 1905; Milan in 1906; and the Australian Exposition in 1908. It even won the grand prize at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition. Native women's lace was so sought after that the Oneidas even presented an outstanding piece of alter lace to the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York City when it opened in 1911.

Sybil Carter died in 1908, a year that marks the beginning of the decline in lace sales. Partly due to Carter's connections, but also because fashion changed frequently, lace became all but obsolete by 1926. In Oneida, a recent attempt was made by Elizabeth Benson McLester who tried to bring the craft back. She was relatively successful by making a crafting circle that got together weekly to do various crafts, including lace-making, beadwork, basket making, knitting, and cornhusk dolls, among others.[23]

Although lace-making is not typically a craft associated with Native American artistry, it is being recognized as such in a tribal museum and was acknowledged in a world arena through the Paris Exposition. This speaks to the recognition of a seemingly non-Native art form that is being presented as having an impact on the local community and therefore being adopted as an art form. For Oneida community members who have grown up knowing the history of the community and the work of the local Episcopal Church in the late 19th century, lace as an art form is not out of the everyday ordinary. Lace was appreciated for its beauty and became a staple for producing economic independence not only for the women who made lace but for the Oneida community they served.

Contemporary art displays like the lace exhibition at ONM are impactful for their role in promoting survivance narratives of groups coming together and thriving through lace-making. Contemporary art displays at ONM are upholding the ideals and beliefs of the Oneida in and of Wisconsin (Ackley 259). Whether lacework, beadwork, cornhusk dolls, sculptures, or paintings, the displays at the ONM are meant for an audience who understands, appreciates, and upholds the diversity of Oneida talents and expressions of their identity. The role of the museum is to help visitors celebrate those Oneida accomplishments and diversity past, present, and future through an ever-evolving Oneida aesthetic.

Rhetorical Sovereignty and Indigenous Aesthetics

The various examples used in this article illustrate different aesthetic standards for acquiring and displaying Native art. The difference between the ONM and the non-tribal museums is an exercise in what Native scholar Scott Lyons calls rhetorical sovereignty. Lyons writes about rhetorical sovereignty as a response to the historical mistrust Natives have towards the written word, mainly English writing. The distrust stems from a large number of dishonored treaties written in English and forced assimilation through writing, reading, and speaking English in boarding schools. Lyons then defines rhetorical sovereignty as "the inherent right and ability of *peoples* to determine their own communicative needs and desires in this pursuit, to decide for themselves the goals, modes, styles, and languages of public discourse" (449-450). We can apply rhetorical sovereignty to the ONM as it broadens what an Indigenous aesthetic for the Oneida community and individual Oneida artists looks like, who the audience is, and what the message might be.

When Indigenous aesthetics are determined by the Native artist, it allows the artist to express their own beliefs, identities, and even critiques of non-Native society through their art. They are able to experiment with mediums and imagery. And they are free to explore their beliefs and opinions through their art. This allows places like the ONM to promote Indigenous aesthetics by using the sovereign nations' (Oneida Nation) citizenship standards which determines who is and who is not Oneida (e.g., David Ninham's work) and to display historical moments that have impacted the community (e.g., lace-making at the turn of the century).

In this way, the ONM and their artists are better equipped to decolonize their museum and use it in ways that benefit the Oneida community. By incorporating an Indigenous aesthetic, tribal museums like ONM are already "sabotag[ing] colonial systems of thought and power for the purpose of liberatory alternatives" (Martineau ii). Native scholar and all-around artist, Jarrett Martineau, calls this fugitive Indigeneity. And the ONM is practicing their own fugitive Indigeneity by using colonial institutions (i.e., museums) and decolonizing them by determining what and how to represent their community, image, and Native identity.

Notes

[1] Veterans in Oneida are highly respected, and at one point, the ONM had three displays honoring those who served. There is also a large memorial that sits off a county highway

between Green Bay and Oneida that remembers those who served, those who are serving, and those who will serve.

[2] For more examples of Indigenous centric understandings of aesthetics see heather ahtone, "Designed to Last: Striving Toward an Indigenous American Aesthetic," in *International Journal of Arts in Society* 4, no. 2 (2009): 373-385, "Reading Beneath the Surface: Joe Feddersen's Parking Lot," in *Wicazo Sa Review* 27, no. 1 (Spring 2012): 73-84; Michael M. Ames, *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes: The Anthropology of Museums* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1992); Jarrett Martineau and Eric Ritskes, "Fugitive Indigeneity: Reclaiming the Terrain of Decolonial Struggle through Indigenous Art," in *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 3, no. 1 (2014): I-XII; John Paul Rangel, "Moving Beyond the Expected: Representation and Presence in a Contemporary Native Arts Museum," in *Wicazo Sa Review* 27, no. 1 (2012): 31-46.

[3] For more examples of scholars calling for more Native involvement in defining and identifying Indigenous aesthetics see Jane Catherine Berlo and Ruth B. Phillips, *Native North American Art,* second edition (Oxford University Press, 2014); Edwin L. Wade and Rennard Strickland, *Magic Images: Contemporary Native American Art* (Norman: Philbrook Art Center and University of Oklahoma Press, 1981).

[4] The same claims can be made for the exoticization of Indigenous aesthetics. For further reading see Ivan Karp, "Culture and Representation," *Exhibiting Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991); Lisa Chandler, "'Journey without Maps': Unsettling Curatorship in Cross-Cultural Contexts," in *Museum and Society* 7, no. 2(2009): 74-91.

[5] Scholder himself often said he was "not Indian" because of his upbringing away from Luiseño life. See http://fritzscholder.com/index.php

[6] For further reading see (ed.) Colin Calloway, Gerd Gemünden, Susanne Zantop, *Germans & Indians: Fantasies, Encounters, Projections* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002); Petra Kalshoven, *Crafting "the Indian": Knowledge, Desire & Play in Indianist Reenactment* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012); H. Glenn Penny, *Kindred by Choice: Germans and American Indians since 1800* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013).

[7] This sentiment was reinforced during an interview with Karl May Museum curator Robin Leipold (2 June 2015).

[8] For more information, see Sally Price, *Primitive Art in Civilized Places* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

[9] For more information of decolonizing methodologies, see Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London: Zed Books LTD, 1999).

[10] For the full video see https://vimeo.com/127636118

[11] See https://www.fieldmuseum.org/blog/beyond-labels-bunky-echo-hawk-modern-warrior

[12] Pratt's educational programming would later focus on children during the Boarding School era; a period that continues to have ill effects on Native individuals and communities.

[13] For more reading about survivance, see Gerald Vizenor, *Aesthetics of Survivance* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008). For more reading about Indigenous rhetorics see Resa Crane Bizzaro, "Foreword: Alliances and Community Building: Teaching Indigenous Rhetorics and Rhetorical Practices," *Survivance, Sovereignty, and Story: Teaching American Indian Rhetorics* (University Press of Colorado, 2015).

[14] Oneida is one of six nations that make up the Haudenosaunee. The others are Cayuga, Seneca, Tuscarora, Mohawk, and Onondaga.
[15] There is a discrepancy in the dates for the opening of the ONM. Kristina Ackley states it opened in 1989 (Ackley 257). However, museum personnel, including a previous director, said the opening of the museum occurred in 1976. This could be explained through a series of restructurings the museum has undergone. Currently, ONM is placed under a broader area called Cultural Heritage. Cultural Heritage currently oversees the museum, the library, the history department, and the language department.
[16] Until recently (2019), a six-foot-tall cornhusk man, the only one of its kind, was standing in the middle of this cornhusk exhibit. He has recently been taken down for some much-needed rest.
[17] For more information about citizenship standards and blood quantum see Norbert S. Hill, Jr. and Kathleen Ratteree, *The Great Vanishing Act: Blood Quantum and the Future of Native Nations* (Fulcrum Publishing, 2017).
[18] The ONM is not the only records repository for the Oneida Nation. There is also a Records Management Department, which archives historical documents like correspondences, minutes of meetings, books, etc. The Records Management department, which has many of these documents available electronically for employees throughout the Oneida organization and public access is forthcoming as well as History and Library departments which have their own archival collections. The acquisition process, as it is outlined here, is for ONM acquisitions only.
[19] For more information from numerous Oneida women's standpoints about their lace-making experiences see ed. Herbert S. Lewis, *Oneida Lives: Long-Lost Voices of the Wisconsin Oneidas* (University of Nebraska, 2005).
[20] https://trc-leiden.nl/trc-needles/organisations-and-movements/charities/sybil-carter-indian-lace-association
[21] See https://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Records/Newspaper/BA14787 and http://www.mnopedia.org/group/sybil-carter-indian-lace-association
[22] For more information about what Oneida lace-makers were earning from their lace, see Frank Wesley Merrill, *The Church's Mission to the Oneida* (Library of Congress, 1902).
[23] For more information about the contemporary revival of lace-making in Oneida see Betty McLester and Judy Skenandore "Ten Contemporary Oneidas Reminisce in Nine Accounts About the Holy Apostles Episcopal Church and the Episcopal Mission," *The Wisconsin Oneidas and the Episcopal Church A Chain Linking Two Traditions*. ed. Gordon L. McLester, et al. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2019).

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Laughing in the Dark: Weird Survivance in the Works of Bunky Echo-Hawk and Daniel McCoy Jr.[1]

KRISTINA BAUDEMANN

"We are locked in darkness with wicked words. …
Listen, ha ha ha haaaa."
Gerald Vizenor, *Bearheart: The Heirship Chronicles* [1978; 1990], vii-viii

1 And the Trickster Keeps Shifting: Introduction

In *The Trickster Shift* (1999) Canadian scholar Allan J. Ryan created a comprehensive framework to conceptualize humour and irony in North American Indigenous art. In dialog with Indigenous artists and writers, art historians, actors, scholars, and elders, Ryan identified the many layers of "a distinct comic and communal attitude … that can be legitimately labelled 'Native humour'" (xii): "Emerging from these conversations was the conviction on my part that there was indeed a sensibility, a spirit, at work and at play in the practice of many of the artists, grounded in a fundamentally comic world view and embodied in the traditional Native North American trickster" (xii). Drawing on Anishinaabe artist Carl Beam's comment on a "trickster shift" (3) in Indigenous art—a transformation of the tricky character from oral stories into contemporary artistic practice—Ryan shows that trickster humour ranges from subtle to biting and bitterly ironic. In their works, artists such as Beam, Gerald McMaster (Cree), James Luna (Luiseño), Edward Poitras (Métis), Shelley Niro (Kanien'kehá:ka), and Lawrence Paul Yuxweluptun (Coast Salish/Okanagan descent) humorously subvert stereotypical representations of Natives, which engages viewers in the long overdue conversations about misconceptions of Native realities. Even though the term is not mentioned in *The Trickster Shift*, the humorous elements Ryan discusses effect *survivance*, Gerald Vizenor's (Anishinaabe) now well-known neologism for active Native survival through creative resistance, humour, and irony.

Two decades after the publication of *The Trickster Shift*, subversive humour continues to be a significant component of the works of many Native artists who draw on new and different material—from new media to different pop cultural elements—thus widening the representational range of trickster humour in the visual arts. This paper is concerned with the

humorous effect of outrageous and grotesque elements in the works of Bunky Echo-Hawk (Yakama/Pawnee) and Daniel McCoy Jr. (Potawatomi/Muscogee Creek). Echo-Hawk's *Gas Masks as Medicine* series or McCoy's *Insulin Holocaust* (2011) seem to offer pessimistic visions of the end of our worlds in toxic waste. However, rather than proclaiming total catastrophe and the futility of resistance, these paintings effect *weird survivance*—a term that I will explain in this article—through dark humour. Ryan's 1999 work already hints at a link between survivance and disturbing, non-cathartic representations of violence, war, depression, illness, and death: in *The Trickster Shift*, Ryan reads the "black humour" (98) of Native artists such as McMaster or Poitras as strategic resistance to their representational disenfranchisement, arguing that elements which are both disturbing and funny serve "not so much to *undercut* seriousness … but to *intensify* it graphically" (98). Turning to *weird survivance* means acknowledging this link and thus explicitly including the more macabre pieces of Native art in the Vizenorian paradigm of survivance: McCoy's and Echo-Hawk's art effects survivance through dark humour without mitigating the horrors of reality.

2 The Art of the Inescapable: Pushing for Weird Survivance

Gerald Vizenor introduced the term *survivance* as part of a terminology that has come to be known as "Vizenorese" (Blaeser 71). As the term for creative resistance through trickster humour, survivance is both the core and the effect of Vizenorese. However, Vizenor's use of the term is more complex than that. With reference to postmodern theory in general and Jacques Derrida's poststructuralist semiotics in particular, Vizenor suggests that survivance is the transformational experience effected by *trickster discourse*, a narrative strategy that draws on postmodern collage, Native storytelling, and humour and irony to reveal the colonial stereotype of the *indian* as a simulation, an empty, colonial sign without referent ('essence'/'meaning'/'truth') in reality. Like Derrida's *différance*, survivance oscillates between the fixed meanings of its constituents ('survival' and 'resistance'). It plays on both while ultimately signifying neither entirely. Vizenor explains that *survivance* means "an active sense of presence" (Vizenor, "Aesthetics," 1) of Native voices in the absence of traceable, that is, textual, evidence which removes both storyteller/writer and readers/audiences into a textual universe in which meaning can never be absolute and the representation of Native people is always already defunct, or incomplete. The reader, then, perceives the world as constantly shifting. *Survivance* ultimately defies clear definition: "The shadows of tribal memories are the active silence, trace, and différance in the literature of

survivance" (*Manifest* 71). Vizenor's terminology echoes a postmodern suspicion with the idea of authenticity, while refusing to discard the possibility of culturally-specific representation.

An element of violence is innate in the mechanics of survivance. After all, as Derrida has frequently suggested, shifting the gaze to the level of textual/visual signifiers always involves the idea of dangerous movement and violent erasure. As Derrida states in *Writing and Difference*, "Death strolls between letters" (*Writing* 87). Once meaning is perceived as constantly shifting, rather than fixed, readers and viewers are thrown into a world of insecurity. Nevertheless, violence on the level of representation seems incompatible with the spirit of survivance: gruesome, vulgar, and inexplicable elements are usually neglected in discussions of the term even though the stories Vizenor has referred to as "the literature of survivance" (*Manifest* 63)—featuring, for instance, Vizenor's own works—contain disturbing elements, such as graphic scenes of violence. Vizenor's debut novel *Darkness in Saint Louis: Bearheart* (1978) serves as a case in point: the titular 'darkness' can be associated with the different characters' violent experiences which are intermixed with scenes of "wild humor" (Owens 247).[2]

Drawing on Vizenor's notion that "[s]ome upsetting is necessary" (Coltelli 172), Louis Owens (Cherokee/Choctaw descent) consequently identifies "surprise, shock, outrage" (248) as major elements of Vizenor's trickster spirit (248): "Whether in traditional mythology or Vizenor's fiction, the trickster challenges us in profoundly disturbing ways to reimagine moment by moment the world we inhabit" (248). Nevertheless, academic discussions rarely focus on this core aspect of survivance. Scholarly contributions frequently reproduce the commonly accepted notion that survivance consists in the subversion of tragedy and victimhood through a humorous and positive story about Native presence. Vizenor himself, in "The Aesthetics of Survivance: Literary Theory and Practice," the core essay of the 2008 collection *Survivance: Narratives of Native Presence*, seems to have moved away from the notion of survivance as something that is itself hollow and can never give essence—a play on shadows and simulations that dissolves static and clichéd representations of Native people in wild laughter. Instead, Vizenor stresses the spirit of resistance, a belief in democratic values, and positive animal metaphors. *Survivance*, then, is an ever-shifting concept that has become a household term in Indigenous studies and returning to its margins might be worthwhile—to the dark alleys of Native humour and bizarre scenes of resistance in Native painting for

which the term *survivance* as it is commonly understood in current academic discourse might seem, at a first glance, entirely inappropriate.

Survivance works, among other aspects, through what Ryan termed the "varying strengths" (Ryan 168) of "toxic humour" (168)—"a form of humour based on toxicity" (Farmer qtd. in Ryan 168), meaning that "[y]ou have to laugh because there is nothing else to do but laugh at [the situation] in order to face the reality of it, in order to get past it" (Farmer qtd. in Ryan 168). As various scholars have pointed out, laughter at the grotesque and the bizarre is an integral part of humour's subversive and liberating effect. Blake Hobby, for instance, stresses that darkness in general is a key element of comedy: "All humor involves negations, absurdities, and dark truths about our lives, including our inability to defeat death and the conflicted way we cope with this darkest of all dark realities" (57). This darkness finds expression in the "dry, sardonic wit" (Ryan 267) of Native artwork addressing war and genocide. Métis artist Jim Logan, for instance, calls the joke in his piece *Unreasonable History* (1992) on Natives in World War II "sadistic" (qtd. in Ryan 254), a "relief of anger, I guess, frustration" (254). Logan discusses the fantastic scene in his painting that depicts the violent conquest of Rome by a Native American army: "Ah, it wasn't even a joke … to kill somebody is sick … but [it's] the thought behind it. If you lighten anything up in these times of trauma and despair, then you laugh about stuff like that because it's reflecting on the reality of the situation" (qtd. in Ryan 254). The laughter, then, does not result from the sight of a gruesome image or idea, but from the artist's "bizarre, off-the-wall sense of humour" (qtd. in Ryan 267) that is "a little strange to live with," to adapt Maxine Bedyn's words to our purpose here (qtd. in Ryan 267). While Native humour has been described as "a positive, compassionate act of survival" (Vizenor qtd. in Ryan 4), the comic worldview of an Indigenous-centred universe nevertheless subsumes horrible realities that must be confronted, understood, and even processed in the communal spirit of creative resistance and dark laughter.

The *OED* does not know the term *dark humour*, but defines "black humour" as "[c]omedy, satire, etc., that presents tragic, distressing, or morbid situations in humorous terms; humour that is ironic, cynical, or dry; gallows humour." *Merriam-Webster* defines "black humor" as "humor marked by the use of usually morbid, ironic, grotesquely comic episodes." According to these dictionary definitions the comic might be said to *subsume* the tragic; black or dark humour emerges as a product of the artistic arrangement of gruesome elements. It is the 'thought behind it' that makes representations of illness, death, or violence

appear humorous: while the gruesome elements alone would not provoke laughter, it is the artistic arrangement that does.

In order to acknowledge that survivance can involve dark humour and bleak imagery one might consider worthwhile the introduction of a new term that directs the scholarly gaze to the artistic handling of the grotesque and bizarre elements. During the 2016 International Conference for the Fantastic in the Arts (ICFA) roundtable discussion on survivance, Stina Attebery suggested the term *weird survivance* as descriptor for Yakama/Pawnee artist Bunky Echo-Hawk's *Gas Masks as Medicine* series. Echo-Hawk's scenes might at first strike viewers as bizarre: they feature people and animals wearing gas masks in neon-colored landscapes. Positive animal metaphors are a core feature of Vizenorian survivance, which is why some might consider it a definitional leap to locate Echo-Hawk's representations within this tradition. His animals appear unsettling: the blue and neon-green horses in such paintings as *Tribal Law* (2003) or *In the Pursuit of Justice* (2010) can be understood as metaphors for a poisoned environment. The qualifier 'positive' is therefore not what first comes to mind when faced with their empty eyesockets and irradiated hair. Some of Daniel McCoy Jr.'s (Potawatomi/Muscogee Creek) paintings might similarly be called disturbing, from the very titles such as *Insulin Holocaust* to the artistic compositions constituted by a wild melee of images, from skulls and whiskey bottles to internal organs.

Echo-Hawk's and McCoy's works challenge fixed expectations about Native people and Native art through a mode that might be termed *weird survivance*. This mode includes, for instance, the artists' use of the grotesque, meaning, their integration of "figures that may distort the natural into absurdity, ugliness, or caricature," and which appear unpleasant or frightening ("grotesque"). Echo-Hawk's and McCoy's compositions furthermore integrate elements of the absurd ("abandoning logical form" [Baldick 1] to express a human perception of the universe as chaotic and life as futile), and the uncanny (a depiction of quasi-human or quasi-animal figures that causes unease, repulsion, or fear). With the help of these techniques, the artists create bleak images, giving a face to such dark realities as environmental catastrophe, the toxicity of Western societies, human diseases, and the lingering persistence of human crimes like corruption, murder, and rape. Some of their artworks might outrage viewers and make them sick to their stomachs.

Considering Echo-Hawk's and McCoy's artworks in the context of weird survivance means acknowledging the importance of shock—the 'upsetting' Vizenor suggested in *Winged Words*—as well as the fact that a confrontation with dark realities might not immediately be

deemed positive and liberating by all viewers. *Weird survivance* asks viewers to accept the strangeness, complexity, and surrealism of the portrayed scenes: in the works of Echo-Hawk and McCoy Jr., for instance, their symbolism cannot be entirely deciphered but might ultimately be understood as an expression of an inherent weirdness in the viewers' own world.[3] The artists thereby raise awareness for political issues—such as Native and human rights—and impending threats to individuals and society, from diabetes to climate change.

Weird survivance describes a mechanics of the grotesque, surreal, outrageous, and darkly humorous in Indigenous visual art that renounces what Vizenor terms *tragic wisdom*, a firm belief in the allegedly innate victimhood and backwardness of Native cultures. The discomfort these images cause in their viewers can provoke dark laughter. *Weird survivance*, then, is to be taken with a grain of salt: the technical term blends a feeling of strangeness and unease with the Vizenorian paradigm of survivance; it speaks to the recognition that, as an artistic technique affirming Native presence and cultural resurgence, survivance can become a little weird. In other words, it can become impolite, unexpected, or even disgusting—as in Jeff Barnaby's (Mi'gMaq) short film *The Colony* (2007), where a man severs his leg with a chainsaw; in Stephen Graham Jones's (Blackfeet descent) novel *The Fast Red Road: A Plainsong* (2000), where the Native protagonist participates in the hilarious/horrifying rape scenes of an underground porn film that re-enacts the history of colonization; or in Wendy Red Star's (Crow) photograph *The Last Thanks* (2006), where a group of plastic skeletons with colourful paper headdresses participate in a bizarre Thanksgiving meal alongside the artist, a darkly comic scene that addresses mainstream culture's perverted fascination with Native death. The art of weird survivance makes viewers question what they perceive as weird and why, thus drawing their attention to the inherent weirdness—the unnaturalness—of a colonial world. It highlights affective responses to a reality that is always slightly off, from joyful mirth to the darkness of an oppressed mood and the hollow emptiness of depression. In the following analyses, I will single out dark humour as a distinctive trait of weird survivance and thereby highlight the mechanics of outrage, puzzlement, disgust, resistance, and renewal in the works of Bunky Echo-Hawk and Daniel McCoy Jr.

3 Laughing in the Dark: Toxicity and Healing in the Works of Bunky Echo-Hawk

The humour in Bunky Echo-Hawk's acrylic-on-canvas paintings ranges from cutting to subtle and dark, the latter especially in stark contrast to the bright colors, the blue, purple, neon pink, yellow, and green, that have been described as "blocks of blinding color" (Froyd).

Down and Out (2011) shows a Native man decorated with eagle feathers and sporting a mohawk who is resting his head in his palm and holding a sign that says "HOMELESS VETERAN NEED RIDE TO INDIAN TERRITORY." *If Yoda Was an Indian He'd Be Chief* (2004) features the character Yoda from the *Star Wars* franchise universe wearing a headdress, gaze lost in the starry sky. Echo-Hawk's most famous piece entitled *Triple Threat* (2011) shows an athlete with a firm grip on his basketball, eyes narrowed in determination and ready to dribble, pass, or shoot.[4] These pieces comment on aspects of contemporary Native North American lives. As Echo-Hawk says in his artist's statement, "It is my goal to truly exemplify the current state of Native America through art" (bunkyechohawk.com). The bright colors of the compositions break with realism: *Triple Threat* and *If Yoda Was an Indian*, for instance, appear as dreamscapes. The vibrant reds and blues of such works as *Down and Out* or *War-whooping with Cope's* (2013) are reminiscent of 1950s and 1960s advertising—colors also familiar from Pop Art—and in stark contrast to the subject-matter alluded to in the images, such as poverty, homelessness, and mindless consumerism. Echo-Hawk's compositions criticize the commodification of Indigeneity while celebrating aspects of Indigenous popular culture, from Cope's Dried Sweet Corn to *Star Wars*, basketball, and name-brand sneakers. As Olena McLaughlin puts it, "By merging American pop culture with Native experiences," such artists as "Echo-Hawk and [Steven Paul] Judd encourage their audiences to reconsider Native American history and position Indigenous peoples as active participants in the present. … In the process of subversion, images of popular culture the artists use become props for Native discourse" (31).

Bunky Echo-Hawk is an Oklahoma-based artist whose work has been called Native Pop and Hip Hop. He attended the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe, New Mexico, and works as an artist, writer, photographer, and art instructor. His works have been showcased in exhibitions across the United States as well as overseas. Echo-Hawk has also done murals, skateboards, clothing, and digital collages. He cofounded NVision, a nonprofit organization for Native artists "who focus on Native American youth empowerment through multimedia arts" (bunkyechohawk.com). In interviews, Echo-Hawk frequently stresses the importance of activism to dispel oppressive myths about Native people for the sake of creating better futures. Echo-Hawk is a member of the Confederated Tribes and Bands of the Yakama Nation and a traditional singer and dancer for the Pawnee Nation of Oklahoma (bunkyechohawk.com). Curator Alaka Wali stresses that Echo-Hawk draws on his traditional

heritage but "speaks in a contemporary idiom": "Look at the skateboards. Look at the Nike shoes. … Indians are not about the past. They're about the present and the future."

Echo-Hawk has stated that he first and foremost addresses Native audiences, stressing that he creates art "for the advancement of our people" ("Bunky Echo Hawk"): "I live for our youth. I live for our future. … I live to be a voice. I live to see, in my lifetime, change for the better. I live for proactive action. This is how I'm living. How are you living?" ("Bunky," beatnation.org). Echo-Hawk's notion of 'proactive action', which can be defined as "taking the initiative and anticipating events or problems, rather than just reacting to them after they have occurred" ("proactive," OED Online), is reminiscent of survivance, a key aspect in Echo-Hawk's activist art. In fact, with Echo-Hawk's work, the Vizenorian "traces of tribal survivance" (*Manifest* 63)—the presence of real Native people beyond their representation in the artwork—is literalized: during artistic performances, Echo-Hawk takes his audience's questions while painting and thus engages them in the process. Art is thus defined as a community-based event rather than a pastime of elites. The artwork itself is unburdened from having to mimetically represent Native cultures as proof of their enduring existence.

Echo-Hawk has stressed the "positive message" ("Bunky Echo Hawk") in his paintings which might strike viewers as odd considering his representations of poisoned environments and neon green skin that glows toxically. However, a subtle and dark humour pervades Echo-Hawk's compositions that overrides tragedy without downplaying environmental catastrophe, neocolonial oppression, and tribal corruption. His *Gas Masks as Medicine* series effects weird survivance through the dark humour of portraying Native warriors as survivors in a poisoned environment. The figures look eerie: their facial features are hidden behind gas masks that appear as blends of protective technology and futuristic devices that have become a part of the wearers' bodies. In *In the Pursuit of Justice* (2010) that shows a rider on a horse, the horse's face looks like it has melted into the gas mask, its muzzle grotesquely warped into the filter cartridge canister, and its eyes eerily widened into black holes. The painting appears in monochromatic green. The gas mask might be interpreted as a signifier for the toxicity in the horse's and rider's environment that makes visible through artistic means the pollution extant beyond the canvas in the viewer's own world.

The bright green and neon yellow in Echo-Hawk's paintings of gas masks are not symbolic of a vibrant nature, but of radioactivity via analogy with pop culture representations of radioluminescence, such as Homer Simpson's glowing, poison-green fuel rod from the

opening segment of the TV show *The Simpsons*. In *Pursuit*, then, the toxicity is everywhere, seeping through clothes and skin and consuming every other shade of color. The existence of horse and rider within this hostile environment creates a complex image of resistance and complicity. Represented in a position of power, high up on his horse and complete with suit and tie, the rider seems fluent in the language of the corporations responsible for the corrupted environment, while simultaneously equipped with the knowledge—and the technology—to resist and survive.

In the language of Echo-Hawk's paintings, signifiers of Indigeneity such as headdresses, eagle feathers, mohawks, Native patterns, and ceremonial objects denote a Native warrior status—Echo-Hawk's 'modern warriors' in our poisoned, postapocalyptic world.[5] As Wali explains, "Bunky Echo-Hawk sees himself as a modern warrior, following in the tradition of Pawnee warriors. Although he's not a fighter … with a military weapon, he sees himself as fighting for the dignity and well-being of his people" (WBEZ). As the rhetoric of modern warfare suggests, under Echo-Hawk's brush, the canvas itself becomes a weapon—surely a symbolism that should be approached with caution—to provoke and outrage. Echo-Hawk's paintings envision a path of determined, if not violent, resistance against colonial oppression; nevertheless, they capture the complexity of Indigenous and non-Indigenous relationships that cannot be reduced to binary positions such as colonizer/colonized or victim/perpetrator.

The prevalent irony in *Pursuit* is that of an unexpected form of Indigenous survival, not only rejecting the still widespread stereotype of Native backwardness, but representing the gas masks as *Indigenous* technology. The signifiers of radioactivity and toxicity may cause 'harsh laughter': yes, the painting tells a story of active survival, but to what end when the world is no longer livable? Echo-Hawk's image of horse and rider in a poisoned landscape is reminiscent of Lawrence Paul Yuxweluptun's representations of chemical fallout as Dalíesque melting tribal symbols in *Native Winter Snow* (1987) (273) and Bob Boyer's (Métis/Cree) ironic depiction of acid rain as pretty droplets of color in *Let the Acid Queen Rain: The White Goop Devours All* (1985) (274). "Toxic humour doesn't get much stronger or more literal than this," Ryan states about Yuxweluptun's and Boyer's work in *The Trickster Shift*. The same might be said about Echo-Hawk's uncanny warrior and eerie horse in *Pursuit*, or his representation of a toddler wearing a gas mask in *Inheriting the Legacy* (2004). With these images, Echo-Hawk draws attention to environmental catastrophe, locating the reasons in neocolonial capitalist politics, while hinting at the possibility of

change through resistance. The modern warrior in *Prosecution Rests* (n.d.) carries a briefcase: the painting shows a lawyer who has suited up for court, the gas mask on his face symbolizing both toxicity and the wearer's resistance to it. The eerie blue horse outfitted with a poison-green gas mask in *Tribal Law* (2003) appears immobile in a toxic landscape. It seems to be watching the spectator, which rounds off the unsettling scene. One might imagine Echo-Hawk's blue horse to be both an ironic take on the movement and energy of Pop Chalee's (Taos Pueblo) *The Blue Horse* (1945) or Franz Marc's *Large Blue Horses* (1911), as well as a continuation of their natural beauty in a toxic future. While Echo-Hawk's representations reveal the effect of human pollution on the natural world, his paintings nevertheless imagine the endurance of animals.

As the series title suggests, the gas masks signify healing—good medicine. The term might be understood as referring to the effect of the paintings on their viewers. The unsettling depictions of enduring survival effect weird survivance: the viewers laugh darkly about the fact that in our chemically poisoned world, humanity as a whole has become the endangered species physically unfit for survival that the Western world believed Indigenous people to be. The bizarre figures in Echo-Hawk's paintings, then, both estrange and empower. The neon-colored Natives outfitted with radiation protection gloves and gas masks are metaphors of environmental pollution. However, their transformation on canvas into strange warriors in an irradiated landscape also gives hope for an enduring existence into the future through creative resurgence. As Echo-Hawk explains, "I get inspired and motivated to do my art from injustice in Indian Country. There are a great number of atrocities that our people faced … throughout the past five hundred years and my fuel for my art comes from how those atrocities affect us today as Americans, … as Native Americans" ("Bunky Echo Hawk"). Echo-Hawk's paintings juxtapose the reality of these atrocities with the possibility to overcome. As Echo-Hawk notes about his struggle to represent Fetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder in illustrations for the American Indian Science and Engineering Society, "it was really hard to stomach, for me to even try to draw it—so what I ended up doing was trying to draw something that was more empowering" (WBEZ). These words might be applied to his *Gas Masks as Medicine* series as well. Gas masks and neon colors as weird survivance constitute a form of empowerment through dark laughter that spites death and disappearance while refusing to mitigate the horrors of our everyday world. Echo-Hawk thus works to upset viewers and hopefully startle them into action, on the one hand acknowledging the toxic

futures in stock for subsequent generations, on the other hand refusing to give up without a fight.

4 Low-Rez Rock ’n’ Roll: Humour and Weirdness in Daniel McCoy Jr.’s Native Lowbrow

Weird survivance takes the form of vivid color and a relentless flood of images—rendered in acrylic on canvas and pen-and-ink on paper—in the works of Potawatomi and Muscogee Creek artist Daniel McCoy Jr. In his paintings and drawings, the darker realities of contemporary Indigenous life in the U.S. combine to create fantastic and strange worlds. McCoy’s compositions deal with such themes as alcohol and drug abuse, illness, loneliness, the damages done by consumerism, and the psychological distress of living in a colonial society. In *The Letter*, a 2011 collaboration with Topaz Jones (Shoshone/Lummi/Kalapuya/ Molalla), scenes of “angst and heartbreak” (Meredith) unfold around a large, human heart that looks as if it had just been extracted from a body: the aorta is still attached to the organ and dripping with blood. *Andrew Jackson Meets Voltron* (2009) shows General Andrew Jackson facing the superhero from the 1984 animated series *Voltron, Defender of the Universe*, a revisionist take on Indian Removal and the U.S. American genocide of Native people. As McCoy notes in his artist’s statement, “I paint so I can leave an imprint of my existence. I enjoy the process immensely. I re-create past triumphs, current disasters, as well as inspiring stories in my works. My interest in exposing truth on my past, spirituality, and dreamtime recollections has taken form in the work lately” (McCoy).

Daniel McCoy Jr. is a Santa Fe-based artist whose work has been featured in various art shows across the U.S. and won major awards, including best painting at the Santa Fe Winter Indian Market (SWAIA) in 2011 for *The Indian Taco Made by God*. McCoy graduated from the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe, New Mexico. He is a member of the Potawatomi Nation. For his art, he draws on a variety of styles, from Native American Flatstyle art—discernible in his highly detailed, colorful scenes that fuse traditional patterns with contemporary themes and artistic styles—to album covers and underground comic books. The influence of the latter is visible on the levels of content (provocative themes like sex, drugs, etc.), representation (comic style, use of speech/thought bubbles etc.), as well as technique (the delicate ink patterns that provide shape and depth to McCoy’s drawings, reminiscent of the ink work of Keno Don Rosa or Ed Roth). McCoy is a fan of H.P. Lovecraft’s stories and grew up with science fiction, but he credits his father, Daniel

McCoy Sr., with being the biggest source of inspiration, saying that "he was [an] automotive pin striper and a very good artist in his own right. I owe my talent to him, he introduced the airbrush, H.R. Giger, and Frank Frazetta to me as a child. My other favorite artists include Robert Williams, Joan Hill, Rick Griffin, Woody Crumbo, Johnny Tiger Jr., Jerome Tiger, Robert Crumb, Jack Kirby, and recently Arik Roper and Jus Oborn. I was heavily influenced by Heavy Metal and Rock Music from the 70's and early 80's, in particular the darker themed music. I hope to work for an artist one day still, possibly find some great band that needs great art for their albums" (personal communication, 29 Jan. 2016).[6]

McCoy's works are rich in detail and color, the arrangement of image on top of image reminiscent of Lowbrow, an underground art movement also known as Pop Surrealism that emerged out of 1950s and '60s counter cultures such as the punk, rock 'n' roll, and hot rod scenes. Lowbrow artists like Robert Williams set out to upset preconceived notions about art with their vulgar and grotesque paintings. Like Williams, McCoy both engages and unsettles the viewer through a sheer flood of visual stimuli. McCoy's style has been called *Low-Rez*, a term popularized with the exhibition *Low-Rez: Native American Lowbrow* (2012, Santa Fe, NM), and which featured McCoy's works alongside Native artists such as Ryan Singer (Diné), April Holder (Sac and Fox/Wichita/Tonkawa) and Chris Pappan (Kaw/Osage/Cheyenne River Sioux).[7]

"Beneath the thin crust of conformity that characterized mid-century America lay a bubbling cauldron of weirdness," Larry Reid remarks about the emergence of Lowbrow. Emphasizing the weirdness—a confusing number of grotesque shapes and their unexpected arrangement—is similarly worthwhile when looking at McCoy's paintings. In *The Amazing Couch* (2005), a man is lounging on his couch, a bottle of beer in one hand, TV remote in the other. The thought bubble over his head is crammed with gaudy images, such as a bottle of Jägermeister, a melee of buildings, a boy in bed sick and, top centre, a hand pouring beer out of a Coors can right into a funnel that is sticking out of a disembodied liver. The man seems to be enjoying this hodgepodge of personal memories and images seen on TV on his amazing couch—except that he's clearly dead. His grinning skull and skeletonized hand imply zombification through mass media images. The bizarre difference between the man's dried-out shell and the vivid images that, even post mortem, keep rushing in on him, provoke 'harsh laughter,' a self-conscious chuckle at having one's own, dark reality represented on canvas.

Like many of McCoy's works, *Couch* could be imagined as a panel from a comic strip, and therefore as an individual scene in an ongoing story. Furthermore, there is always a sense of vulgar satisfaction at breaking the rules and upsetting viewers with macabre scenes. As McCoy says, "I like to get back at enemies, ex-wives, figures in the wrong, and general acts of poor ethics. Without saying a word, I can get my revenge" (personal communication, 29 Jan. 2016). However, he also stresses the importance of balance and healing which he equates with "[m]oving from a square structure with doors to circular structures. Many problems arose when the modern western dwelling was introduced to the Native Americans, alcoholism, secrets, rape, and abuse came with what happened behind closed doors" (personal communication, 29 Jan. 2016). Different from hedonistic pleasure or iconoclasm for the sake of chaos, McCoy's works effect decolonization through weird survivance. Anger and outrage at colonial cruelty and ongoing grievances are outbalanced by the urgent wish for change. Painting (in) a Native-centred world transforms Lowbrow. The wild rush of images not only unsettles viewers but also educates them about their realities and hopefully startles them into action.

McCoy's particular set of influences, then, is discernible in a dark form of humour, a visual language of dry wit and biting irony in which he is fluent, and which is informed by historical, political, and social issues. For instance, the grotesque red figures of two naked people, a man and a woman, in *Insulin Holocaust* (2011) might incite laughter that becomes stuck in the viewer's throat once the painting's dark theme is recognized. The figures' mouths are screwed open around the ends of a giant hot dog that connects their expressionless faces. The woman seems to be pregnant. The couple is surrounded by images of junk food and cheerful cartoon faces, uniformly colored in shades of blue and grey. A cake is folded into the space between their bellies, a large burger covering up the lower parts of their bodies. A giant syringe can be seen floating into the picture from the top left; a skull in the top centre crowns the composition, red sparks glowing in its dark sockets. McCoy's painting perfectly visualizes the relentless agony of diabetes suggested by the title. The word *holocaust* moreover hints that the introduction of junk food might be understood as a systematic crime against humanity—an apt signifier although its borrowing and estrangement from historical and religious contexts might upset viewers and cause them to recoil.

McCoy sees the overwhelming presence of injured bodies in Native societies—from rape and alcoholism to health conditions like obesity and diabetes—as yet another facet of colonization: "With flour and processed foods came diabetes and weight troubles. … History

repeats itself indeed” (personal communication, 29 Jan. 2016). By translating this horror into art, McCoy’s representations confront viewers with the strangeness of their own reality, with their own complicity even, and thereby undermine viewers’ attempts to distance themselves from the subject-matter. *The Indian Taco Made By God* (2011) features outstretched arms reaching for a piece of frybread, another ironic comment on consumerism in Native America. As America Meredith points out, “underneath the dazzling colors and masterful graphic strokes lies [sic.] questions. Why does Indian Country fetishize a food so unhealthy, born of poverty and privation? Nostalgia for comfort food is a running theme in McCoy’s work—Frito pies, Spam, commodities—but we are what we eat.”

Similar to *Couch* and *Holocaust*, weird survivance in *Taco* is created through the depiction of dark realities in McCoy’s very own visual language. The Indigenous-centred narratives he imagines on canvas clearly speak of the horrors of history and the often incomprehensible cruelty and stupidity of human conduct in general. However, the sheer pleasure of exploring the details of the paintings invariably engage the viewer, from the masterful brushwork, bright colors, and the odd internal organ, to what Meredith calls “McCoy’s flair for visual puns”—she mentions “the clouds [that] resemble bubbles in hot lard” in *Taco*—that make for “a clever joke.”

With McCoy’s paintings, viewers have to make an effort to reassemble fragments of a narrative on their own terms. Unlike McCoy’s characters that often appear as passive victims in a chaotic world, viewers are moved into a position of power. McCoy’s impertinent narratives surprise and shock; the problems Native people in North America face on a daily basis are loud and inescapable. However, McCoy’s art also provokes laughter that empowers because it is incompatible with the wish to wallow in self-pity. Instead, it makes viewers aware of their own trickster streak, not only their capacity for wickedness, but also for resilience. That dark chuckle, then, constitutes the first step toward acknowledging, facing, and tackling larger problems. It moreover signals an acceptance to be teased, criticized, and called to action—a positive feeling and rush of energy necessary to face the darker realities of our world.

5 Chance Connections and Black Humour

In his *Anthology of Black Humor* (‘l'Anthologie de l'humour noir,’ 1966) French Surrealist writer André Breton sounds exceedingly Vizenorian when he introduces the concept of black humour as “[c]hance encounter, involuntary recall, direct quotation?” (xxiii): “To take part in

the black tournament of humor, one must in fact have weathered many eliminations. Black humor … is the mortal enemy of sentimentality" (xix). As Mark Polizzotti points out, Breton assembled his infamous anthology in the wake of the Second World War and included, alongside artists and writers such as Rimbaud, Swift, Picasso, and Dalí, five German-speaking authors, suggesting that while the horrors of war make carefree jest impossible, there is a dire need for communal 'harsh laughter' at the ironies of history and the cruelty of human nature, a transformative chuckle that empowers because it is a sign of resistance (Polizzotti viii–ix). Breton urged quick publication of the book in 1940 (Polizzotti viii–ix), noting that "[i]t seems to me this book would have a considerable *tonic* value" (qtd. in Polizzotti ix; italics original).

Dark humour is a defining element of the mechanics of weird survivance in the works of Bunky Echo-Hawk and Daniel McCoy Jr., and it similarly engages the viewers of the artwork in communal 'harsh laughter' at perverted food culture and environmental catastrophe. Grotesque or uncanny figures command our gaze for the weirdness in our everyday lives, for what is off, unhealthy, or simply ironic. The empowering element and sense of resistance reside exactly in the fact that while producing humorous images the artists nevertheless succeed in conveying the horrors of colonial history, environmental pollution, illness, and depression. Drawing on a multitude of influences, Echo-Hawk and McCoy surprise and even outrage their viewers, a necessary "upsetting" (Vizenor in Coltelli 172) that precedes all change. Resisting sentimentality and victimhood, the *Gas Masks as Medicine* series and works such as *Insulin Holocaust* depict Natives at the centre of their own worlds and stories, in a position of power despite injury, and of responsibility for the world for the sake of future generations.

Notes

[1] I am indebted to Stina Attebery for providing feedback while I was developing this article, and for giving me permission to use her phrase *weird survivance*. I take full responsibility for my definition and suggested use of the term. The title of this essay borrows from, and suggests the influence of, Mark Polizotti's introduction to André Breton's *Anthology of Black Humor* (1966; 1996) entitled "Laughter in the Dark."
[2] This work was re-issued in 1990 under a new title—*Bearheart: The Heirship Chronicles*—that would be more memorable to readers since it emphasized "one strong word" (Vizenor in Vizenor/Lee 95).
[3] The *weird* in *weird survivance* might therefore be understood in analogy to the notion of *weirdness* in New Weird Fiction. This umbrella term groups together fantastic literary works that engage in mapping out worlds as unsettling and mysterious (i.e. weird) as the readers' own realities. In his much-quoted definition, U.S.-American author Jeff VanderMeer defines

the *New Weird* as having "a visceral, in-the-moment quality that often uses elements of surreal or transgressive horror for its tone, style, and effects" (xvi); furthermore, "New Weird fictions are acutely aware of the modern world, even if in disguise, but not always overtly political. As part of this awareness of the modern world, New Weird relies for its visionary power on a 'surrender to the weird' that isn't, for example, hermetically sealed in a haunted house on the moors or in a cave in Antarctica" (xvi). The term has been used to describe the fantastic and bizarre elements in the fiction of such authors as China Miéville, M. John Harrison, and Michael Moorcock.

[4] *Triple Threat* is part of the series *Skin Ball* dedicated to Native athletes and was reproduced on t-shirts and sneakers for the Nike *N7* series.

[5] For a more detailed discussion of Echo-Hawk's use of Pawnee regalia and pan-Indigenous symbols, see Olena McLaughlin's insightful article "Native Pop: Bunky Echo-Hawk and Steven Paul Judd Subvert *Star Wars*" (2017) in *Transmotion* 3.2.

[6] For more details on McCoy's life and art, please refer to Alicia Inez Guzmán's 2018 interview with the artist in *the/magazine*, at themagsantafe.com/daniel-mccoy/?fbclid=IwAR2wCcl1SVJ184HSkFzQog9Lf0Wn2bqfl-WW1iunnfKKUXysNGD8zOQNnCU. Some of McCoy's works can be found on *artslant.com*.

[7] April Holder's representation of blood-smeared, mangled Native zombies in *Relics of an Undead Culture* and Chris Pappan's *Native American Porn Stars* series also make wonderful examples of weird survivance in Native visual art. See also: *chrispappan.com*; April Holder can be found on *artslant.com*.

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Translating Images of Survivance: A Trans-Indigenous Corporeal Analysis of *Spear* and *Maliglutit*

MATT KLIEWER

Beginning in 2016, I was part of a programming team that brought two features to the *Native Crossroads Film Festival and Symposium* in Norman, Oklahoma. Originally founded by Kristin Dowell, Karl Schmidt, and Victoria Sturtevant, *Native Crossroads* is run through the University of Oklahoma and currently headed by Cherokee film scholar Joshua B. Nelson. The 2017 *Native Crossroads* opened with the feature screening of Stephen Page's *Spear* and closed with Zacharias Kunuk's *Maliglutit.* While this schedule was largely coincidental, the way these two films bookended a Native film festival in Oklahoma containing documentaries and short films focusing on the water protectors protesting the Dakota Access Pipeline, Choctaw visual artist and filmmaker Steven Paul Judd, and Pawnee major league baseball pitcher Mose J. Yellowhorse, is suggestive. It highlights the unique interplay between the more locally produced films that appear each year at *Native Crossroads* and global Indigenous films often first appearing at *imagineNATIVE*, while also speaking to the power of trans-Indigenous film discourse at both the diegetic and productive level.

The productive transnational spaces of *imagineNATIVE* and *Native Crossroads* provide access to and resources for the maintenance of a global Indigenous visual sovereignty. In *Reservation Reelism: Redfacing, Visual Sovereignty, and Representations of Native Americans in Film*, Michelle Raheja claims that "[v]isual sovereignty is a practice that takes a holistic approach to the process of creating moving images and that locates Indigenous cinema in a particular historical and social context while privileging tribal specificity" (194). While the creation of tribally specific images of survivance that Raheja describes is a fundamental part of the process of reinforcing visual sovereignty and enacting self-determination, extending such work across tribal boundaries also represents a powerful inter-tribal, globally Indigenous challenge to the colonial gaze. When analyzing Indigenous images from vastly different geographical and colonial contexts, we can find common colonial images that Indigenous image makers strategically deconstruct and remake in the image of survivance, revealing performative inter-tribal sovereignties One of the foundational aspects of visual sovereignty, according to

Raheja, is "a revision of older films featuring Native American plots in order to reframe a narrative that privileges Indigenous participation and perhaps points to sites of Indigenous knowledge production in films otherwise understood as purely Western products" (196). Stephen Page's *Spear* and Zacharias Kunuk's *Maliglutit* are useful films to consider in this context, as they demonstrate how an inter-tribal aesthetic directly engages Western colonial film conventions and colonial imagery, reframing narratives where Indigenous bodies encounter and resist their historically limited positionality in filmic mediums.

By viewing both *Maliglutit* and *Spear* as indicative of Barclay's Fourth Cinema[1] and by focusing particularly on their postindian subversions of genre and plot, we are able to consider the inherent meta-awareness of the filmic medium as one of the most politically viable methods of creating a global Indigenous media. In her examination of Kunuk's *Atanarjuat,* Shari Huhndorf points to film's "capacity to mediate across temporal and geographical distances . . . support[ing] an imagined Inuit community with deep historical roots" (76). Film, then, fundamentally contains not only the tools to contrapuntally form Indigenous coalitions around imagined and real Indigenous relations; in a specifically Indigenous context, as we see in both *Spear* and *Maliglutit*, film also maintains the power to write and gaze back against the colonial apparatuses of film *itself* through Indigenous bodies' movement through temporalities and spaces.

Trans-Indigenous film studies has not yet produced the sheer amount of material that exists within literary studies since the publication of Chadwick Allen's impactful *Trans-Indigenous: Methodologies for Global Native Literary Studies*. Nevertheless, both Jessica Horton and Salma Monani have undertaken specifically trans-Indigenous projects within film and visual art, each adopting a focus on the corporeal body as a site of resistance. In Monani's chapter, "*Kissed by Lighting* and Fourth Cinema's Natureculture Continuum," she describes the "transcorporeal yet *embodied* response" that viewers experience in reflex to cinema in general, and with specific attention to a particular trans-Indigenous corporeal response to Shelley Niro's *Kissed by Lightning* (146). Likewise, in her analysis of *Atanarjuat,* Horton examines how "corporeal senses of place allow for a sympathetic alignment of bodies on film with bodies in real-time viewing space", explaining how "[t]his 'sense of place' is immediate, physical, and can be unconsciously experienced by the viewer" (7). Discussing this same scene from *Atanarjuat* in his keynote address at the 2018 Native American Literature Symposium, Joshua Nelson carefully

notes that the interaction between the corporeal and ecological in Indigenous film often decidedly speaks back against pernicious and stereotypical portrayals of the 'ecological Indian.' In much the same way as Horton argues that a naked Atanarjuat forces an immediate sense of place, I contend that both *Spear* and *Maliglutit* portray Indigenous bodies to locate that place within inherently colonial spaces.

Extending the scholarship of Channette Romero, Angelica Lawson, Danika Medak-Saltzman, and Joanna Hearne, my aim in this piece is to examine Indigenous survivance images in which colonial tropes appear intertextually as vehicles to rework and reappropriate Indigenous presence and space through corporeality. While Hollywood, and the colonial film apparatus in general, remains the spectre that haunts and limits Indigenous film production and distribution, colonial images of Indigeneity are summoned forth through the body in Kunuk and Page's works. As Raheja argues in *Visualities*:

> Scholarship on Native American filmic representations has historically presented a reading of indigenous peoples as victims of Hollywood interests, and a national rhetoric and relic of invisibility and disappearance . . . Yet this, of course, is not the whole picture. As a supplement and antidote to these images, important recent work on indigenous film demonstrates how contemporary indigenous filmmakers have resisted Hollywood by employing culturally specific representational practices of visual sovereignty, and sometimes by ignoring or eliding dominant representational conventions and other forms of colonization." (Raheja 12)

Within *Spear* and *Maliglutit*, each filmmaker notably refuses to ignore or elide colonial spaces and colonial filmic history. Instead, they confront each directly, both in conception and motion of the filmed bodies, allowing for meaningful decolonial disruptions. Through Indigenous filmic survivance, each film simultaneously alludes to and fractures colonial performativity—gazing back at colonial cinema. While Kunuk presents this through a repurposing of John Ford's classic 1956 Western *The Searchers,* Page subverts colonial filmic temporality through a contrapuntal historical retelling of Australia's colonial history as written on, and performed through, Indigenous bodies.

Strategically juxtaposing these two films reveals the ironic interactions between colonial film conventions and survivance in contemporary Indigenous films. Exposing filmic strategies that directly implicate and complicate colonial film narratives allows us to theorize imagic

survivance in ways that speak concurrently to specific Indigenous histories and trans-Indigenous filmic methodologies. Chadwick Allen argues that "staging purposeful Indigenous juxtapositions" becomes a means "to develop[ing] a version of Indigenous literary studies that locates itself firmly in the specificity of the Indigenous local while always cognizant of the complexity of the relevant Indigenous global" (xix). Where *Spear* utilizes metafilmic images to recalibrate colonial filmic portrayals of Aboriginality, Kunuk reinvents *The Searchers*, through (1) the utilization of Inuktitut language throughout the film; (2) a fully Indigenous cast; and (3) the reframing of the Hollywood Western projected in stark relief onto and against the landscape of Igloolik. This final element requires the characters to possess specific Indigenous knowledge of the land in order for the protagonist and his young sidekick to pursue *Maliglutit*'s kidnappers. In both of these films, colonial imagic portrayals of Indigenous peoples are rewritten and visualized through the bodies of the characters as they reenact and refute colonial film narratives. Ford's Westerns and the blackface Aboriginals of British propaganda films exist in perpetuity underneath each of the narrative arcs of these films, as both directors shift the colonial gaze ironically and vehemently back toward the colonizer via the framing of Indigenous bodies in colonial and decolonial spaces.

Gazing Through the Western in *Maliglutit*

Maliglutit, which translates from Inuktitut to English as *Searchers*, takes place and is filmed in and around the community of Igloolik, in Nunavut, northern Canada. The choice to reframe Ford's narrative (which was filmed on the Navajo reservation in Arizona, as a stand-in for West Texas) in the specific region of Igloolik points to Kunuk's desire to make visible the issues of colonialism that continue to impact the Inuit. Kunuk's Arctic setting intuitively challenges colonial mythology, as Shari Huhndorf underscores, stating that "[a]s signifiers, and instruments of power, images of the Arctic remain central to struggles for control of the region" (79). By transposing one of the most popular colonialist films of the twentieth century across national and tribal borders into Igloolik, Kunuk continues a filmmaking tradition of Western critique with a specifically Inuit method.

In *Maliglutit,* Kunuk challenges the images of Indigeneity found in the Western film genre. The reframing of Ford's film by Kunuk immediately contradicts the bas-relief of Ford's Indians. Additionally, by casting nearly all Igloolik actors the racialist dynamics of *The*

Searchers are subverted.[2] The application of Kunuk's stylistic filmmaking to Ford's *The Searchers* also amplifies the convention in Indigenous films of intertextually referencing films and images previously constructed *about* Indigenous peoples. In his book *Imagic Moments,* Lee Schweninger speaks to this allusion to colonial portrayals in Indigenous films, arguing that

> [t]he self-awareness exemplifies Fourth Cinema, in a sense, in that such instances demonstrate the filmmakers' insistence on the importance of telling one's own story by holding and focusing one's own camera. In this way, the filmmakers very literally and self-evidently control the gaze . . . This self-conscious use of film and photography, I argue, forces an awareness on the viewer and insists on a somewhat critical rather than a merely a passive response to the viewing experience. (Schweninger 15)

Kunuk's intertextual cooption of *The Searchers* reframes the narrative in a way that shifts the gaze both to the original conception and the ideologies that underlie Hollywood Westerns, while also indigenizing humanistic questions of violence and revenge. The drama of the murder and the kidnapping do not serve narratives of Manifest Destiny or inherent savagery, as is the case in Ford's film; they merely result from a lover's jealousy. The controversy takes place on a human and a tribal level, not one based in national racialist discourses. Instead, the titling of the film and the closeness of the narrative to Ford's western function as a postindian revision of Ford. By moving from the liminal positionality of the savage stereotype, *Maliglutit* underscores Anishinaabe theorist Gerald Vizenor's sense of "*transmotion,* that inspired sense of natural motion and singular, visionary sovereignty [that] abides in stories of survivance" (*Native Liberty* 108). The colonizer in *Maliglutit* is never present in a scene, but remains palimpsestically present in the narrative. Kunuk gazes back at Ford, pronouncing Indigenous presence and disrupting the manifest manners of conventional Westerns.

Apart from the production elements and ideological differences between the two films, several other aspects of *Maliglutit* stand out as subversions of the filmic manifest manners visible in *The Searchers*. In Ford's original, a band of raiding Comanche slaughter Ethan's brother Aaron, his sister-in-law Martha, and his young nephew Ben. They then proceed to kidnap his two nieces, Lucy and Debbie. The subsequent quest to recapture the nieces is undertaken by Ethan and Martin, Aaron's adopted half-blood Indian son. As a tracker with the ability to speak and understand the Comanche language, Ethan utilizes skills learned from the Comanche and his army experience to trail the raiding party to a convergence between two hills, where he takes

leave of his nephew in order to continue the search. The camera stays with Martin as Ethan exits off-screen, who returns later to inform the adopted nephew of his sister Lucy's death. A common interpretation of this scene holds that the lack of firsthand perspective during such a fundamental moment within the plot suggests that Ethan is not entirely honest with his nephew about the occurrences off-screen. Often vulgar and racist toward Martin, Ethan may have murdered his niece after finding her raped by the Comanche. This theme of the fear of miscegenation occurs frequently throughout the Western genre of film, and within *The Searchers* Ethan's interactions with Martin and the initial horror with which Ethan reacts to the discovery of Martha's body provide evidence for such a reading. In Sue Matheson's viewing of the film, she claims that "Ethan has no other choice but to leave because he cannot give up his incestuous love for his brother's wife and his extreme horror of miscegenation" (51). Discovering Lucy in a similar state would presumably trigger the same latent fear and murderous intent present in Ethan throughout the film.

The interactions between Ethan and Martin, and the murder of Lucy, are dramatically shifted in *Maliglutit* to challenge the racialist assumptions and fears of miscegenation that suffuse Ford's film. Instead of off-screen interactions between the two warring parties, Kunuk widens the camera in his beautiful panoramic landscape shots and refuses to look away from the abusive scenes merely implied by Ford and so feared by Ethan. Many of Ford's characters find doubles in Kunuk's film: Kuanana mirrors Ethan, and the role of Martin is occupied by Siku. While Siku mirrors Martin as the younger man in the search, it is suggested in the film's opening that he is likely the illegitimate son of Kupak, *Maliglutit's* analogue to the figure of Scar. The two women who escape death in the initial raid by Kupak's tribe somewhat mirror Lucy and Debbie, although neither is ever murdered, and instead of being Kuanana's niece, Ailla is his wife. And while the first significant plot point of *The Searchers* is mirrored inasmuch as Kuanana and his son leave their home unattended only for the remaining characters to be slaughtered in their igloo, the subsequent search for and fate of the wife figure vary greatly. Notably, the impetus for Kupak's raid finds root not in colonial relations between the two tribes but rather in a feud based on a prophetic vision had by one of the elders of Kuanana's tribe. The elder man who experiences this vision claims that "a murder is near," and an elder woman points to Kupak and exclaims that "[y]ou, Kupak, are the cause of all this. You asshole!" Ultimately, it is a combination of Kupak's refusal to share food from his hunts and his sexual encounters with

the women of the tribe that push Kuanana's tribe to banish Kupak and his followers. As a fundamental aspect of tribal sovereignty lies in the ability to set the parameters of membership, the banishment of Kupak displays and exercises that sovereignty.

The most important divergence in Kunuk's revision of *The Searchers*, however, lies in the fact that Tagaq and Ailla survive their kidnapping, although they are not unscathed. Where Ford hides these atrocities behind hills and walls, Kunuk relishes in the visual resistance and survival of Ailla. During her first night in captivity with Kupak, he asks Ailla to pour him a cup of tea. Wordlessly, Ailla pours a cup from a kettle that had been set by the fire. She hesitates as she brings the cup up from the kettle and looks toward a nearly sleeping Kupak with disgust. She then throws the cup of water into his face, which prompts him to attempt to assault her. This struggle unfolds over the course of a minute and twenty seconds, with Ailla pulling at Kupak's hair, punching him in the chest and face, and fighting tirelessly. As they continue to fight, the camera slowly fades from the firelit igloo, where the assault takes place, to the blowing snow of Igloolik, and then to Kuanana and Siku, sleeping upright. Kunuk forces the audience to witness the ferocity with which Ailla fights, and, unlike Debbie in *The Searchers*, Ailla never converts to Kupak's tribe—instead remaining resistant.

In the most memorable and strikingly unconventional scene of the film, Ailla and Tagaq attempt to escape Kupak's band. When they are alerted to the escape of their wives, Kupak and his ally Aulla dress quickly, gather the ropes that had previously bound Ailla and Tagaq, and give pursuit. Unlike the fast-paced, heavily scored and dramatized chases in *The Searchers* and *Stagecoach*, the camera pans wide, showing the two women running, slowly moving toward the camera, with a view of the two men some distance behind. Kupak catches up to Ailla as Tagaq and Aulla run off-screen. Rather than submit to being rebound with Kupak's rope, however, Ailla continues to fight, screaming "Get off" and "Get the fuck away from me." Kupak is able to retie Ailla, and commands her to "come with me" and "be nice," to which she replies, "I don't want to be with you" and "no," respectively. Refusing to go with Kupak, she forces him to drag her back to camp. This process is cut through by a scene where Kuanana and Siku have followed the tracks of the rival band close enough to see them through a telescope. The perspective changes again when Kuanana climbs a hill to gain a better vantage, then back to a close shot of Kupak continuing to drag Ailla back to camp. The closeness of the camera to the two bodies

displays the ferocity with which Ailla fights to keep from being bound to Kupak's sled. This sequence takes over three minutes, with Ailla finally tiring enough for Kupak to tie her.

The motion of Kupak and Ailla's bodies show their conflict played out in small muscle movements, wrestling without grand spectacle. It is a very human altercation, where we see the wife grow tired but continue to struggle with every sinew to escape the assault. The pacing of this scene directly contradicts the grand Hollywood spectacle of violence in *The Searchers*. While there is constant movement, it is muted by the close proximity of the camera to the bodies of the subjects. The intensity with which Ailla fights in the face of what seems to be an unwinnable battle illustrates an agency not offered any of the women or Indigenous characters in *The Searchers.* The contrast between the sweeping, sublime shots of small bodies moving in the vast landscape of the Arctic and the painful intensity of the close-ups of Ailla and Kupak relates the seeming harshness of the climate with Ailla's drive for survivance.

Temporal, Spatial, and Corporeal Movement in Stephen Page's *Spear*

In terms of Kunuk's films, *Maliglutit* presents the most straightforward, genre-focused film in the Isuma catalogue, but the film's allusive re-creation draws interesting and productive juxtapositions when considered in conjunction with Stephen Page's much more experimental film *Spear*. Both films confront colonial histories through interplays of narrative action and corporeality, yet a deconstruction of temporalities between the colonial past and present inform the movements of *Spear.* In her discussion of several films focusing on Aboriginal Australian histories and their relation to the larger hegemonic colonial narratives of Australia, Faye Ginsburg claims that a fundamental element of many prominent Aboriginal films is that they

> 'backtrack' through the nation's history not in triumphalist terms, but in ways that address the legacies of grief and violence wrought by settler colonialism, a significant transformation in the country's sense of its own legacies, and a recognition that it matters whose stories are told and by whom. (82)

Page's *Spear* continues this legacy, relating the innumerable traumas of the Aboriginal Australian population at the hands of their colonial British occupiers. History haunts *Spear.* The film takes its protagonist, Djali, through a series of historical and contemporary atrocities faced by Aboriginal Australians, all performed through dances that mix modern, classic ballet, and Aboriginal dance styles.[3]

Painting, costuming, sound, and movement coalesce within *Spear* to provide an Aboriginal historical revision. This revision offers a healing path for its young protagonist through the exposure of his body to the movements of his ancestors and, eventually, through his own enacting of ritual dance. Images of Indigeneity —both in the spatial choices made by Page and in the movements of the dancing bodies throughout the film—challenge colonial narratives and foreground an element of performativity. One scene in particular in *Spear* demonstrates the reciprocal relationship between portrayals and performances of Indigeneity, and assimilative colonial apparatuses—in this instance the forcibly assimilative Australian education that created the Stolen Generations. Several scenes in *Spear* are scored to recordings of colonial propaganda or horrifying accounts of abuse. Subsequently, the utilization of the song "My Boomerang Won't Come Back" draws the audience into a further simulation of colonial Australia by calling attention to the tension of decolonizing imperial representations while simultaneously performing in-step with colonial conventions. This dance, above all others, traps its performers in stunted, copied choreography. Whereas the vast majority of dances in *Spear* are flowing, balletic, painful, and beautiful, the dance to "My Boomerang Won't Come Back" features the only song accompanied by lyrics. The dancers begrudgingly perform, set to the racist recurring chorus "My boomerang won't come back/I've waved the thing all over the place/Practiced till I was black in the face/I'm a big disgrace t' the Aborigine race/My boomerang won't come back."[4] The farce of this performance notably clashes with the stylistic elements of the other dances.

Filmically, we might view this staged dance as an instance of postindian survivance. Vizenor views sites of colonialist portrayal as points of potential colonial disruption. To deconstruct the colonial "Indian" is to ironically inhabit that figure in a strategic manner. According to Vizenor, "[t]he *postindian* must waver over the aesthetic ruins of *indian* simulations (*Fugitive Poses* 15). The postindian is bound in a relationship with the public's perception of Natives and then uses this relationship to displace beliefs and perceptions circulating in public discourse (Miles 47). The application of the postindian—a concept specifically rooted in a North American colonial context—to Indigenous Australia, although perhaps imperfect, resonates in the gymnasium space and stage of the residential school. While all of the dances in *Spear* function as a form of transmotion, "that sense of native motion and an active presence" (*Fugitive Poses* 15), this scene calls attention to physical and sonic colonialism through repetition, performance, and ironic sound.

Appearing after a quick cut from a racist, previously filmed propagandist clip of a primitive and savage Aboriginal man, the performers stand in front of a school stage in a gymnasium, where a banner reading "Welcome to Country" hangs near the curtain. In Fiona Magowan's study of Yolngu dance in film, she argues that the very act of Yolngu dance constructs country, stating that "experiences of country are active and ongoing where perceiving and knowing place is always in the flux and flow of becoming through painting, singing and dancing" ("Dancing Into Film" 65). While the dancers must perform under a banner of a colonial nation, their dances actively construct an Indigenous country through active presence and movement. The banner, while on the surface welcoming the dancers to a residential school where they will be forcibly assimilated, also welcomes the viewer to the country constructed by the dancers through corporeal movement.

In this scene, the performers are costumed in the baggy tan clothes of the residential school, painted with poster paints and colorful, childlike drawings of nature scenes. The men are bare-chested, and several are adorned with childlike handprints instead of the traditional paint more commonly seen in the other dances. During the dance, each performer's movements match the music count rather than supplementing the music, as is the case in other dances throughout the film. The sonic manifests more strictly in the body movements in this dance, with the metaperformative conventions being underscored by the stage, the simplistic dance movements, and the two outsider gazes of Djali and the elder Aboriginal man. This performance of Indigeneity becomes increasingly complicated when the elder of the two observers joins in the dance. The elder viewer moves from observer to performer in a strategic repositioning in order to express both the inescapability of these performances and their ironic hyperbole. The performance comes to an abrupt end, with a visibly jarring iris out transition to close the frame. Within this scene, the metaperformative aspect of Indigeneity, as filmed through a First Cinema gaze, disrupts master narratives of assimilative education and emphasizes discrepancies and ironies within Indigenous portrayals by deploying a Vizenorian simulation.

As the bodies of the dancers in the school are locked into their choreography and colonialist portrayals by "My Boomerang Won't Come Back," the temporal and spatial shift immediately succeeding the iris out moves the viewer and the metaviewers of Djali and the elder into the repressive colonial space of a prison. The scene opens with establishing shots of a cloud crossing the sun and the corner of a barbed wire prison-yard fence. Djali walks with a new guide,

an Aboriginal woman carrying a bag. The shot is filtered through a cage-like fence, offering a Fourth Cinema perspective from inside a prison that contains a majority Aboriginal population. The inversion of the camera orients the scene as firmly juxtaposed against the previous colonial gaze of the school gymnasium scene. Cutting away from Djali, we see the backs of twelve prisoners facing forward in a massive warehouse. The combination of prison imagery and warehouse setting display an inhumanity whereby the prisoners are stored, not confined. Djali and the woman are transported to the waiting room, where she is searched. A guard finds herbs and a Tupperware of white paint, which he wordlessly allows the woman to take with her. She leaves Djali and enters a bathroom, where she paints her face and sets fire to the herbs so that they smoke.

As the woman prepares her ceremonial medicines, one of the prisoners receives a tray of prison food and goes to sit down to his meal in a small cafeteria. The shots alternate between the ceremonial preparation and the growing angst of this prisoner, as shown through his facial expression and hesitance to step through the same monotonous routines as the other prisoners. When the prisoner sits, the camera moves to a close-up on his face as he looks around anxiously, removes the shirt from his prison uniform, and starts to dance. The dance begins by evoking the pain and fear of the dancer through his facial expression and his proximity to the floor. He almost cowers. The tone changes significantly, however, as other prisoners come to notice the dancer. He disrupts the space, the routine of the prison. He stands and jumps, and the movements turn from pain and fear to a defiant, albeit brief, resistance. The dancer returns to the floor and the camera cuts to the woman approaching from the bathroom. She carries two pots of smoking herbs, her face fully painted. She nears the dancer cautiously, who reacts as if in fear when he sees her. They circle each other until, seemingly defeated, the dancer reaches toward her and the smoking pots, embracing the woman as though too exhausted to continue this battle. The camera cuts back to Djali, who, although not present for the dance, stares contemplatively at the floor as if he had witnessed it. The camera slowly zooms closer as Djali stares at his open hands and smoke from the same herbs pours in from off-screen. At this moment Djali perhaps recognizes the scared, yet ferocious dancer within himself. He breathes deeply of the smoke and the experience, obtaining and interpolating another aspect of the confinement of the Aboriginal body.

The vacillation within this scene between fear and fervor in the dancer's movements, and the potential healing of the dancer at the hands of the woman, speaks to the survivance narrative performed within such colonial spaces. The dancer disrupts the procedure of the warehouse prison. Where Djali previously experienced the ideological confinement of his body in the space of the gym, the physical confinement of the aboriginal body becomes subverted through this dance. Through it, space is transformed; from a repressive space of inhumanity into a place that evokes powerful affective responses as the retelling of dominant histories becomes the recreation and revitalization of Aboriginal histories through movement and ceremonial healing.

The sonic backdrop of *Spear*, with symphonic music underscored by colonialist propaganda tunes, displays a desire to achieve decoloniality through survivance, which must occur in colonial spaces that otherwise seem to foreclose the possibility of a decolonial project. "My Boomerang Won't Come Back" directs the dances in the school, and a colonial propaganda speech regarding Aboriginal assimilation plays throughout the scene in the prison. These spaces are clearly the ideological spaces of the colonizer, but one of the most sonically affective scenes of *Spear* comes in the form of a tortured dance performed by one Aboriginal man in an underground chamber. As the camera takes us through the halls of this dark place, it focuses on a large man who speaks directly to the audience in an untranslated Aboriginal language. The camera cuts away to a close-up of Djali, who bends down to uncover a man beneath a blue tarp. The uncovered man ("Abused Man" as he appears in the credits) appears suddenly, without the presence of the large man or Djali, and begins to dance, without music, to the recorded voice of a male narrating the sexual abuse of an Aboriginal boy. The recording and the dance are interrupted by cuts to the large man, still staring into the camera and speaking—disrupting the violence of the abusive man. It is precisely the lack of movement in juxtaposition to the tragic dance that resists the puppeteering of the abuser. The camera cuts to Djali, who then looks down to find Abused Man's head covered with a plastic bag. Djali removes the bag and the camera continues to cut between the three temporal positions of Abused Man dancing, the large man speaking to the audience, and Djali gazing at the immobile Abused Man.

The resonance of the abuser's voice fades as the large man begins to chant. The camera focuses our attention on the dancing Abused Man, marked with a black "X" painted across his bare chest. A mist, reminiscent of the smoke from the prison scene, pours from the ceiling and an Aboriginal chant song replaces the horrific narration of the abusive man. Abused Man wipes

away the "X" on his chest, using the mist to smear the black paint. The two temporal zones of the dancing Abused Man and the stationary Abused Man, accompanied by Djali, converge as we see Abused Man sitting dejected and traumatized beside Djali. Djali brings a cup to Abused Man's lips, and he drinks with little to no movement. The healing in this scene remains incomplete, perhaps never to be realized. The history seems irreconcilable, but Abused Man survives, and, through his very presence, he forces the colonial gaze to confront itself and Abused Man's trauma at its hands.

One character in *Spear* fails to find reassurance, healing, or a distancing of postindian irony through dance. Suicide Man is a character who appears several times in the film as a drunken, homeless, and seemingly ignored alongside the progression of the greater narrative of Djali's growth. His body lacks the grace of the other dancers, and as such he fails to filter the colonial trauma wrought on him. Page portrays Suicide Man as a staggering summation of the results of the previously danced traumas, stumbling from colonial space to colonial space. The audience eventually finds him in a dark room. The chair he occupies is spotlit, forcing the viewer to encounter a character so often and so intentionally ignored. Slightly off-center in an immobile shot, Suicide Man speaks to an off-screen interrogator in a drunken slur, reliving much of the trauma displayed in earlier dances. Ultimately, the camera zooms to the chair as Suicide Man stands in a position such that his thighs mark the top of the frame, the rest of his body off-screen. His feet move slightly at first, then kick the chair out from beneath him, with the sounds of convulsions and a swinging rope underscoring the disembodied legs. Djali appears immediately afterward, too late to save the man. As he looks on in horror, a young woman approaches from behind and covers his eyes. This image, more than any other in the film, affects Djali to the point where he can no longer witness, no longer accept the trauma of his history. Disjunctive with the entire plot movement of Djali, the covering of his eyes becomes a necessary mercy.

This final scene of tragedy marks the movement of the film back to Djali's journey. He and another young Aboriginal boy, Romeo, are painted by the other dancers and the Old Man from the school before a montage cut to the beautiful open space of a cliff overlooking the ocean. Unlike the claustrophobic, darkly lit urban spaces, the natural light and openness of this space provide a sense of healing that emanates directly from atmosphere and land, affectively inviting the viewers to participate. The dance performed here is led by Djali, who has functioned almost entirely as a stand-in for the audience gaze until this juncture. Reading this scene as a liberating,

completive dance, we might envision Djali's movements as indicative of Magowan's analyses of Yolngu dance, in which "[t]he body provides an emotive and sensory domain of awareness through which to explore its transformative potential via singing and dancing. In ritual, meanings are not verbalized, but they are danced and enacted since they are most poignantly felt though the body" (*Melodies of Mourning* 14). Without vocalizing the meanings Djali has interpolated through his exposure to these various dances, his body starts to move with the other dances in ways he has resisted up to this stage. Eventually, he stands apart from many of the dances, hearing and seeing the history and the trauma of his fellow Aboriginal dancers, and ultimately transforms into a dancer himself after the painting ceremony.

Djali's journey to this point and place mirrors the capacity of film to relate the marginalized histories of Aboriginal peoples. In particular, the dances that relate trauma express the story that is written on and performed by the bodies of the actors. Performance, in this case, is not a facsimile of reality, but an attempt to instill Indigenous stories via non-Western methods. Sonically and kinetically, the dances are coded with Indigenous knowledges that escape and critique traditional Western filmic conventions. In speaking of the power of film to address these issues, Tewa and Diné scholar Beverly R. Singer claims that "film and video visualize the healing from the ruptures of our history related to colonialism, disease, and cultural loss. Our identity as filmmakers also helps to reverse the devastating effects of assimilationist educational policies that coerced a sense of inferiority in us" (9). Many of the performances in *Spear* are visualizations from an Indigenous perspective of these ruptures as told through the bodies of Indigenous Australians. The final dance and the dramatic shift in filming technique from the more stable shots that we see in the school, prison, and dark underground room to the quick montage cuts of Djali's initiation dance display just such a reversal. Sonically, the dance is scored not with a traumatic voice but instead with a modern beat, supplemented with Aboriginal language accompaniment and the chants of the dancers themselves. In this dance, we truly see Djali emerge as an image of survivance, a person who has survived the trauma of colonialism in ways that Suicide Man was unable to do, and one who continues to resist and heal through dance. In *Spear,* Djali's initiation dance, portrayed as a result of his spectatorship of historical trauma, directly engages survivance through kinesthetic movements. The camera moves just as agilely throughout the shot, refusing to stand still and witness colonial atrocities as it did in the

school and for Suicide Man's death. The transmotion of the bodies as they perform, disrupt, and subvert their colonial histories arrest the viewers and enact survivance through dance.

Productive Juxtapositions in *Spear* and *Maliglutit*

While *Spear* and *Maliglutit* share relatively few overlaps in their stylistic and narrative elements, reading the films together through a trans-Indigenous lens allows valuable conclusions to be drawn regarding transnational Indigenous film theorization. Whereas Kunuk's signature framing of his actors in the vastness of the space of Igloolik demonstrates how the characters are both highly connected to the land and subject to its sublimity, Page's characters are framed in an often-antagonistic relationship with their surroundings. Until the concluding scene, his dancers remain subject to the colonial spaces of the dark abusive underground cavern, the prison, and the interrogation room. Both narratives, through different filmic relations of colonialism, grapple with colonial imagery. As previously discussed, the metafilmic narratives provided by each film offer the medium of film itself as a potential sovereign representational space. While the techniques utilized by both directors remain largely responsive to specific colonial histories, they do share commonalities in their conception, goals, and specific visual styles that highlight transnational colonial agendas. According to Huhndorf,

> certain aspects of these visual practices are specific to the indigenous context. Popular images have conventionally relied on progressivist racial logic to define Native peoples as inferior to Europeans and to confine them safely to the historical past. (21)

In both of these films, the assertion of presence in hostile and historically violent imagic spaces refuses this confinement, and directly challenges progressivist narratives that erase Indigenous presence. This can be examined with particular clarity in the layering of colonial sonicism in *Spear* and plot divergences in the re-appropriation of *The Searchers.* In *Maliglutit* specifically*,* Kunuk endeavors to reframe Indigenous presence in a genre where Indigenous peoples are frequently killed or portrayed as violent savages. Those images

> generate a key paradox: the hypervisibility of Native peoples underlies an abiding social invisibility . . . Rendered timeless and placeless, Native people have been stripped of a contemporary political presence and, hence, of any legitimate claims to land. (Huhndorf 21)

The connection between visual imagery of Indigenous peoples and their pronounced absence or misrepresentation in *The Searchers* and the colonialist film being shown in the bowling alley in *Spear* both emphasize the constant reference point of Indigenous realities that Huhndorf theorizes. The images analyzed by each film, whether through a direct metafilmic sampling or through the transposed plot and character structure of *The Searchers*, refuse to participate in either a relegation of Indigeneity to prehistory or the justification of contemporary imperial practices. The deliberate sampling of racist clips or direct allusions to Westerns overtly points to the correlation between image and dispossession.

Perhaps the most illuminating and productive juxtaposition between these two films involves the way each director treats the bodies of his Indigenous actors. In each of Kunuk's films, the bodies of his subjects are heavily protected against the tundra climate of Igloolik. Maintaining body heat becomes a primary plot point in *Maliglutit*; the building of igloos and the burning of seal blubber for warmth form the essential daily labor for both tribes in the film. Apart from their exterior clothing and the hunt for warmth, the actors' faces clash with and resist traditional Hollywood standards of beauty. Far from the imposing figures of John Wayne and Henry Brandon, the primary protagonist and antagonist are not tall, nor are they stylized with the typical signifiers of Hollywood Westerns and masculinity. The men maintain patchy beards, their teeth are crooked, and the women are adorned with traditional Inuit facial tattoos. Initially jarring for outside viewers, the beauty of these bodies finds root in the practicality of survival in a harsh, freezing landscape. Kunuk often employs close-ups and extreme close-ups on the faces of his actors while they are eating, sleeping, or working. The focus on the beauty of his subjects through their mastery of the Arctic landscape produces an imagic sense of survivance tied specifically to Indigenous land. The Igloolik land becomes reflected physically in the characters, and the characters in turn utilize their specifically Inuit imagic presence as tools to change and survive in Igloolik.

Similarly, characters' bodies in *Spear* show an acute knowledge of their surrounding space, oftentimes changing their dances based on the specific colonial or Aboriginal space they inhabit. In the dimly lit urban setting where a car has crashed, the dance group creeps carefully and slowly toward subjects who will become the epicenter of a dance. In one scene, a female dancer moves swiftly through a deserted forest, alert, hunched, even scared, as if hunting. Unlike in *Maliglutit,* the dancers often are clothed sparsely, or in colonial costume. Many scenes feature

the dancers shirtless, painted to various degrees with white, red, blue, or black. One particular scene, which Page returns to throughout the film as a bridge of sorts, shows an extreme close-up on a dancer hanging upside down from an unknown point, painted white with feathers adorning his back. The paint has cracked on his body and his face; every time the dancer turns his torso in a slow contortion, paint falls to the unseen ground below. The dancer appears to be contorting in an attempt to free himself from his invisible bonds, never quite managing to escape in these scenes. The musculature of the dancer becomes pronounced in each of these turns, a sound of creaking accompanying the movements. While the meaning of the paints remains various throughout the film, the white paint that has caked and dried on this subject and the woman walking through the woods appears to be haunting, signaling an internal and external struggle that both characters seem unable to conquer. These struggles are wordless, offered through the body movements of the characters, and, unlike the swifter dance scenes where the camera captures multiple bodies in motion, these two scenes disturb and fascinate through movement and paint.

Images of survivance, while rooted in specific responses to colonial oppression, can be viewed transnationally and trans-Indigenously as productive and subversive ironies capable of speaking to multiple colonial histories simultaneously. In *Spear* and *Maliglutit*, two seemingly disjunctive films participate, through different filmic methods, in the same endeavor of transmotion. Through their subversive, contrapuntal styles, Page and Kunuk gaze back at their colonizers, privileging Indigenous perspectives and Indigenous presence through images that assert narratives of survivance. In each film, the body engages with colonial frameworks and spaces in vastly different manners, yet via filmic movement and corporeal survivance the filmmakers produce intercultural, trans-Indigenous exchanges through the body.

Notes

[1] In her utilization of Barclay's theorization of Fourth Cinema, Joanna Hearne notes that Fourth cinema, "trac[es] the Transnational heritage of dominant film storytelling to the originary scene of settler colonialism" (Hearne 3). The concept of Fourth Cinema, "a cinema that seeks to establish the pre-eminence of the voice of the indigenous" (Milligan 351), inherently transcends nationalistic film borders in ways which allow for meaningful interactions with specific Indigenous histories.

[2] N.B.: Henry Brandon, the actor who plays Scar in *The Searchers*, was neither Comanche nor Indigenous but rather German-American.

[3] Importantly, Rachael Swain notes the many trans-Indigenous exchanges that have codified into contemporary Indigenous dance in Australia as a result of the Intercultural Indigenous Choreographic Laboratories (Swain 504).
[4] In 2015 the song was banned as racist in by the Australian Broadcast Corporation. The song also reached number one on the charts in Australia in 1962 (Huffadine).

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On Dreamcatchers

BRAD HAGEN

But should enough people care and recall Nana'b'oozoo into their midst by learning their ancestral language and espousing their old traditions, giving them new meanings and applications in the modern age, the spirit of Nana'b'oozoo and the Anishinaubae people will be restored to its rightful place in the lives of the Anishinaubae people.

Basil Johnston, *The Manitous*

To serve tribal change, Indian storytelling must remain a dynamic, continuous site of theoretical investigation, evaluation, and revision… Even the old ways and values vital to a Native community at times require reflection and revision to ensure that tribal people adapt and thrive in a rapidly changing world.

Sean Kicummah Teuton, *Red Land, Red Power*

When I was younger, dreamcatchers seemed inexplicable to me. They had been in my house, hanging above kitchen sinks and in the corners of rooms. There were dreamcatchers above our beds, stitched into our blankets, and tattooed onto the skin of my relatives. They were a common sight, but I marvelled at them. The perfection of the pattern that the sinew made up within the hoop of willow—how could one create a web that rivaled nature?

Because that's where the dreamcatcher comes from, or so the story goes. Spider woman gave them to us to protect our children's dreams. But I won't tell that story now; it's not my place. They say that we shouldn't tell stories like this in the summer months, that we should only tell them during the winter when the spirits are resting and we won't offend them. Though we are on the cusp of snowfall as I write this, I'm not sure when you will read it.

But can't you see it? The similarity between a spider's web and the dreamcatcher? Something that beautiful could only have been inspired by the mystery of perfection that is nature.

I first learned to make them when I was around twelve while on an overnight field trip with my school district's Indian Education program. Having gone to school in the suburbs where there was a low Native population, it was the first time that I had been around so many kids like myself. Joining Indian Ed. felt like returning to cousins and aunts and uncles that I hadn't seen in a long time—it was like coming home to a family that I didn't fully realize I belonged to.

We were all gathered into a large room with many tables, and at the end of each row was a white paint bucket filled with water and willow branches. One of our instructors and elders,

MaryBeth, stood at the front of the room, demonstrating how to craft a dreamcatcher. At the same time, she was telling the story of how Spider Woman gave them to us. We bent the willow branch into a hoop, which was malleable from having been soaked in water, and tied the ends together with sinew.

"Valentine's Day is right around the corner, guys," she said. "Maybe you can give yours to your *niinimoshenh*."

I remember looking up and blushing, feeling my eyes go wide. *Niinimoshenh*, or sweetheart when used colloquially in English, was a word I had recently learned from one of the other students in the program. This was the first time I'd realized my Native teachers weren't like the other ones I had in school; they were more personal, acted more friendly, and cared in a way that resembled family, like there was a strand that connected each of us.

"Now you'll be making these sort of loops," she said, demonstrating for us the intricate way that it's done, her tongue sticking out on the side, "Until you spiral close to the center. But not all the way—leave a hole, 'cause that's where the good dreams come through."

I remember my mouth physically hanging open after she said this. Up until that point, I'd thought that people tied little bits together, that each line of the web was an individual piece. I looked down at my hands, a roll of sinew in one and a hoop of willow in the other, and didn't know where to start. Thankfully, MaryBeth came over after her demonstration and further explained, showing me how to make the first couple of loops.

After accidently knotting up the web a couple of times, I eventually finished mine, complete with a bead and feather dangling from the center. I ran to Kathy, the advisor I met with once a week in a little room at the back of my high school library, and showed her my new creation. She got this big smile on her face and said, "Well, look at that!" She gave me a hug and told me how proud she was.

Words can't begin to describe this woman's importance in my life. The first day I met Kathy, she was in a room filled with other students sitting at a table with her, already all conversing. When I walked in, everyone stopped and looked at me. She smiled and said, "Well look who's here. This is Brad, you guys. He's new to the program." She immediately made me feel at home, a sensation I hadn't often felt at that time.

As I met with her over the years, she taught me all of the things that they wouldn't teach me in school: Our history, our culture, and bits of our language. She taught me that our story

didn't begin in 1492, that we had technological advancements, doctors, medicines, and governments that preceded the arrival of "civilization."

So perhaps she was proud that day because of the circumstances and the history that came behind this moment. This was a woman that had reached her twenties before she was granted religious freedom, a woman who was insisted upon by society that the word Indian equalled dirty, stupid, ancient, dead. She was an elder looking down at a child, smiling at the continuation of a story, at the creation of another loop in the web of our continued existence.

Because that's how a dreamcatcher is made—with loops. You begin with the loop of willow, the ends tied together with tight loops of sinew. Then you secure one end of the sinew (or thread, I suppose, though I've never used it), and make a continuous succession of loops until you reach the middle, where there's a hole left at the center.

Maybe she was smiling because it was an actual Native person who had made it. You can find dreamcatchers sold at gas stations, gift shops, truck stops, clothing stores, drug stores; you can win them at carnivals and state fairs, receive them in the mail from online catalogues. I even found a kit to make one at a bookstore the other day. These dreamcatchers, however, will say Made in China, or Vietnam, or Indonesia. The art was not taught with love and hope for the future. They were not made with stories in mind, but produced in a factory, designed to be sold for commodity.

So I suppose that, because I've been thinking about dreamcatchers, I've also been thinking about making art in a world that wants to sell your likeness. There's always a person wearing a headdress at a rave; college kids are getting dreamcatcher tattoos to symbolize their "free spirits;" we're mascots at sporting events, noble savages crying at the sight of polluted rivers; we're the ones destined to die in old westerns, or just in general.

Or perhaps we are a commodity, something to be sold. They always ask what the big deal is, it's just a picture, it's just a tomahawk chop, just a dreamcatcher? It feels like *I'm* being sold when I see these things, that my memories and loved ones are objects to be consumed.

I think of *wiindigoo* when I have these thoughts. A monster, a cannibal, a being who cannot stop consuming, consuming. I think of this being when I see these moments of appropriation because it is like we are being eaten, bit by bit, craft by craft, until we are nothing but a dried photograph resting in the tomb of a photo book. The mass consumer mentality and its voracious fascination with all things Native is the *wiindigoo* of this day and age.

In a way, I'm glad I think of *wiindigoo* because it helps me remember that we can look to our own cultures and traditions to explain contemporary realities. Consider the dreamcatcher: What knowledge can be gained from observing the method in which the dreamcatcher is crafted, or the way it looks when it's finished? The artist uses one continuous piece of sinew to create the web, one that has many intersections and meeting points—even though it appears disjointed, it's really part of one singular strand. When I see this image, I am reminded of the interconnectivity of all things.

There was a dreamcatcher that used to hang in my grandparents' dining room that was made by my aunt. Instead of a loop of willow, the web was tied into a hole that was cut out from the back of a turtle shell. When my grandfather died, it was passed to me and it now hangs on my bedroom wall. It's the first thing I see in the morning as I'm trying to wake up and it forces me to remember my place.

Among Natives, North America is commonly referred to as Turtle Island because of many creation stories having to do with the land of this continent being placed on the back of Turtle during its formation. So when I see a turtle shell, I am reminded of my origin and the place that many peoples now inhabit. And when I see the web of the dreamcatcher stretched across it, I am reminded that I'm connected to everything and everyone around me.

If I represent one of the intersections of sinew on the web, so does the squirrel that is running up the side of the tree that is across the street from me as I write. So does the tree. So does the bird that is currently making its home among the tree's branches. So does the water that it bathed in this morning. So does the child that played in that water. If Native communities from Minneapolis represent one of the intersections, so do ones from Oakland, Detroit, and Seattle: We are connected individually and communitively.

The web of the dreamcatcher is made up of one strand. Although it looks like there are multiple pieces, multiple knots and intersections, there's only one. When I was younger, my grandfather once told me that wherever there are Native people, you're home. I think he understood this notion that I am only now arriving at. Across Turtle Island, we Native Americans are connected like the web of the dreamcatcher. Though we come from different nations, speak different languages, have different customs, and practice different religions, there is a strand running through us all that makes us one.

Not in a way that lumps us all into one term, *Indian*, nor in a way that ignores our

sovereignty and independence as nations; we are connected in a way that unites us and combines our individual strengths. We are looped together in a web that holds each of us up.

Wait, you might be thinking. *What about the center of the dreamcatcher? What does that symbolize?* A commendable question, one to which I offer a deceivingly simply answer:

I don't know.

I was speaking to a professor about my thoughts on this matter, and she said that if I were to use the dreamcatcher as a symbol, I had to account for what the center signified. So I racked and racked my brain, but I couldn't think of anything. Eventually I kept repeating in my head, *I can't think of an answer*, as a sort of mantra for the better part of an hour until a random thought occured to me: *It's a mystery*. And all of a sudden, it made sense.

Gichi-Manidoo translates to Great Spirit, like *gichigami*, the name for Lake Superior, translates to great sea. The word *manidoo* can also mean mystery, making another possible translation for *Gichi-Manidoo* Great Mystery. Ask why enough times and you'll eventually reach the only answer left: I don't know. You can spiral down a string of logic until it runs out, leaving a gaping hole at its center.

This sense of mystery is something to be respected. It is the underlying reason for everything; it is what lies at the end of every intersection on the web of life. The hole at the center of the dreamcatcher is a great mystery, and that's just fine with me. Seeing it every morning reminds me that I don't need an answer for everything. However, that doesn't excuse us from reaching for solutions to the problems directly in front of us. And one doesn't have to look far to see them.

Dreamcatchers were traditionally used to protect our children, but perhaps the children have grown up and still need protecting from things like cultural appropriation, the destabilizing of communities and cultural ties, and a government encroaching on tribal rights. In recognizing that the dreamcatcher can also serve to symbolize that the Anishinaabeg, Lakota, Ho-Chunk, Oneida, Commanche, Cheyenne, and all the other nations are connected in an intrinsic and experiential way, we can stand against anything. That no matter where we go, we're home, and that no matter what, this will always be our home.

To the best of my knowledge, a fraction of that held by some of the great Native women and men whom I have the privilege of knowing, the dreamcatcher is not traditionally thought of in this way. At least, it was never told to me. It's a good thing, though, that we can turn to our

own art to make sense of our own lives, even if that means adding to the meaning that is already there. This is what Basil Johnston and Sean Kicummah Teuton were referring to in the quotes at the beginning of this essay. We must continually bring forward our old traditions and apply them in new ways. In this way, we're endlessly lucky that they have survived and persevered through so much.

To this, I can only think to say one word: *Miigwech*.

The Truth About Yoda

STEPHEN GRAHAM JONES

Long ago, in an America not so far from us, really, captivity narratives were all the rage. A captivity narrative is the harrowing tale of someone captured by the Indians, someone who had to—gasp—*live* with the savages, and suffer all the mistreatment and indignities. Then, come the sixties and seventies, the spiritual descendants of all those captivity survivors started wearing beads and vests and headbands, and growing their hair out, and resisting the government.

Right around then, we got *Star Wars*.

Those captivity narratives had never stopped happening, though. At least not for me. Growing up Indian, when the people up on the screen aren't like you but you kind of like them all the same, the obvious thing to do, it's abduct them. Make them come live with you. I was capturing people left and right. Rambo, because he had a headband and a cool knife. John McClain from *Die Hard*; his guerrilla warfare tactics fit right in. Conan the Barbarian, because he could teach these town people a thing or two. Spider-Man, because he lived with his aunt, and always had trouble coming up with enough change to buy his school lunch. Kyle Reese from *Terminator*, because he looks like the guy who hangs out by the gas pumps, and has stories you can't begin to believe.

Star Wars too. *Star Wars* first, even.

Broad-stroke, *Star Wars* is a crew of die-hard rebels pitted against the big dark evil Empire—the Empire that has wave after wave of white infantry to send out into the (star)field. And, where the Empire has not just bigger guns, but the biggest gun ever, what the rebels have are these elegant, cool, traditional weapons. And they've got X-wing fighters too, the trustiest ponies ever, which they use to slash in for raid after raid, and then they're gone again before the Empire even knows what's happened.

Darth Vader? More like Darth Custer.

And, Leia, with her Hopi hairdo, her homeland isn't just taken from her, it's turned to (space)rubble. But that just makes her fight harder. Luke, he's been adopted out of his tribe, has been forced into (space)farming, but is always looking up to the sky for home. Is there a more Indian name than Skywalker? Maybe: Han Solo, that living embodiment of an Indian who is *not*

going to wait to get his request to cross the reservation line approved. He just hits that hyperspace button and *goes*. And, like all Indians, he believes in Bigfoot. He has to: Bigfoot's his copilot. And don't forget that Luke and Leia being twins, so many of the tribes have stories about twins either messing up or saving the world—sometimes both. It's what they do.

What really gives away that *Star Wars* is Native, though, it's Yoda. He's an Indian grandmother if there ever was one. Not because he's nine hundred years old and on a cane, not because the words he's translating in his head always come out in the wrong order, and not because he's where messed-up kids retreat to, to figure a few things out. It's because about the first thing he says, it's "How do you get so big eating food of this kind?" It's because his refrain, it's pretty much "Hear you nothing that I say?" It's because he tells this gangly kid stumbling through his house that "You must unlearn what you have learned." It's because he always has a pot of something cooking over the fire. It's because he turns that stumbling boy into a warrior.

Yeah, I needed some Indian role models, growing up. I needed some Indian heroes.

And I didn't have to go far, far away.

I just had to go to the theater.

Thank you, *Star Wars*.

Yoda: Episode 1491 Video:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=byxx6NjMTiQ

Niillas Holmberg (born 1990) is a poet, musician, actor, translator and activist from Ohcejohka in Sámiland, Finland. He is the author of three collections of poetry, written in his mother tongue, Northern Sami, a minority language spoken by 20 000 people in Finland, Norway and Sweden.

Lill Tove Fredriksen, associate professor of Sámi literature at UiT The Arctic University of Norway, is the one who selected this poem.

Máttu oahpus

Gánneha muitalit nieguidis
jámadeaddji olbmuide

máttarmáttaráddján lei gullan
ahte áiggošin menestuvvat
deh de skillalahtii
deaddilin ruoksada
ja riŋgestin sutnje Skaippas
vai suittášin háleštit

go dálvá
galggat čuoigalit vai bivat

ále bisán vaikke bivaldivččii
ále luottastala
čuoigga gosa áiggožat
muhto ále luottastala
go bievladielkkut ihtigohtet
čuoigga jávregáddái
boaldde sabehiid ja soappi
botkal gunaid biggii
ja vácce suddái

ok, áddjá
muhto dán áigge
olbmot čuiget guvttiin soppiin

A Lesson from an Ancestor

It's helpful to tell your dreams
to dying people

my great great grandfather
heard of my desire to get on
he called me up
but I didn't answer the phone
and called him back on Skype
because it's cheaper

come winter
you must ski to stay warm
keep skiing on the mild days too
don't leave traces
ski wherever you want
but don't leave traces
when the snow starts to melt
go to the lakefront
burn the skis and ski pole
sprinkle the ashes to the wind
and walk into the flooded ice

ok, granddad
but these days
we ski with two poles

Review Essay: **Expanding Settler Colonial Theory**

Adam Dahl. *Empire of the People: Settler Colonialism and the Foundations of Modern Democratic Thought*. University Press of Kansas, 2018. 272 pp. ISBN: 9780700626076.
https://kansaspress.ku.edu/978-0-7006-2607-6.html

This is a thought-provoking book that probably makes an important contribution to Dahl's specialist field of political science, but it is neither an intervention in American Studies nor Critical Indigenous Studies and so may be of limited usefulness to readers of *Transmotion*—with the decided exception of the final chapter (published as an essay in *Polity* in 2016), devoted to William Apess. This chapter is of general interest both for its innovative approach, which brings together the arguments developed throughout the book, and for the successful pairing of unexpected texts, which is a consistent strength of Dahl's method. Elsewhere, Dahl overwhelmingly addresses settler political theorists in the interests of illuminating the central contradiction of US settler colonialism: that settler *political* sovereignty, grounded in the right to self-government based on labor devoted to the "improvement" of expropriated Native land, requires the disavowal of the violence of dispossession and also the denial of Indigenous land rights based not on political reasoning but inherited racialized *cultural* prejudices. I am reminded of Peter Fitzpatrick's quite brilliant philosophical treatment of similar legal contradictions in *Law as Resistance: Modernism, Imperialism, Legalism* (2008), in a review of which I described how Fitzpatrick

> addresses the imperial Western claim to universal jurisdiction, a 'self-universalizing' claim that promotes European power especially in relation to 'discovery' and colonization. However, this self-proclaimed universality depends upon the categories of civilization versus savagery in order to enact the constitutive exclusion of the 'savage' and 'barbarous' which, if included in the category of the 'universal' would destroy it (Madsen 573).

Such constitutive paradoxes are central to Dahl's project, particularly the tension between assertions of logically stable political reasoning and the destabilizing impacts of cultural reasonings, the ultimate source of which is, of course, the definition as *terra nullius* of all Indigenous territories unclaimed by Christian nations under the Doctrine of Discovery. In his address to the Eleventh Session of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (May 2012), Seneca Elder Oren Lyons made clear the ongoing obstacle to the active realization of the 2007 United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples represented by the Doctrine of Discovery: "The 'Doctrine of Discovery' initiated from the papal bulls of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are responsible for over six centuries of crimes against humanity, setting a standard of exploitation that nation states now call 'international law'" (Lyons 1).

International law, or at least theorizing of the legal rights possessed by American colonists in relation to British imperialism, forms the basis of Dahl's central historical argument, and yet the foundational Doctrine of Discovery receives very cursory treatment. Indeed, Dahl's omissions dramatize most clearly his settler focus: in a book about constitutionalism in the US, there is no mention of Native constitutions, not even those that fit the restricted historical scope of his study. On the Chickasaw Constitution of 1856, nothing. Cherokee Removal and the Marshall decisions—yes—but the Constitutions of the Cherokee Nation (1827 and

1839)—no. The Choctaw removal Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek (1830)—yes—but the Choctaw Constitution of 1834? So, it seems a little disingenuous, in the closing discussion, to make a claim to contribute to the decolonizing of democracy by promoting historic Native influence on constitutional thought without taking into consideration what Indigenous nations have historically already achieved. The portrait of Native America that emerges from the book as a whole might be described using Gerald Vizenor's term, "Native victimry." And—a relevant point for scholars with an interest in Vizenor's work—there is no mention at all of his constitutional writing. As I will explain later, the absence of any attention to Gerald Vizenor's political writings on democracy, Native sovereignty, and constitutionalism is both highly conspicuous to a reader of *Transmotion* and regrettable. Consequently, I have found the primary value of Dahl's book in the linkages that I make with the work of other scholars outside the rigorous limits that he has imposed. With all due respect for the principle that reviewers should not criticize a book for failing to be the one they themselves would write, I have to say that Dahl offers little to readers from scholarly fields peripheral to his own. At the same time, his book offers fertile ground for building a network of allied ideas based on each reader's particular interests. The intertextual network forming in my mind as I read seemed important enough not only to keep me reading but to keep reaching for other books as I made my way through *Empire of the People*. The remarks that follow essentially map out my route, in a kind of dialogue between Adam Dahl's main arguments (which, in fairness to him, are presented in some detail) and my "yes, but what about…?" responses.

The title of the dissertation from which the book originates, *Empire of the People: The Ideology of Democratic Empire in the Antebellum United States* (2014), is much more accurate than the book title in terms establishing readerly expectations of the historical period under discussion. Dahl addresses the period that encapsulates the Revolution, from the mid-eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth. The inclusion of Walt Whitman's 1871 *Democratic Vistas* extends the timeline, but otherwise discussion is rigorously confined to this period. This temporal focus is both an advantage in terms of coherence and precision but it also creates significant weaknesses, especially when Dahl could very profitably look back from his location in the early republican period to American colonial models and influences that would supplement his overwhelming use of British and European political theorists (more about that shortly). Provocatively, Dahl shifts discussion away from the documents of the "American Creed" in his meticulous readings of texts that are unexpectedly chosen and quite surprising in the relevance that he exposes: the Northwest Ordinance (1787) in his first and second chapters, the opening of Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* in the third chapter, Ralph Waldo Emerson's writings of the 1840s in the fourth chapter, and Whitman's poetry and prose in the fifth. William Apess is the less surprising subject of the final substantive chapter. The book is organized into three Parts: two introductory theoretical chapters set out Dahl's central arguments concerning federalism and empire; US settler colonialism and democratic culture occupy the following three chapters (on dispossession, Manifest Destiny, and slavery, respectively); the final Part consists of a single chapter on Apess's Indigenous critique of the basis of settler sovereignty, and an "Afterword" that offers some thoughts on the potentials for decolonizing democratic theorizing.

Motivating these chapters is the central argument that federalism is not, in fact, antithetical to empire but rather organizes a certain kind of settler colonial empire (46); that is to say, US federalist, democratic theory is mutually constitutive with settler colonialism and, like the US empire, is equally grounded in colonial violence and the disavowal of Native dispossession. This line of argument allows Dahl to shift his account of dominant modes of democratic political thought away from the concept of popular sovereignty encapsulated in the notion of

"the People" and its consequent erasure of Native presence. Rather, using writings by Richard Bland, Virginia delegate to the First Continental Congress, and Thomas Jefferson's "A Summary View of the Rights of British America" (1774), Dahl explains the theory that internal colonial autonomy derived from the idea of equality between settlers and metropolitan subjects. Consequently, settler birth-rights transferred in the process of migration—together with "contractual colonization" or "the labor theory of empire" (32)—produced an understanding of settler sovereignty as grounded in the performance of colonizing labor: the work required to create permanent settlements. He points out, perceptively, that this set of ideas created the notion of a "federal empire" (32) based on what he calls "federative replication": the principle of both settler colonial *action* and its organizational *form* (Dahl 25, 72). A surprisingly marginalized presence in this discussion is Craig Yirush's important 2011 book, *Settlers, Liberty, and Empire: The Roots of Early American Political Theory, 1675-1775*, which makes the same basic argument: that

> [i]n the wake of the Glorious Revolution, then, a view of Empire crystallized in English America which was based on the equal rights of all of the King's subjects; the grounding of those rights outside the realm in the efforts and risk taking of the settlers themselves; the confirmation of these rights in charters and other royal grants; the subsequent acquisition of territory from the natives by purchase or conquest; and the transformation of what the settlers saw as a 'wilderness' into flourishing civil societies (77).

Yirush also devotes an entire chapter to one of Dahl's chosen texts, Richard Bland's *The Colonial Dismounted: Or the Rector Vindicated. In a Letter Addressed to His Reverence Containing a Dissertation upon the Constitution of the Colony* (1764). However, Yirush's book is not cited in connection with *The Colonial Dismounted* and, indeed, Yirush's work is relegated to a few isolated endnotes. This is unfortunate, because Yirush offers a detailed and nuanced account of the period between the Glorious Revolution and the American Revolution to show how these guiding ideas emerged. This is important because, certainly in Puritan apologies for migration and tracts that promoted migration to New England, as well as documents like the 1691 Massachusetts Charter, the notion of equality and equal rights between metropolis and colony is not obvious. Focusing on republican figures like Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson, Dahl does not consider the issue of conceptual provenance, which would seem to be key to his assertion that such ideas had lasting cultural as well as political impacts. As Yirush observes, "Most histories of early American political thought ... begin ... with the looming imperial crisis in the aftermath of the Seven Years' War, as if the ideas that drove opposition to imperial reforms from the mid-1760s on had no antecedents" (4).

This is where Dahl's first Part begins, with a discussion of democracy in relation to empire, constitutionalism, and federalism, in the context of the Imperial Crisis of the 1760s and 70s. He argues that contradictions within the theory of empire allowed settlers to interpret their right to self-rule as being entirely consistent with and equal to their status as citizens of the British Empire (34). In this balancing of imperial and provincial/settler sovereignties, Dahl finds the settler colonial roots of US federalism: the idea of a central federal government that is combined with protections for each colony. Out of the associated debates and conflicts over the location of the imperial center—Westminster or North America, the metropolis or the colonies—the concept of colonial equality emerged as crucial to the discourse of democratic sovereignty, but this debate over "equality" was complicated by diverse interpretations of the meaning of equality in the context of colonial dependency. General

resistance to the notion of dependency motivated a new idea of empire, a vision of federal imperialism that distributed authority equally across "constituent units of empire" (27)—i.e. the American colonies—as shown in such documents as Benjamin Franklin's "Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind" (1751) and his Albany Plan of 1754. Franklin proposed that on the basis of continual demographic expansion (the trope of *translatio imperii*), based on unlimited access to free land, eventually more British subjects would live on the US side of the Atlantic than in Britain, thus shifting the balance of power to a new western empire. Added to this, the settler allegiance to a notion of social mobility tied to spatial mobility and property ownership underpinned the idea that the stability of republican institutions must depend on the availability of land to support an agrarian populace, and so the removal of Indigenous peoples to make land available was an integral part of this American idea of empire.

Royal prerogative versus settler sovereignty provides the context for Dahl's analyses in chapter one concerning the central role of land and settler attitudes towards land in the aftermath of the Seven Years War and the Royal Proclamation 1763. Dahl focuses on the Northwest Ordinance (1787) and the question it sought to answer: will the Northwest Territory be governed by the Continental Congress or by Virginia via its royal charter? Thomas Paine's views, set out in *Common Sense* (1776) and *Public Good: An Examination into the Claims of Virginia to the Vacant Western Territory* (1780), confirmed the notion of *terra nullius* and opposed the influence of corporate land companies, promoting instead the argument that possession of the western land must serve the "common good" as a common right of all citizens. As Dahl points out, these arguments serve as the logical complement to the idea that, after the Revolution, both political and territorial sovereignty will be transferred to "the People." The mechanisms by which settled territories would be incorporated as republican states into the federal Union are discussed through the 1780 land resolution, Jefferson's 1784 land ordinance, and James Monroe's Northwest Ordinance (1787). The latter determined that new territories would start as colonies, dependent on federally appointed governors until the population reached 5,000 inhabitants—Dahl refers to this as a period of "imperial tutelage" (37)—and then would be incorporated with the same rights as all other states in a process that Dahl calls the "embodiment of imperial federalism" (37). The most important element of this model was the mechanism for an ongoing process of colonization, which could be extended to distant territories (and Dahl notes that Jefferson had his eye on South America). This structure offered a mechanism of colonization that was no longer organized around colonial dependence on a metropolitan center. But despite appearances to the contrary, Dahl perceptively argues, this mechanism did not eschew colonial violence; on the contrary, the Northwest Ordinance institutionalized the expropriation of Indigenous lands despite avowed equality between Indigenous peoples and settlers. Dahl notes that Henry Knox acknowledged Native land rights and proposed a policy of land acquisition based on Native consent via purchase and treaty or peaceful assimilation, with dispossession through military conquest as a last resort (for Knox, the avoidance of military conquest distinguished US colonization efforts from the brutality practiced by Spain and Britain). As Dahl rightly emphasizes, though, settlement itself was seen as a strategy of Native dispossession rather than federal incorporation. The chapter ends with an interesting comparison with features shared by other British settler colonies of the nineteenth century, through the theories of Edward Gibbon Wakefield concerning what Hegel termed "systematic colonization" (Dahl 41), in order to propose that the status of the Northwest Ordinance, as the model for the British concept of "an empire of settlement," is a kind of "Magna Carta of the Colonies" (45, 46). Here, Dahl could have taken into account, or at least gestured towards, much earlier English theorizing of American colonization. During the Elizabethan period, for

instance, the arguments made by Richard Hakluyt in his *Principal Navigations* (1598-1600)—and also by his contemporariess—established many of the points that are highlighted in Dahl's treatment of Wakefield's theories.

The second chapter explains Dahl's central concept of "constituent power," as opposed to "constituted power," by borrowing Andreas Kalyvas's conceptualization of the difference between authority delegated by "the People" to institutionalized representatives (constituted power) and the "constituent power" of popular authority "to begin, end, or modify those institutionally delegated powers" (Dahl 48). The "coloniality" of this constituent power lies not only in the authority to establish new republics but additionally to eliminate existing regimes of sovereignty. In this, Dahl locates the settler justification to expropriate Native lands by disavowing Indigenous governance that is found to be in a "savage" state and on "vacant lands," and via the "Vanishing American" trope. Through John Locke and Thomas Paine, Dahl reads the intersectionality of the "sovereignty clause" and "emigration clause" of the 1777 Vermont Constitution as an instance of this constituent power: in the context of the Vermont Republic's erasure of both British imperial sovereignty and that of New York. He then analyzes justifications for the establishment of new republics along the Trans-Appalachian frontier in the 1770s and the following decade, highlighting concrete examples of the use of colonization (on the vacant land that enabled the claim to settle in "a state of nature") as the basis for the exercise of constituent power through democratic consent. This discussion makes excellent use of Jean O'Brien's concept of "firsting" (colonial settlement as the "first" civilized occupation of land) and "lasting" (the discourse that casts Indigenous inhabitants as the last of a vanishing race) to apply the concept of constituent power to the Wataugan claims to settler sovereignty. Dahl argues that the threat of imperial disintegration implicit in the exercise of this constituent power—the settling of new republics independent of congressional authority—was mitigated by the Northwest Ordinance, which redefined self-determined settler expansion as a mechanism of consensual incorporation into an expanded territorial federal empire by prescribing the republican form of new settler states. This argument is elegantly summarized in Dahl's quotation from Antonio Negri: constituent power is "absorbed, appropriated by the constitution, transformed into an element of the constitutional machine" (*Insurgencies*, qtd in Dahl, 64). The power of representation to instantiate a settler regime and to erase Native presence is conveyed in Dahl's treatment of Jefferson's famous concept of the US as an "empire of liberty." Dahl engages this concept in the context of Jefferson's 1785 Land Ordinance, which divided land into square-mile parcels and created a territorial geography that both commodified land and also rooted democratic sovereignty in the land. As Dahl explains, this reconceptualization of land was a powerful counterpart to historical colonization, achieved through Jefferson's use of the mythology of the pre-modern, "Vanishing," Indian. The erasure of Indigenous relationships to land, fundamental to this process, Dahl clarifies through an account of Native opposition to the settler concept of land commodification articulated by Tecumseh (Shawnee) and Black Hawk (Sauk), and their critical exposure of the treaty system as a form of colonial violence that is representative of corruption and inequality rather than expressive of popular consent.

Here, Dahl's focus on republican democratic thought neglects the settler colonial actions of the Founders as land speculators. For example, Benjamin Franklin was a major investor in the Grand Ohio Company (1769), which notably petitioned King George III for 2.4 million acres in the Ohio Valley (Franklin n.p.). And George Washington's career as a surveyor of the Ohio Valley would provide relevant context for the discussion of the Northwest Ordinance: Washington's half-brothers were among the organizers of the Ohio Company (1747), formed to obtain royal grants to lands in the Ohio Valley, and "[b]etween 1747 and 1799 Washington

surveyed over two hundred tracts of land and held title to more than sixty-five thousand acres in thirty-seven different locations" (Lehrman Institute, n.pag.). Such details are particularly relevant in view of the motif that runs throughout Dahl's book concerning the role of land surveying as a conceptual mechanism of settler colonial remapping of territory. Even more conspicuous in Dahl's exclusive emphasis on democratic relations of consent is neglect of what Philip Gorski, in *American Covenant: A History of Civil Religion from the Puritans to the Present* (2017), calls the American tradition of "prophetic republicanism," which Gorski traces back to New England Puritan reliance on apocalyptic biblical rhetoric to justify the expropriation of Indigenous lands through the theology of sacred covenant relations. At this point, it may seem that I am asking for an entirely different kind of book but Dahl repeatedly gestures towards covenant-regulated communal relations—in connection with the Watauga Compact and the Cumberland Compact, for instance, in this chapter. Here, too, reference to (studies of) earlier colonial models of federation could be more than alluded to and more fully integrated into Dahl's discussion. The Mayflower Compact is briefly mentioned in the introduction but John Winthrop's "A Model of Christian Charity" (1630) and, significantly, Puritan justifications for colonial settlement—such as John Cotton's sermon addressed to the departing Winthrop fleet, "The Divine Right to Occupy the Land," later published as *Gods Promise to His Plantation* (1630)—would seem to be very relevant, given the unremarked references to the "providential gift" of vacant land found, for example, in Dahl's quotations from the *Federalist Papers* also in this chapter. Although Gorski's project differs significantly from Dahl's, focusing more on an analysis of the intersections among American traditions of religious nationalism, civil religion, and radical secularism that have produced "prophetic republicanism," I found reading the two books in conjunction very rewarding.

In Part Two, Dahl turns from discussion of democracy in constitutional contexts to cultural forms and democracy as a social state, with specific reference to the emergence of the ideology of Manifest Destiny and the controversies surrounding slavery. Focused primarily on the nineteenth century, this section could have made profitable reference to studies like Alyosha Goldstein's essay "Colonialism, Constituent Power, and Popular Sovereignty" which, appearing in 2014 would have been unavailable for inclusion in Dahl's 2014 dissertation but could easily have been incorporated into his 2018 book (he does reference Goldstein's 2008 essay on "Proprietary Regimes, Antistatism, and U.S. Settler Colonialism"). I have opted to highlight this essay because Goldstein covers the same period and much the same conceptual ground, arguing that "[t]hroughout the long nineteenth century, it was precisely the fraught and unsettled relations among the practices of constituent power, popular sovereignty, colonialism, and slavery that conveyed the spuriousness and impossible grandiosity of US claims to sovereignty as absolute, exclusive, and indivisible" (150). Where Goldstein's essay goes on to "suggest some specific ways in which indigenous [sic] peoples challenged and disrupted US settler claims to constituent power and national coherence while also reimagining their own terms of political belonging" (149), Dahl is concerned with showing how settler expansion provided coherence to emergent democratic theorizing. Thus, he begins in chapter three with Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* (1835, 1840; unfortunately, the bibliography does not provide details of the translator or editor) to show Tocqueville's erasure of colonial violence and Indigenous erasure through his constructivist mapping of the natural environment that—as Dahl explains with reference to Patrick Wolfe's work—functions as a "container" for US democratic politics. Tocqueville's privileging of American over Spanish and Russian colonization depends on this disavowal of American violence, Dahl argues, in favor of an account of the treaty basis of American colonization in contrast to colonial militarism in the South (Spain) and Northwest (Russia). He references Tocqueville's appeal to "Providence"—"his imagery of indigenous [sic] absence in

Democracy reinforces the notion that North American land *providentially* belongs to white settlers" (Dahl 83, emphasis added)—and notes Tocqueville's dating of the origins of US democracy with the founding of the original colonies, quoting Tocqueville's identification of Puritan congregationalism with the model of consensual self-government (see my point above). Rather than developing these ideas, Dahl uses them to exemplify the arguments he has already established concerning the destructive and constructive powers of constituent settler sovereignty. There is a certain repetitiveness in the discussion of Tocqueville, which is marked by continual returns to earlier points, suggesting to me that tighter editing may have created space for a much more expansive discussion of the ways in which Tocqueville's text intersects with those analyzed in Part One, to sketch a specifically American tradition of democratic thought: with roots in New England congregationalism, its peculiar styles of rhetorical thinking, and its Elizabethan imperial origins. A related omission that illustrates this repetition is the cursory treatment of Tocqueville's use of the Doctrine of Discovery—which is not defined until fifty pages later in the context of slavery, and then exclusively in terms of Lockean political theory and the infamous US Supreme Court decisions of Chief Justice Marshall—that leads immediately to an account of *terra nullius* that simply repeats the discussion in the preceding chapter. Instead, Dahl could have drawn on Joanne Barker's account of Marshall's powerful role in introducing the Doctrine of Discovery as the foundation of US federal Indian law; as she writes: "Marshall invoked [the Doctrine of Discovery] as though it were a well-founded legal principle of international law. It took on the force of precedence because Marshall invented a legal history that gave it that status" (Barker 2005, 14; see also Oren Lyons, quoted above). Rather, in this section of the book Dahl reorients existing interpretations through the lens of settler colonial studies. Chapter three treats Tocqueville's observations about race and race-based slavery in relation to the erasure of Native political formations to argue that the difference between settler colonialism and chattel slavery as systems of domination lies in the settler desire for Native land as opposed to black labor, and consequently this difference emphasized black bodies as an obstacle to assimilation into white settler social structures, which was not the case for proponents—like Tocqueville—of Native "vanishing" through acculturation. More interesting to me is Dahl's discussion of Tocqueville's writings about French colonial expansion in Algeria, for which US settler colonialism provided the precedent.

On the subject of precedents, chapter four's analysis of Manifest Destiny displays the results of Dahl's neglect of a deep historical account of the American "mission" and the claim to be a "redeemer nation." A single endnote gesturing to Ernest Lee Tuveson's 1968 book, *Redeemer Nation: The Idea of America's Millennial Role* inadequately fulfills this function. Instead, Dahl approaches Manifest Destiny in relation to the "safety valve" theory of colonization, where bountiful available western land provided an outlet for escape from eastern urbanization and industrialization, and as a necessary ideological component of US democratic empire, which situated itself against both European feudalism and Indigenous tribalism. He illustrates this mechanism firstly through a reading of John O'Sullivan's coinage of the term in the context of the annexation of Texas (1845) and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848); secondly through the logic of "consensual colonization" exhibited in key documents related to Indian Removal in the 1830s (Dahl 114); and, finally, through Ralph Waldo Emerson's romanticization of expropriated "nature" as a source of democratic impulses in his political writings of the 1840s. In all three groups of texts, "consensual colonization" relies on an intersection of interests, on the parts of both of settlers and Natives, which facilitates agreement that reconciles—and promotes—US expansion, Native elimination, and the principles of popular democracy.

Expropriated Native land is at the center of Dahl's treatment of American slavery in chapter five and his account of the conflict between the "survey" system that favored elites, and so encouraged a kind of aristocracy reminiscent of feudalism, and the "homesteading" system that promoted free labor and free soil policies. The first, which served federal financial interests by raising revenue, is opposed to the latter, which situates the federal government's use of land in the interests of popular sovereignty. Through this opposition, Dahl develops his arguments concerning chattel slavery. Very provocative in this connection is his link between Abraham Lincoln's racialized vision of the western territories as a "safety valve" for poor whites leaving slave-holding states and the arguments about Manifest Destiny in his preceding chapter. The political views of Galusha A. Grow (Speaker of the House of Representatives, 1861-1863 and supporter of the Homestead Act of 1862), Lincoln, and Lincoln's Secretary of State William Henry Seward preface the chapter, which then engages in detail with Walt Whitman's poetry and his essays in *Democratic Vistas*. The relation between free labor (i.e. neither chattel nor wage slavery) and settler colonialism is highlighted by the enabling assumption of the availability of sufficient free land for ownership and cultivation by settlers, and Dahl's point that land is rendered "unfree" by both the restrictions of an aristocratic plantation society and Native ancestral rights, in contrast to settler labor that renders land "free." In this context, Dahl makes a powerful case for Whitman's centrality to ideologies of settler colonialism as resultant of "how he attached radical-democratic principles of popular sovereignty to broader frameworks of settler expansion" (Dahl 143). His interpretation of Whitman's theory of the US democratic "empire of empires" is a point of conjunction for many of the terms Dahl has analyzed in previous chapters. To this, he adds Whitman's perception of the performativity of language—exemplified by the power of the words of the Declaration of Independence to create the US nation—put into the service of settler colonialism in a number of ways: most particularly, Whitman's own "personification of the settler-citizen as the force of democratic expansion" (146) and his deployment of Indigenous languages (notably through the use of Native names) that are assimilated to a democratic settler identity within Whitman's use of the "Vanishing American" myth. Thus, in this chapter, Whitman represents the apotheosis of settler-colonial thinking in his theorizing of territorial expansion as not just a political and economic necessity to the nation but also the moral and cultural source of the American democratic ethos that has global implications for the future direction of history.

Dahl's project shifts gears in Part Three, titled "Unsettling Democracy," which deals with counter-narratives and comprises the final chapter, devoted to a lengthy consideration of William Apess and "the paradox of settler sovereignty." Dahl defines this paradox in terms of "attempts to draw the boundaries of popular sovereignty [that] can never be done by purely democratic means, [so] law and sovereignty always rest on violence and exclusion" (157): illustrated by his account of Daniel Webster's "Plymouth Oration" (1820). To my mind, and probably for most readers of *Transmotion*, this is the most interesting section of the book. Here Dahl turns his full attention, and all of the arguments that have been developed throughout, to a Native political theorist. His account of Indian nullification develops an interpretation based on Apess's fundamental opposition to settler sovereignty, and provides a political-theoretical reading that would be nicely complemented by Philip F. Gura's detailed biographical narrative of the Mashpee Revolt in his *Life of William Apess, Pequot* (2015). Dahl's treatment of the text is nuanced; he offers an intelligent and well-documented response to David J. Carlson's view that Apess sought a compromise solution—based on "Indian liberalism"—to the issue of Mashpee desire for territorial sovereignty and an end to the imposed paternalistic "overseer" system that deprived them of control over their ancestral lands. Pointing out that liberal conceptions of "rights" do not recognize the foundational

violence of settler colonialism, Dahl uses Fanon to particularly good effect (echoing his earlier references to French-colonized Algeria) as a basis for his argument that colonialism creates a binary conception of political space (liberal settler versus occupied Native space) that generates the subject category of "the settler," defined by "notions of equality and popular sovereignty" (Dahl 159). However, it is also here that the settler focus of the book is most clearly revealed, when Dahl writes: "This chapter extrapolates [Fanon's] point to suggest that the political subjectivity of settlers – marked by notions of equality and popular sovereignty – are similarly produced through practices of settler conquest" (159). I confess that I had to read this sentence more than once. Happily, in this chapter, Dahl in fact fails to show how settler conquest produces settler political subjectivity. Rather, in a detailed and persuasive account of prevailing debates about states' rights and federal constitutionalism, he argues that Apess's interventions in *Indian Nullification of the Unconstitutional Laws of Massachusetts Relative to the Marshpee Tribe; or, The Pretended Riot Explained* (1833) and *Eulogy on King Philip* (1836) must be read through the concept of "nullification" as at once a refusal of US settler sovereignty and a powerful narrativizing strategy that performatively exposes "democracy's constitutive exclusions" (160). "As a result," Dahl concludes, "nullification becomes an indigenous [sic] concept that marks the limits of settler authority and asserts the political autonomy of Indian communities" (160). In this chapter, significant argumentative traction is provided by Native political theorizing, represented by the work of Robert Nichols, Audra Simpson's *Mohawk Interruptus* (2014), Joanne Barker's *Native Acts* (2011), and Glen Coulthard's *Red Skin, White Masks* (2014). However, these voices are muted by the stylistic habit (here and throughout the book) of acknowledging sources with an endnote that simply provides the author's name and title; there is little effort to contextualize references and so there are few opportunities to engage substantively with complementary arguments, and I was disappointed that the usefulness of the notes as a resource is further weakened by the fact that they are not indexed. Having said that, this chapter is a tour de force, presenting nuanced and insightful readings of Apess's texts that leave no doubt concerning their exceptional revolutionary power.

In the absence of this chapter, one would be hard pressed to agree that the book achieves Dahl's ambition to furnish "the basis for a decolonial theory of democracy that de-normalizes settler experiences as the unsurpassable horizon of democratic politics" (184). Certainly, it is with insight that Dahl offers contexts within which to situate the foundational role of settler conquest in discourses of US democracy and to theorize possibilities for decolonization. The Afterword, subtitled "Decolonizing the Democratic Tradition," where he explicitly addresses this latter issue, is especially disappointing for a reader of *Transmotion* who, presumably, has an interest in the works of Gerald Vizenor. The absence of any reference at all to Vizenor's crucial interventions around the concepts of Native sovereignty and tribal constitutionalism is, to me, quite shocking. Dahl makes two primary points related to his concept of decolonized democracy. Incidentally, one might ask whether this is a misleading issue; given Dahl's interest in relations between democracy and constitutionalism, a decolonized concept of constitutionalism may have been a more productive problematic to engage. To develop his first point, that of "a nonsovereign conception of democracy that sheds the desire to define self-rule in terms of control and mastery" (Dahl 187), he bases his discussion on Joan Cocks's book, *On Sovereignty and Other Political Delusions* (2014), and *her* account of Taiaiake Alfred's idea of Indigenous counter-sovereignty. His second point concerns "a relational conception of democratic identity that avows the constitutive influence of indigenous [sic] political ideas on the Western democratic tradition as well as the productive role of relations of colonial domination in shaping democratic thought and culture" (Dahl 189). He relies primarily on the work of the Argentine-Mexican philosopher Enrique Dussel,

and the American feminist political theorist Iris Marion Young to develop his discussion of "transmodernity" as a world-system of democratic federalism. Here, Vizenor's concept of transmotion is a very notable absence but more egregious is Dahl's secondhand description, via Young's account, of Iroquois federative governance as a constitutional model. There are two further problems here: first, Dahl explicitly refuses to acknowledge well-documented critiques of the so-called "Haudenosaunee influence theory," like Philip Levy's meticulous interrogation of the work of Donald Grinde and Bruce Johansen in "Exemplars of Taking Liberties" (1996). This refusal to take account of opposing viewpoints weakens the power of Dahl's arguments. Secondly, and much worse, is Dahl's recourse to abstract speculation about potentials for the "constitutive influence of indigenous [sic] political ideas on the Western democratic tradition" (189) when the example of the new Constitution of the White Earth Nation, for instance, would provide fertile material for concrete analysis. Granted, the theory of the influence of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy's Great Law of Peace on the US Founders fits well with his timeframe, but I had expected to find at least an abbreviated discussion in Dahl's endnotes of *The White Earth Nation: Ratification of a Native Democratic Constitution* (Vizenor and Doerfler 2012), Vizenor's remarks in his 2013 interview with James Mackay about the circumstances of his writing of the Constitution and the historic documents that provided his model, as well as Vizenor's theoretical discussions of Native sovereignty, for example in *Fugitive Poses* (1998), and some of the scholarship inspired by Vizenor's work on the White Earth Constitution, such as Joseph Bauerkemper's essay "The White Earth Constitution, Cosmopolitan Nationhood, and the Fruitful Ironies of Relational Sovereignty" (published in this journal in 2015), as well as the essays by David Carlson and Lisa Brooks in the 2011 special issue of *Studies in American Indian Literatures* devoted to "Constitutional Criticism," edited by James Mackay. Indeed, Alyosha Goldstein's 2014 essay, cited above, does precisely this in the conclusion where Goldstein proposes:

> Against the numerical weight and majority rule of settler popular sovereignty, indigenous [sic] sovereignty exposes the US nation-state as perpetually fragmented and incomplete, if nonetheless preponderant and lethal. The White Earth Nation's decision to draft and, in 2013, adopt a new constitution – which deliberately enacts indigenous [sic] sovereignty in a manner distinct from the Native national constitutions written under the auspices of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 – provides one form that indigenous [sic] democratic constitutional self-making might take (152).

Comparison with this essay highlights the extent to which Dahl is not interested in Indigenous issues in any fundamental way, except to lend traction to his analyses of settler political theory and settler colonial history. Two elements of Goldstein's work offer particularly striking contrasts. First, Goldstein positions Indigenous sovereignty in relation to "the unruliness of [settler] constituent moments [Jason Franks's "enactments of 'the people' that 'invent a new political space and make apparent a people that are productively never at one with themselves'"] that assemble multiple dispossessions and their provisional resolution on behalf of the greater good of 'the people'" (149). Secondly, and linked to this destabilizing effect of Native sovereignty, Goldstein explicitly refuses the narrative of settler triumphalism and corresponding Native victimry; for example, his concise and cogent interlinking of the major legislative and judicial moves that followed the Northwest Ordinance of 1785, culminating in the Indian Appropriation Act of 1871, serves the argument that "rather than indexing the historical triumph of settler sovereignty, this act, and legislation that followed in its wake (such as the Major Crimes Act of 1885, the General Allotment Act of 1887, and the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924), can be understood as *failed measures to extinguish indigenous [sic] sovereignty*, whose ongoing exercise and remaking instead illuminates the

perpetual frustration of US aspirations" (151, emphasis added). To my mind, along with the Vizenorian resources mentioned above, this essay—together with Goldstein's introduction to *Formations of United States Colonialism* (2014), and his 2008 essay, "Where the Nation Takes Place: Proprietary Regimes, Antistatism, and U.S. Settler Colonialism"—is among the essential contextualizing resources alongside which Dahl's book is best read.

In concluding, I have to admit that Dahl's book has got inside my head and under my skin—how else to explain the sheer length of this review? Even though the prose is sometimes theoretically dense to the point of opacity and can get bogged down in abstract terminology, the ideas and arguments provoke thought and productive connections with complementary scholarship. One of the questions that has haunted me since reading *Empire of the People* is: when is a doctoral dissertation not a doctoral dissertation? The simple answer: when it is published as a scholarly monograph. The more complicated subsidiary question then arises: how is a monograph different to a dissertation? According to the oft-quoted authority on this question, William Germano, a good dissertation is an original contribution to knowledge. No one would disagree with that. But he goes on to explain: "From a publisher's perspective, the good dissertation is a work of intellectual substance that makes a contribution to the author's field and that can *reach enough readers* to support the investment necessary for publication" (Germano 9-10, emphasis added). Although I am not a political scientist, I am sure that Dahl's book makes an important contribution to his field; as an informed but more general reader, coming to this book from a literary-historical-cultural environment, I am not convinced that Dahl really opens up his arguments to the wider academic readership to which Germano refers. That work of generalization, of finding hooks to allied scholarship that extends, enriches, and complicates Dahl's contribution, has been left to his readers. That is rather unfortunate for the wider relevance of Dahl's project but it is quite fortunate for those like myself who can find in this book threads with which to weave a greater intertextual network—comprised of each reader's own conceptual connections. Dahl has provided fertile ground for this kind of exploration and expansion.

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Mikaëla M. Adams. *Who Belongs: Race, Resources, and Tribal Citizenship in the Native South.* Oxford University Press, 2016. 330 pp. ISBN: 9780190619466.
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Gregory D. Smithers. *Native Southerners: Indigenous History from Origins to Removal.* University of Oklahoma Press, 2019. 259 pp. ISBN: 9780806162287.
https://www.oupress.com/books/15077544/native-southerners

Over the last three decades, historical studies of the Indigenous peoples of the Southeast have proliferated. Current scholarship stands on the shoulders of ethnohistorical work by Theda Perdue, Michael Green, Clara Sue Kidwell, and Patricia Galloway, whose books focused primarily on Cherokee and Choctaw peoples. The journal *Native South* appeared on the scene in 2008, providing an additional platform for interdisciplinary scholarship in the field, and was edited by historians Greg O'Brien and James Taylor Carson, and anthropologist Robbie Etheridge, all of whom had already published significant monographs on southeastern tribes. As the historical field has grown, so have other studies of the Native South, with important work being conducted by scholars of literature, religion, and other humanistic forms of inquiry.[1]

Who Belongs?: Race, Resources, and Tribal Citizenship in the Native South (2016) by Mikaëla M. Adams, one of Theda Perdue's doctoral students at the University of North Carolina, and *Native Southerners: Indigenous History from Origins to Removal* (2019) by Gregory D. Smithers, a productive and dynamic historian, are both important new studies of the Indigenous peoples of the U.S. Southeast; yet, they take distinctly different tacks. *Native Southerners* is a sweeping chronology that begins with oral traditions that grew out of southeastern land and ends in the mid-nineteenth century with the repercussions of the Indian Removal Act of 1830. *Who Belongs?* provides case studies of six southeastern tribes as they developed citizenship requirements in the context of the tumultuous political shifts of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, including segregation and evolving federal Indian policy.

Because Smithers's book strives to be expansive and Adams's goal is to explore specific examples of citizenship formation, it makes sense to begin with the former. Smithers declares in his introduction that he desires to "introduce" his audience to Native Southerners prior to and post-European invasion of North America (14). To that end, he seeks to define the region by adopting geographical boundaries per the Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian's outline, overviewing historical and anthropological arguments about it, and includes William C. Sturtevant's map of North American tribes as further reference point (7-10).

One of the most compelling aspects of Smithers's book is his approach to the first chapter, which begins with a Creek origin story. He notes that he wanted such oral narratives to be "juxtaposed against Western theories of Native American migrations" (12). Smithers provides an excellent overview of significant oral stories that informed the culture, society, and religions of several southeastern tribes. There are more detailed descriptions of stories about larger tribes such as the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Creeks, but he also discusses origin stories of smaller tribes such as the Natchez and Catawba, especially the ways their stories have been intertwined with Christian narratives. This section will be of particular interest to readers of Southeastern

Native literature, as many of the origin stories detailed here resonate with those retold in books such as *Shell Shaker* by Choctaw author LeAnne Howe, *Riding the Trail of Tears* by Cherokee author Blake Hausman*,* and *Pushing the Bear* by Cherokee-descended author Diane Glancy. Smithers also summarizes origin theories of Indigenous southeasterners by Western scientists, arguing that they "cannot be ignored because they constitute a part of the enduring legacy of settler colonial logic and the drive to empirically know, categorize, and confine Native people" (16). These theories are buttressed by critiques of Native scholars, leaders, and elders. This chapter also makes the important point of aligning Indigenous adoption of various technologies based on agricultural and trading systems with other forms of origin-making, ranging from the construction of mound and town complexes to the development of the bow and arrow.

The second chapter of *Native Southerners* explores the development of the Mississippian chiefdoms, which arose as a result of a period of global warming that "triggered a series of 'megadroughts' across North America" (36). Smithers argues that understanding how climate change affected the Indigenous peoples of the Southeast is an important reason to study the history of its chiefdoms, which he argues "emerged as a means of uniting people in a sense of communalism" (37). The chapter begins with the shift away from mobile lifestyles to more agrarian-based societies including the development of mound structures such as Poverty Point and then zooms into deeper examinations of the paramount chiefdoms of Cahokia and Etowah, as well as smaller chiefdoms such as Timucua, Chattahoochee, Coosa, and Tombigbee. He also explores the way simple chiefdoms formed paramount chiefdoms, such as in the case of Moundville, which ultimately collapsed about one hundred years prior to the arrival of Hernando de Soto in the mid-sixteenth century. In addition to geo-political elements of mound societies, Smithers discusses cultural elements such as the use of color and symbolism in art, clothing, and jewelry, and gender roles, particularly matrilineality. This chapter concludes with the arrival of European invaders and the ways they impacted Indigenous diplomatic practices and warfare, particularly through the Indian slave trade.

The next two chapters of *Native Southerners* examine the way the Mississippian chiefdoms splintered in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, due to an increasing engagement with European colonists. Smithers cites Etheridge's neologism of a "shatter zone" (59) emerging in the region that helped transform the chiefdom system and permitted new economies to evolve, including the Indian slave trade. Indigenous southeasterners were both participants in and victims of this economy. Smithers also notes the devastating impact of new diseases, especially smallpox, and the growth of coalescent societies that still exist today including Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Creeks. Warfare also characterizes this era, and Smithers details how wars such as a series of conflicts with the Tuscarora ultimately transformed the demography of parts of the South. The fourth chapter continues Smithers's examination of coalescent southeastern tribes, focusing more on lifeways and cultural practices. For example, readers of Howe's novel *Shell Shaker* will find a sense of familiarity in Smithers' descriptions of eighteenth-century Choctaw life, such as its town divisions and leadership hierarchies, a testament to Howe's own meticulous historical research. This chapter also discusses Creek, Caddo, Natchez, Catawba, Chickasaw, and Cherokee lifeways.

The fifth chapter of *Native Southerners* concentrates on the mid-eighteenth century to the emergence of the United States, detailing the ways that southeastern tribes allied themselves in various colonial conflicts such as the Anglo-Cherokee War, the Seven Years' War, and the American Revolution. This chapter also explores the way that pan-Indianism developed in the Southeast as a way of uniting tribes frustrated by white American disregard of their political positions or land rights. Smithers pays special attention to the separatist message of Lenni Lenape prophet Neolin and the military strategies of Chickamauga Cherokee Dragging Canoe who attempted to ally with the Shawnees.

The final chapter begins with the Creek Red Stick rebellion, signaling a shift toward tribal nationalism in the Native South. This nationalism is evident in the ways Indigenous people allied with colonial powers in the War of 1812 and in the ways that tribal leaders maneuvered themselves as it became clear that Indian Removal was central to Andrew Jackson's plans when he became president in 1829. Smithers traces the ways that Indigenous southeasterners had adapted to the economies of settler colonialism, particularly the ways that some tribal members accrued wealth through plantation ownership, including ownership of African and African-descended slaves. He also notes how removal of Native peoples from their lands was an argument developing for years in the U.S. government, with Thomas Jefferson being one of its proponents. The chapter does a thorough job of discussing the different ways tribes reacted to land cession and removal treaties and, unsurprisingly, spends the most time on the Cherokee Nation's well-known jurisdictional resistance to the Indian Removal Act of 1830 and the Georgia Indian Laws. There is a brief discussion of southeastern Indigenous diasporic communities that completes this chapter and continues in the Epilogue, as well as acknowledgement of those smaller tribes who were not displaced during the Removal Era.

If Smithers's approach is macrocosmic, then Adams's is microcosmic. *Who Belongs?* proceeds from this very important point: "'Indian' is not merely an ethnic or racial identity; rather it is a political status based on an individual's citizenship in one of several hundred tribal nations that have, or have the potential to have, a legal relationship with the United States" (1). Though she focuses on specific cases, a broad view of *Who Belongs?* reveals an interesting truth about Indigenous southeasterners: regardless of whether they are members of tribes who were not forced to Indian Territory through treaties or who are remnants of tribes who were, the nineteenth century attempt to eradicate southeastern Natives failed. Adams's book begins by exploring the complex history of tribal citizenship, noting that though the federal government now permits tribes to develop their own citizenship criteria, that was not always the case. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, federal Indian policy and state-sanctioned racial segregation in the South created situations where tribes saw that they needed to distinguish themselves racially in order to maintain their political positions and so "increasingly adopted racial criteria for tribal citizenship" (3). Adams traces the relationship between the development of citizenship criteria and tribal sovereignty, arguing that the former is essential for the latter. In order to contextualize the ways that the tribes she studies have established citizenship criteria, the introduction overviews relevant historical concepts and periods including the notion of tribal sovereignty; the racialization of tribal identity; the Indian Removal era; the allotment era; the impact of Jim Crow on southeastern tribes; the creation of tribal rolls; the adoption of blood

quantum as a citizenship marker; and the era of self-determination along with the complexities of federal recognition.

Adams's first chapter, "Policing Belonging, Protecting Identity," focuses on the Pamunkey tribe of Virginia and argues that it "used citizenship criteria to preserve its territorial sovereignty and to bolster its political status" (20). The Pamunkeys' story of self-preservation is a harrowing tale. The Pamunkeys, a tribe with a recognized relationship to Virginia since the colonial era, identify as descendants of "Powhatan's warriors" (38). Like other tribes in the Southeast including the Catawbas and the Mississippi Choctaws, the Pamunkeys fought the binaristic Jim Crow laws that would label them as "colored." In the late nineteenth century, they created a separate Indian school and church and insisted on recognition from the state as "Indian" peoples. Despite their classification as Indigenous peoples by anthropologists and ethnologists, they fell victim to the eugenicist Walter Ashby Plecker, the head of the Virginia Bureau of Vital Statistics from 1912 through 1946, whose mission was to "prove all people in Virginia who claimed to be Indians were actually the descendants of African Americans" (44). The introduction to the anthology *The People Who Stayed: Southeastern Indian Writing after Removal*, by Geary Hobson, Janet McAdams, and Katie Walkiewicz, describes Plecker as having "hated Indians" and "changed hundreds of Indians into white or black simply by the use of his pen" (1), a form of paper genocide. It is hard to describe Plecker as anything but villainous after reading Mikaëla Adams's detailed descriptions of the lengths he went to in order to deny the Pamunkey (and other Virginia tribes) Indian identity. Despite century of travails, the Pamunkeys did receive federal recognition on January 28, 2016, becoming the 567th federally recognized tribe. Adams follows their bid for recognition through multiple revisions, explaining how evolutions of their citizenship requirements are the key to their success.

"From Fluid Lists to Fixed Rolls," Adams's second chapter, examines the Catawba Indian Nation of South Carolina, which shares certain similarities to the Pamunkeys, including a long-standing relationship between state and tribe and a desire to distance themselves from African Americans during the era of legal segregation in order to maintain their status as a separate racial group. The Catawbas' story is unusual in the Southeast due to the impact of Mormonism on the community in the late nineteenth century. Mormons taught the Catawbas that "they were members of a lost tribe of Israel, the Lamanites" (65), uplifting their sense of identity in a region that discriminated against all non-whites. One effect of Mormonism on the Catawbas is that many converts moved West, which led to the tribe withholding payments received from the state for previous land cessions from those tribal members. The twentieth century saw the Catawbas gain federal recognition, go through the process of termination, and then re-gain federal recognition with the Settlement Act of 1993. These changes came alongside a formalization of the Catawba citizenship rolls, which have both been controversial and central to how the Catawbas define themselves today.

The third chapter, "Learning the Language of Blood," focuses on the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians. Unlike the previous two tribes, who had remained intact during the Indian Removal era, the Mississippi Band of Choctaws were a remnant population of those who left as a result of the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek. Though the other chapters discuss cultural aspects

of the Pamunkeys and Catawbas, "Learning the Language of Blood," thoroughly explores the relationship of Choctaw culture to their lands in what became Mississippi, including the mound they know as their place of origin, Nanih Waiya. The Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek actually allowed for those Choctaws who wished to remain to do so and retain tribal citizenship, but the General Allotment Act of 1887 led to another schism between the Choctaws. In 1899, a roll of Mississippi Choctaws was created to determine who had rights to allotments in Indian Territory, part of the federal government's attempt to move tribes from communal to private systems of ownership. Adams outlines the complex route that led to the 1,000 Choctaws remaining in Mississippi in 1907 to lose their citizenship in the Choctaw Nation, a story that includes fraudulent land claims and battles between the federal government and the Mississippi and Oklahoma Choctaws, much of which cycled around the question of blood quantum. Adams argues that the Mississippi Choctaws learned from this experience and "manipulated the language of blood to reassert their tribal sovereignty in their southeastern homelands" (131). The tribe gained federal recognition in 1945 and today numbers more than 10,500 members, all of whom must be at least "one-half Choctaw by blood" (130).

In "Contest of Sovereignty" Adams details the struggles the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians of North Carolina have had to determine their own citizenship criteria. The Eastern Band stands apart from other southeastern tribes for a number of reasons: they made land claims with the state of North Carolina prior to Removal that were contingent upon giving up Cherokee citizenship; they received federal recognition in 1868, much earlier than other southeastern tribes; they won a court case in 1874 that gave them legal title to their lands, which they called the Qualla Boundary; and they incorporated themselves in 1889 to protect themselves against the numerous trespassers and frauds ("white Indians") who attempted to steal their land (136). As a corporation they could take trespassers to court, sell timber and land, and establish a stronger political identity. As with the Mississippi Choctaws, the Allotment Era brought government representatives attempting to create a census of Eastern Band citizens, the Baker Roll. Adams notes the ways the Cherokees pushed back against the government's version of the roll which exceeded the number of individuals that the tribe accepted as meeting the requisite blood quantum of one-sixteenth. 1931, the Cherokees were successful in this fight as Congress suspended the allotment for the Qualla Boundary and agreed to their measure of one-sixteenth blood quantum. A new chapter in the question of Eastern Band citizenship began after the success of Harrah's Casino, which opened in 1997. This drew a significant number of enrollment applications, especially after the tribe began distributing biannual payments to its citizens. An independent audit was held, and its product, the Falmouth Report, has created great controversy within the tribe because it suggests that hundreds of tribal members may not meet citizenship criteria. Adams notes that "fallout from the enrollment audit is still ongoing" (167). Today, there are 14,600 members of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, and the enrollment criteria is still one-sixteenth blood quantum, as well as direct lineage from someone listed on the Baker Rolls.

The final chapter, "Nation Building and Self-Determination" details the Seminole Tribe of Florida and the Miccosukee Tribe of Indians of Florida, also remnant peoples who evaded Removal, describing how and why these tribes split as a form of self-determination. Their story is unique among southeastern Indigenous peoples because, as Adams explains, "kin ties and clan

identities instilled a sense of community belonging in the Indians[; however,] the Florida Seminoles disagreed about the political future of their tribe. Their challenge was not only to define *who* belonged to the tribe but also to determine to *what* tribe they belonged" (169). The Seminoles and Miccosukees are descended from Creeks who migrated southward from Alabama and Georgia in the eighteenth century. As with other tribes in the book, Adams describes the ways that current citizenship criteria are based in historical struggles the Seminoles and Miccosukees experienced as a result of settler colonialism. In this case, how the First, Second, and Third Seminole Wars of the nineteenth century led them to build their communities deep in the Florida swamps, eschewing interactions with whites as much as possible. Over time, within their discrete communities, it became clear that "[s]ome Seminoles believed an official tribal government and federal recognition would protect their interests in Florida, while others preferred to keep their loosely organized structure of bands led by medicine men" (171). In the 1950s, these groups split into the Seminole Tribe of Florida and the Miccosukee Tribe of Indians of Florida. These differences are reflected in the citizenship requirements of the two tribes: the Miccosukees use traditional matrilineal definitions of kinship, while the Seminoles require a direct ancestral connection to the 1957 tribal census, one quarter blood quantum, and sponsorship by a tribal citizen. The economic value of citizenship has been effectively demonstrated by the Seminoles through their gaming industries, beginning with a bingo hall in 1979 and continuing through the building of the Hard Rock casino-resorts in 2006. In fact, the court case *Seminole Tribe of Florida v. Butterworth* (1981) "paved the way for tribal gaming across the United States" (205).

Native Southerners: Indigenous History from Origins to Removal by Gregory D. Smithers and *Who Belongs?: Race, Resources, and Tribal Citizenship in the Native South* by Mikaëla M. Adams are complementary historical texts. Smithers's book is a solid introductory resource to the long history of the Native South through the mid-nineteenth century, while Adams's book deep dives into specific experiences of six southeastern tribes in the nineteenth and twentieth century, providing a surprisingly complete story of their histories as read through the lens of citizenship. Both books synthesize a number of archival and ethnographic resources, attempting to center Native experiences. Ultimately, *Native Southerners* and *Who Belongs?* are important contributions to the knowledge of a region where people often do not realize there are federally or state-recognized tribes, with the exception perhaps of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians or the Florida Seminoles. Smithers and Adams give voice to these and many more tribal experiences through their well-researched studies.

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Notes

[1] I took issue with the term "Native South" in my 2018 monograph *LeAnne Howe at the Intersections of Southern and Native American Literature* because I think it privileges the idea of the "South" as the former Confederacy and overshadows the long Indigenous history of the region, especially specific tribal identities. That said, I have heard some Indigenous peoples of

the southeastern U.S. refer to themselves as "Native Southerners," and I made the argument in my book that Howe should be considered a "southern" writer in order to expand the canon of that regional literature. In summary, I am acknowledging the problematic nature of the term "Native South," fully realizing that it has been institutionalized by the journal *Native South* and will probably remain in vogue for some time to come.

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Kent Roach. *Canadian Justice, Indigenous Injustice: The Gerald Stanley and Colten Boushie Case*. McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019. 307 pp. ISBN: 9780773556386.
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It is more than three years since Colten Boushie, a young man of the Red Pheasant Cree Nation, was murdered on the Stanley family farm in rural Saskatchewan. Gerald Stanley, the defendant whose case was constructed upon a sequence of tragic and remarkably unlikely coincidences operating in concert, was acquitted on February 9, 2018. The murder, trial, and eventual acquittal were each seismic reaffirmations of the intrinsically violent cornerstones of a settler colonial legal doctrine that serves to dispossess Indigenous peoples in Canada. In Stanley's trial, as Ken Williams (Cree from the George Gordon First Nation) commented, "the system did not fail the colonisers" and Kent Roach seeks to show his readership how and why this case is emblematic, not aberrative, of the Canadian criminal justice system (*Media Indigena*). In *Canadian Justice, Indigenous Injustice*, Roach unpacks the negligent policework, sub-par prosecution, and judicial irregularities that yielded a not-guilty verdict. In doing so, he illustrates that these very inexplicabilities are deeply embedded within the settler colonial imaginary of a lawful Canada.

Canadian Justice, Indigenous Injustice traces a significant instance of the "gap between law and justice" in the Colten Boushie murder trial, wherein a more fundamental legal argument unfurled by proxy (179). A shift occurred, incrementally but steadily, whereby the defence of one's property mutated from being the source of Gerald Stanley's exculpation from blame, to being his tacit justification for the murder. The transformational undercurrents at play resemble the dynamics of what Unangax scholar Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang term "settler moves to innocence… those strategies or positionings that attempt to relieve the settler of feelings of guilt or responsibility without giving up land or power or privilege, without having to change much at all" (10). Roach's account follows a path that is acutely attuned to this fraught context, and his analytical methodology draws on histories that exist within and without the Canadian legal canon to underscore "the impossibility of reconciliation unless there is a full accounting of the truth, and specifically, the multi-faceted and multi-generational harms of colonialism on Indigenous people" (12).

Of course, many would curtail that quoted sentiment at reconciliation. Numerous scholars, including Billy-Ray Belcourt (Driftpile Cree Nation), have argued compellingly that reconciliation represents "an affective mess… stubbornly ambivalent in its potentiality" with a tremendously disproportionate pressure on Indigenous peoples to accede to the state's levelling terms. That Roach's contribution so effectively demonstrates the fundamental absurdity of what Yellowknives Dene scholar Glen Coulthard calls "the optics of recognition and reconciliation" which "produce neocolonial subjectivities" in the legal sphere is, however, ironically inconsistent with his reluctance to question reconciliation as a vehicle for the Indigenous justice he champions (156). I raise this tension here to give a lens for my review; Roach does timely and impressive work in *Canadian Justice, Indigenous Injustice*, but it is work that is sometimes flecked with strange foci and odd critical omissions. If it is the case that truth "may be a barrier to reconciliation," then a more rigorous examination of the criteria that coalesce to constitute reconciliation is required (12).

Roach explains at the outset that his project uses "a criminal process approach" to undertake a holistic study of the justice process from policework through to sentencing, across legal representation and media representation. This slant is deployed to "place the Stanley/Boushie case in its larger historical, political, social, and legal context," and thus exposes a slew of deeply lodged, interwoven deficiencies of the Canadian judicial system that contravene the

superficial equality and plurality of sovereignties that the nation espouses (11). Roach identifies the most egregious aspects of the trial to be ones that sit well within the bounds of Canadian judicial protocol, encapsulating the structural inequities that exacerbate these issues. It is an impressive take-down of the fallacious paradigm of neutrality that buttresses Canadian (and more generally settler colonial) law writ large; a framework that "enables actors of the settler state [to] continue their predictable looped playback of regret, apologies and promises for a better tomorrow" (Nunn, 1331), as evinced by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's controversial "we must do better" afterword contribution to the proceedings.

The first chapters establish the lattice of historical, socio-economic, and political contexts that precipitate the current legal relationship between the settler province of Saskatchewan and its Indigenous peoples. Roach is firm that "[c]riminal trials" such as Gerald Stanley's "should not be a contest of historical grievances. But if they become one, there should be equality of arms" and any such parity must begin with a sustained inquiry into Canada's grievous colonial history (169). The bulk is subsequently dedicated to examining the trial with this social history foregrounded, taken in tandem with a number of criminal cases that share parallels with Boushie's murder. Roach then turns to the legislative and social legacies of the case for Indigenous and non-Indigenous folks. He gestures toward proposals for judicial reform that stress the remedial potential of Canada's Numbered Treaties and the inclusion of Indigenous legal frameworks, congruent with Shiri Pasternak's claim that "simultaneous operations of law may take place in a single area, across distinctive epistemological and ontological frameworks" (148).

The cloaked prejudices that feed into demographic jury selection, the controversial use of peremptory challenges, and the racialised denigration of Indigenous witnesses in the Boushie murder to preclude Indigenous presence in the trial all receive a wealth of scrutiny. These are patently unsurprising—yet unexpectedly complex—phenomena that Roach guides his reader through adroitly. Indeed, the author excels at expressing dense legal traditions in a near-narrative manner that is simultaneously comprehensible for the non-expert reader and compelling to the specialist. Legal argot is accompanied not just by explication, but by direct application to verbatim, human excerpts from the trial transcript, then extrapolated to comment on the structural fabric of the Canadian justice system. Stanley's defence peremptorily dismissed five "visibly Indigenous jurors" from an already underrepresented pool of eligible candidates and, in a move entirely compliant with the Canadian legal mechanisms, was not obliged to provide a reason (95). Roach conceptualises the notoriety of these challenges not just in terms of the lightning rod that they represented to the case, but also the myriad concealed prejudices and clusters of structurally racist policies that such tactics reinforced. Implicit bias is one such factor that Roach grapples with throughout, with particular reference to the inadequacy of combatting it via the specious notion of randomness in the judicial process.

"Eliminating" bias, in fact, simply transfers it to a faux point of neutrality within an inherently discriminatory legal architecture. This is not to say that the elimination of bias is not a worthwhile pursuit, but that this purported panacea is often yet another settler move to innocence. Roach observes that the court and, by extension, the settler-Canadian social imaginary have "elevated random selection that treated everyone the same over substantive equality that [is] attentive to disproportionate impact" (101); random selection unfailingly privileges the majority at the expense of minorities. This is the type of ersatz parity that comes under steady fire throughout as a covert tool of Indigenous suppression, and Roach

emphasises that it is incumbent upon members of a just society to "question public exercises of power even by twelve anonymous fellow citizens who are conscripted to do a difficult job" (13).

Roach concomitantly forwards a persuasive take on just how entrenched property has become to the notion of just cause. This is not necessarily new ground, but Roach does give an especially cogent interpretation. A self-defence gambit was never employed by Stanley, yet Roach calls out the inferred omnipresence of defence of property throughout the trial to reveal that "the boundaries between defence of property and self-defence are fluid" in this and other murders of Indigenous people (204). I hear Roach's argument as echoing the type of critical charge levied against the similarly "neutral" anatomy of the sciences by Ojibwe pedagogist Megan Bang and Douglas Medin; Roach ceaselessly foregrounds the notion that the hard questions and answers that arise from Colten Boushie's murder "depend on who's asking" (Medin and Bang 10). Roach even goes so far as to suggest that a jury comprising both Indigenous and non-Indigenous representatives could be parsed as a right conferred by the peacekeeping clause of Treaty 6. It is in such moments of bold acuity that *Canadian Justice, Indigenous Injustice* excels.

Unfortunately, these elements are occasionally lost in a barrage of procedural information. It is creditable that Roach endeavours to write for a lay-audience, but one gets the sense that he does not always trust them enough to grasp the salient points informing his perspective. Passages in the text where Roach lingers on details of the trial that he has already covered comprehensively could be sacrificed to more fully explore Indigenous legal alternatives, as he does with the appeal to the Treaty 6's peacekeeping clause and the Numbered Treaties more generally. Essential yet ultimately swollen sections on Stanley's hang fire defence and the peremptory challenges that were evoked in the trial could be condensed to good effect. In return for this trade-off, Roach could devote sufficient space to begin to follow up the question posed by the final chapter "Can We Do Better?" with "How Can We Do Better?"

Gerald Stanley's acquittal generated international ripples within Canada and without. Bill C-75, passed into law in June 2019, amended the Criminal Code to abolish peremptory challenges, in order to nullify discriminatory deployment. Writing prior to the bill's Royal Assent, Roach argues that C-75 is a necessary step, yet still insufficient on the greater scale. Alongside other band-aid measures, there "may be improvements" that arise from such piecemeal reforms, "but they do not even begin to address the legacy of colonial and systematic discrimination" that they purport to solve (207). Abolishing peremptory challenges amounts to papering over the problem of Indigenous exclusion within the judicial system without confronting the lack of active Indigenous inclusion, two issues which Roach locates as intimately related, but not diametric. Consequently, Roach proposes a remedial tactic that foregrounds Indigenous treaties in the redress of the Crown's racist justice system.

His line of reasoning here is promising but unavoidably inchoate, in line with Mi'kmaq scholar Bonita Lawrence's contention that the settler colonial formation "produces a way of thinking—a grammar—which embeds itself in every attempt to change it" (25). As Anishinaabe legal theorist John Borrows explains in his foreword, "treaties between Indigenous Peoples and the Crown are foundational agreements. They formed our country on the Prairies and beyond. They are also our highest law because they are constitutionally recognized and affirmed" (viii). This is a reconciliatory sentiment that Roach carries forward, and indeed one part of an important discussion that goes otherwise untouched. Though sophisticated and astute, Roach's critique fails to adequately interrogate the dicey presupposition that the Numbered Treaties are themselves appropriate rubrics for harmony

between an inherently possessive settler colonial state and Indigenous peoples. Borrows attests that "[c]olonization has broken both the Treaty and Aboriginal law and cultural teachings" (xii). Yet we must also remember that colonization brokered the terms of Treaty 6. Not unilaterally, of course—I do not mean to diminish the roles that Indigenous Peoples had in the design and negotiation of treaties—yet the very presence of The Crown as a party to this negotiation is proof positive of colonialism's embeddedness as an actant in the diplomatic process, not just the cause of its failure. Indeed, Scott Richard Lyons (Ojibwe/Dakota) has argued forcefully against the reductive and racist narrative of Indigenous gullibility that clings to the idea of informed assent via the use of "X-marks" in early treaty-making with colonising forces.

By and large, Roach follows in just this spirit. He refuses to rest on a deleterious dichotomy of Indigenous absence and presence, and this complexity underpins most of his thesis. Yet where Lyons' complication of the internal agonistics of such "coerced signs of consent made under conditions not of our own making but with hopes of a better future" executes a difficult balancing act (40), *Canadian Justice, Indigenous Injustice* leans at times a little too far towards a reading that implies a jarring colonial ambivalence. Roach acknowledges that Treaty 6 was finally fully signed in the December of 1882 when many of the Indigenous peoples it was to apply to faced starvation, and "the physical hunger of Indigenous people and colonial government's fears about possible conflict with them were factors in the negotiation of Treaty 6" (17). Despite this awareness, he hesitates to trouble the matrices of power that inhere in that embryonic political context. For all of the excellent work that Roach performs to foreground Indigenous legal understandings in *Canadian Justice, Indigenous Injustice*, he consistently couches this work in a tenor of mutual aid which invariably conjures an attendant implication of mutual responsibility. I do not doubt Roach's intentions, but as the breadth of his investigation should suggest, enriching the state of Canada "by greater awareness of, and respect for, Indigenous law" (232) is unequivocally not a responsibility of Indigenous communities; it is a hitherto enforced legacy.

Roach asserts regularly that the Treaties held between the Crown and First Nations hold the potential to provide informative guides for the future of justice as "a foundation to reclaim common ground on the basis of mutual consent and assistance" but without the specificity one would hope to see (37). Roach seems to expend a lot of energy on the premise that the Treaties *can* work and perhaps not enough on looking at the manifold material and social conditions that have fed into their historical inefficacy in buttressing the rights of Indigenous peoples in Canada. Scholarship on the subject of the politics of reconciliation by Indigenous theorists is rich and somewhat conspicuous by its absence from Roach's argument. Nonetheless, his approach reminds us that observance of treaties is not optional, and that adherence is not somehow gracious on the part of the settler state. Despite the aforementioned paucity of Indigenous critics, Roach never descends into prescription—there is no pretension to fully understand nor judge Indigenous laws, only a demand for the space for Indigenous communities to define and apply these laws (229).

During his analysis of the Indigenous witnesses at Stanley's trial, Roach relays the important ways in which the Canadian court was complicit in the infringement of Cree law. Eric Meechance and Belinda Jackson were both friends of Colten Boushie's and witnesses to his murder. Quite aside from disparaging their trustworthiness with barely veiled racial prejudice, Stanley's lawyer Scott Spencer "confronted Jackson with a photo of the deceased as he had already done the day before with Meechance… a violation of Cree law with respect to a deceased's journey after death" (156). On neither occasion did anyone outside of the court's gallery pay mind to this significance. Key here is the way in which Roach situates this

instance of injustice within a frame that is not constrained to a discussion of mere cultural difference, which, in the hierarchical settler purview, is a category that occupies a position below that of the law. Roach is talking about Cree laws, not Cree beliefs, and this is where his work exhibits a generative deviation from the settler colonial historical norm which presumes Indigenous alternatives to be "a soft form of law" (228). Liberal Canada pays ample lip-service to ambiguous notions of Indigenous self-determination yet tends to hold fast to its juridical singularity without any substantive concession. The nation is consistently recalcitrant towards accepting that the "normative lifeways and resurgent practices" expressed by Indigenous peoples might nourish "alternative structures of law and sovereign authority" that are "grounded on a critical refashioning of the best of Indigenous legal and political traditions" (Coulthard 179). By illuminating the pervasiveness of this national systemic attitude against Indigenous legal self-determination, Roach makes the intrinsic violence that attends to it abundantly clear. Perhaps even to a fault.

Roach made the decision not to involve Colten Boushie's family during the book's production, a decision which I think bears some coverage here. As a methodological choice, Roach conscientiously elects not to interview anybody personally involved in the case to "avoid increasing the trauma they already have experienced" (11). However, according to a report by Ntawnis Piapot (Piapot Cree Nation), aspects of Roach's rehashing of the story have performed this traumatising work regardless. Colten's cousin Jade Tootoosis was critical of the fact that the Boushie/Baptiste family were neither asked for their consent nor forewarned of the book's production and release, which fell near the one-year anniversary of Stanley's acquittal (Piapot). Tootoosis also objected to the book's original cover: a vertically split panel, half black, half red, with Gerald Stanley's face set in dotwork style alongside one of the photos of Colten Boushie most used by the media. It is an admittedly coarse image that has since been changed by the publisher at Roach's request.

That being said, with its timeliness and potential for wide-ranging appeal, Roach's contribution to this conversation could have a wide influence on reading lists in the field of Canadian law and settler colonial jurisdiction more broadly. This book provides crucial insight into the areas where the law and justice enjoy scant nodes of commonality, avowing that Indigenous laws must not be blithely binarised as adversarial to Canadian law but instead as concurrent and coherent alternatives. Roach offers a narrative of inequity that, despite its maddening injustices, starts to desanctify the monotheorism of settler law and instead travels toward an understanding of "the many-tentacled system by which indigenous law and federal Canadian law can relate" in ways that are not *de facto* antagonistic (Garcia 268). This work delineates a vital move. But instead of being a move towards settler innocence, the kind of mutually integrative relationships between Indigenous and settler laws that Roach marks out a nascent trajectory for start to move away from settler innocence or, at the least, rigid settler definitions of innocence. One would hope for further scholarship to continue along this trajectory and to readily understand, as Roach does here, that "Indigenous laws" are just that and not a euphemism for something else. This kind of scholarship is already emerging apace. Spearheaded by John Borrows and Val Napoleon (Saulteau First Nation), The University of Victoria in Canada launched the "world's first Indigenous law program" in 2018 from which students will "graduate with professional degrees in both Canadian Common Law (Juris Doctor or JD) and Indigenous Legal Orders (Juris Indigenarum Doctor or JID)" ("World's First Indigenous Law Program"). Though interactions between Indigenous peoples' laws and settler laws will doubtless be characterised by "[c]ontingency and incommensurability," endeavours like this engage in the "complex process of affective labor" (Rowe and Tuck 8) needed for any wider imbrication of legal frameworks to occur. And it is within the reading

lists of such projects, subject to approbation and problematisation, that Roach's work could be of assistance.

With his incisive interrogation of the various settler moves to innocence made during the Stanley trial, the incendiary media coverage, and what the legislative aftermath represents, Roach's contribution reminds us that declaring "'[n]ot this' makes a difference even if it does not immediately produce a propositional otherwise" (Povinelli 192). The recognition and integration of Indigenous legal and cosmological understandings that Roach advocates will help to orient discourses of Indigenous law and serve as an augmentative perspective to the decolonisation of Canada's legal system.

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Theodore C. Van Alst, Jr. *Sacred Smokes*. University of New Mexico Press, 2018. 162 pp. ISBN: 9780826359902
https://unmpress.com/books/sacred-smokes/9780826359902

Intriguing are the ways in which one's subjective perception of the content or spirit of a book may match or fail to mesh with the dominant hook by which it is summarized and marketed. In the case of *Sacred Smokes*, the University of New Mexico Press stresses the selling point of a "story of a Native American gang member in Chicago." With such a cue, a potential reader might be tempted to begin making comparisons between *Sacred Smokes* and Tommy Orange's smash hit novel, *There There*, published in 2018 within two months of *Sacred Smokes*, which centers on a cast of mostly deracinated, dysfunctional Natives in Oakland, California, and, on the whole, obsesses on the idea of 3D-printed firearms. However, such a superficial comparison would miss the mark since *Sacred Smokes* contains a great deal more depth, energy, and vitality.

Theodore Van Alst, Jr.'s work is a raw, torrid Bildungsroman about tough city kids and adolescents in the 1970s and 80s, sometimes focusing on a fraught relationship between a father and longhair son—for example, "Old Gold Couch" is a stone classic that will, if there is justice in this world, become anthologized and taught. With humor and pathos, Van Alst ponders inheritance and habits, friendship, masculinity (toxic and otherwise), rebellion, and forming a code of conduct. He considers what it means to be working class and Indian in "the city of big shoulders," to quote Carl Sandburg's poem, "Chicago." There is much laughter here among the reader and characters, as we often hear Teddy "laughing the stormy, husky, brawling laughter of Youth," again Sandburg's words. In many ways, as I hope to show, Benjamin Franklin is a much more apt comparison point for this entertaining story of self-improvement and growth. The tone, style, and sentiment of *Sacred Smokes*, however, are more reminiscent of Chicago writer Nelson Algren (*The Man with the Golden Arm*; *Walk on the Wild Side*), Harlan Ellison, Junot Díaz, Bret Easton Ellis, and Stephen Graham Jones, whose short fiction Van Alst collected and edited for *The Faster Redder Road*. Although Ben Franklin might be seen as an odd figure to compare with Van Alst, he was something of an ally to American Indians since, in the 1780s, Franklin praised the manners and customs of New England Indians, contrasting them with the ubiquitous chicanery of exploitative American settlers in "Remarks Concerning the Savages of North America."

Sacred Smokes is incredibly funny and compelling, and its voice is lively and freely digressive, almost always in a good way. It is vibrant and vital, brimming with confidence and brio. These are apparently the author's life stories which, while they may be embellished or fictionalized, seem to be derived from his impoverished upbringing in Chicago. *Sacred Smokes* could be called a story cycle, or a novel, but it has the heart of a memoir. It has no evident political agenda; it just tells amazingly funny, surprising, heartbreaking, and sometimes violent stories with a sense of the joy of storytelling—and of living. It is somehow both hard-boiled and emotional, hilarious and poignant. One punchy story ends, and immediately the eye is caught by the opening line of the next, pulling the reader further. This is a great CHICAGO book, one that recollects the edgy 1970s and 80s, the street-fights and shenanigans at Pottawattomie Park, and gang fashion fetishes to die for, perhaps literally. Van Alst elaborates the semiotics of gang sweaters, which were bright, outrageously colorful varsity-style cardigan sweaters, in two categories of "war sweaters" and "party sweaters," which became war trophies. The narrator explains: "back then

those cardigan-style sweaters were the shit—they were everything. Those were your colors" (18). *Sacred Smokes* shares the Nelson Algren vibe in its romantic celebration of those on the margins of society as the salt of the earth, and its depiction of those in power as grotesque, greedy animals. For example, older gang members who had done time were likely some of the best people the narrator had ever known, even up to the present. The book seems to implicitly echo Sandburg's challenge: "Come and show me another city with lifted head singing so proud to be alive and coarse and strong and cunning" (Sandburg 14-15). Another innovative aspect that merits mention is the novel's striking use of unorthodox typography and gothic fonts and crown icons when referring to gang names, which are often turned upside down. The University of New Mexico Press must be praised for the book's design by Felicia Cedillos, which is hip and contemporary; the cover painting in the leger art tradition is by Blackfoot artist, Lauren Monroe.

Sacred Smokes, although undoubtedly a great work of contemporary Native American literature, extends and updates some enduring tropes and traditions in American literature and culture. It is actually quite Benjamin Franklin-esque, which, again, might seem like a surprising comparison to make about an edgy, "gang-related" work of Chicago fiction, but hear me out. In this book, the protagonist rises from poverty and urban squalor through initiative and hard work. Through his father and other figures, such as his employer at a local Italian restaurant, Teddy learns diligence and practical skills, eventually lifting himself out of poverty through his intelligence and willpower. We should note that the author is a success story, an associate professor and the Chair of Native American Studies at the University of Montana, and a former Assistant Dean and Director of the Native American Cultural Center at Yale University, among other distinctions. This book is not a vindictive gripe-fest about oppression and racism. In the book, racial antipathy flows in multiple directions; thin-skinned white readers, though I doubt they are reading *Transmotion*, might whine that, with a couple of exceptions, every white or "whiteish" character in this book is of poor character, avaricious, repellent, grotesque, and usually worthy of the scathing, on-target satire, beating, or bullet he receives. But this is, after all, a book that begins with an epigraph from the report of an Indian agent in 1854, writing that the Blackfeet (Sihasapa) band of Sioux, from whom Van Alst seems to be descended, along with the Honepapas (Hunkpapa), were "continually warring and committing depredations on whites and neighboring tribes, killing men and stealing horses. They even defy the Great White Father, the President, and declare their intention to murder indiscriminately all that come within their reach. They, of all Indians, are now the dreaded on the Missouri" (Van Alst, n.p.). However, white people are also seen as a group who generally live well, who saw something they wanted, and took it; growing up working-class, Teddy is envious, and wishes to have what they have. At the same time, he does not paint the world as one that categorically denies success and its trappings to people of color, though it presents special challenges to them. Rather, the world of this book is somewhat Nietzschean; the world is indifferent, and can be absurd, but individuals who exhibit drive, intelligence, and the Will to Power find ways to improve themselves. In frigid Chicago, dwelling in a marginal neighborhood, Teddy would often dream of the "warm air at night" of the West Coast, we are told in "Push It" (114). He imagines the trio of characters in the Nicholas Ray film *Rebel Without a Cause* famously played by James Dean, Sal Mineo, and Natalie Wood, at the Griffith Park Observatory in Los Angeles:

> these kids could be make-believe parents too someday, less than zero parents, sure, but they'll have kids of their own, and they'll live in nice houses, ones with year-round azaleas

> and pools and tiled roofs, and they'll have that warm air at night and, shit, well I want that too, how the fuck is it these people get that, claim that, own that, like it was left at their doorstep and they just had to take it, no questions asked? Where and *what, after all, is justice but someone taking some goddamn initiative any goddamn way?* (115, my emphasis)

It is a bit Nietzsche and quite Franklin in the sense that Teddy learns the lessons of thrift, diligence (Industry), innovation, and reading habits that are counseled by Franklin in his Autobiography and in his iterations of *Old Richard's Almanac*. Teddy first learns a lesson the hard way in "Old Gold Couch" when he neglects to do his chore, washing the stacks of dishes in the sink, day after day, until this negligence finally prompts his father to do something shocking and drastic. The lesson sinks in. (This story also includes a wonderful allusion to Gordon Lightfoot telling stories "from the Chippewa on down about the big lake they call Gitchigoomi" (8); the pop culture references are wide and knowing).

Continuing the Franklin theme, in "Lordsprayer" the protagonist's father tasks Teddy with memorizing "the Lordsprayer" before he can go out, and the experience of being given a new challenge, and using one's abilities and ingenuity to meet the challenge and reach one's desired end is another life lesson from dear ole dad, who, though often drunk and undemonstrative, yet conveys some bits of wisdom and advice to his son over the years. Thanks to his "lesson in memory," in the future, Ted is able to memorize swatches of critical theory, such as the excerpt from Vizenor's *Manifest Manners* he memorized decades later (anthologized in the *Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*), which becomes a meta-commentary on the book we are reading: "Postindian autobiographies, the averments of tribal descent, and the assertions of crossblood identities, are simulations in literature; that names, nicknames, and the shadows of ancestors are stories is an invitation to new theories of tribal interpretation" (qtd. in Van Alst 32). Germane to *Sacred Smokes*, Vizenor also writes in *Manifest Manners*: "The Postindian simulations and shadows counter the dominance of histories and the dickered testimonies of representations; at the same time, trickster stories, transformations, and the shimmers of tribal consciousness are heard in the literature of survivance" (63).

Like Ben Franklin and Sherman Alexie, Teddy always has his nose in a book, an avid reader who thirsts for knowledge, as seen in "Great America." (One story is about the tragedy of a friend's illiteracy.) In "Blood on the Tracks/No Mas," Teddy shows how he learned lessons of thrift from his father, who gave him a dollar a week. By necessity, he learns how to stretch nickels and dimes, and when pennies aren't going far enough, he takes a job at an Italian restaurant and works his ass off. He learns how to cook all kinds of things, which is a lesson he applies daily in cooking for his family, the narrator says, and he boasts that, decades later, he even pleases Martha Stewart with one of his scrumptious sangies (sic). In "Push It," Teddy embodies the American virtues of innovation and entrepreneurship. After hitchhiking to New Orleans with a friend and becoming stranded temporarily, while hanging out in a bar, a "handsome white man" with a heavy New Orleans accent asks him what he's up to. Teddy says nothing much, he's broke. The man asks if he has any skills, and Teddy replies that he paints faces. The man gives Teddy a twenty-dollar bill. Teddy buys the face paint, hits the streets, works hard, makes a hundred bucks, and gives the handsome white man forty in thanks for his twenty-dollar loan. "I knew you be good for dis. Good job, bwai" (122). Even though we see

Teddy intermittently drinking and occasionally snorting lines, he yet embodies Franklin's virtue of temperance in the sense that he rejects the cannabis haze that many of his young peers often settled into, wishing to be more present and motivated.

Given that *Sacred Smokes* and *There There* were published within a few months of each other and are both about urban Indians, it is impossible not to compare their relative merit here. *There There* does not compare favorably to *Sacred Smokes*, although it has been widely acclaimed by follow-the-leader book reviewers and perpetrators of "book-chat," as Gore Vidal put it. Although readers I know and respect, both Native and non-Native, have privately noted their disappointment in discovering a gap between the novel's merit and its critical accolades, it would seem this assessment is an "incorrect" view that usually remains unuttered and that editors fear to publish. Relentlessly dark, contrived, and weak in characterization, this Oakland novel is notable mostly as a critical and commercial triumph for a new Native American writer, not for literary or aesthetic excellence. Its author seems to have been unaware of much of the rich history of Native American literature that preceded his bestseller. When he was writing it, despite the fact that N. Scott Momaday's *House Made of Dawn* (1968), the famous novel that kicked off the Native American Renaissance, is partly set in Los Angeles, and several later novels by writers such as Vizenor, Alexie, Janet Campbell Hale, and Louise Erdrich had urban settings, Orange believed that the urban Indian experience had never been portrayed in literature, "as far as [he] could tell," as Orange told *Mother Jones* last year. The novel fortuitously benefitted from, first, good timing: its publication was contemporaneous with the decline of the #metoo-ed Sherman Alexie—who is referenced in *Sacred Smokes* as the subject of a talk given by the grown-up narrator at a Native American Literature Symposium panel in the presence of his Aunties. Second, *There There* benefitted from marketing savvy and major-press muscle: a bright orange and yellow cover reminiscent of a traffic cone matches the memorable moniker "Tommy Orange," which is a great brand name like Tommy Hilfiger, Orange Julius, or Billy Collins. Such branding was instilled in Orange growing up in an embarrassing way: "I very much knew I was white because my mom is white. She has orange hair, her last name is Orange, we had an orange van at one point," Orange told the CBC. Of course, it is not nice to make fun of someone's name, but this is *Transmotion* and I am liberated to do so by the spirit of Gerald Vizenor with his precedent of, among many other satiric depictions, mocking Ojibwe AIM leader and cocaine dealer Clyde Bellecourt as Coke De Fountain in his 1988 novel, *The Trickster of Liberty* (111-113).

The trickster spirit of Vizenor similarly flows through *Sacred Smokes*. Just as the media in the early 1970s tripped over themselves to glorify and cover the "right on" actions of AIM, a group that Vizenor criticized at length, so today does the media, focused on identity politics but fairly ignorant of questions of literary quality, bend over backwards to hail *There There* as this new literary sensation. Blazoned on the cover are two BIG feathers (natch) that clearly signify "Indian" to the potential book buyer noticing stacks of the book in an airport or Barnes & Noble; and an-easy-to-remember title that makes facile reference to both Radiohead and Gertrude Stein but connotes an urban Indian's yearning for Indigenous land that was expropriated and covered up with pavement and railroad tracks. Although *There There* is well-plotted, it is ultimately a workmanlike, nihilistic novel with little in the way of a redeeming message. It seems as influenced by an episode of *24* as much as any literary work (though *The Brief and Wondrous Life of Oscar Wao* sometimes comes to mind), with everything closing in suspensefully on the

Oakland pow-wow. The novel's cast is just as ill-fated as the crew of the *Pequod* in *Moby-Dick*, but less memorable in that some of its multiple dysphoric narrators and characters can sometimes blend together. *There There* is premised in tragic victimry, to use Gerald Vizenor's phrase, giving many white and other non-Native readers the opportunity to submerge in guilt and despair over how fucked-up these urban Indians are, and really, how degrading life is in general.

That sense of tragic victimry critiqued by Vizenor, who is quoted early in Van Alst's book, is exactly what is elegantly avoided in *Sacred Smokes*. *There There* makes the reader feel bad, but many of its readers *want* to feel bad, as in Lo, The Poor Urban Indian! Yet the literati so wanted a replacement for Sherman Alexie. But this kind of thinking, of there being a place for just *one* special American Indian writer known to the mainstream, is insidious and ignorant, when currently there is a boon of talent including Van Alst, Tiffany Midge, Erika T. Wurth, and Natalie Diaz, to mention just a few. This raises the question, why is a so-so book such as *There There* enjoying mega success with Knopf, while Van Alst's markedly superior *Sacred Smokes* was published by a Southwestern academic press? Though it has received awards such as the Tillie Olsen Award for Creative Writing, in comparison its audience is much smaller and more reliant on word of mouth. Unquestionably, it deserves a much wider readership.

Overall, *Sacred Smokes* is an inspirational story that is simultaneously raw and poignant and, in an odd way, an instructive tale illustrating the virtues of diligence, innovation, and applying one's native talents. Theodore Van Alst, Jr. has created an exciting, compelling, and major work of literature.

Michael Snyder, University of Oklahoma

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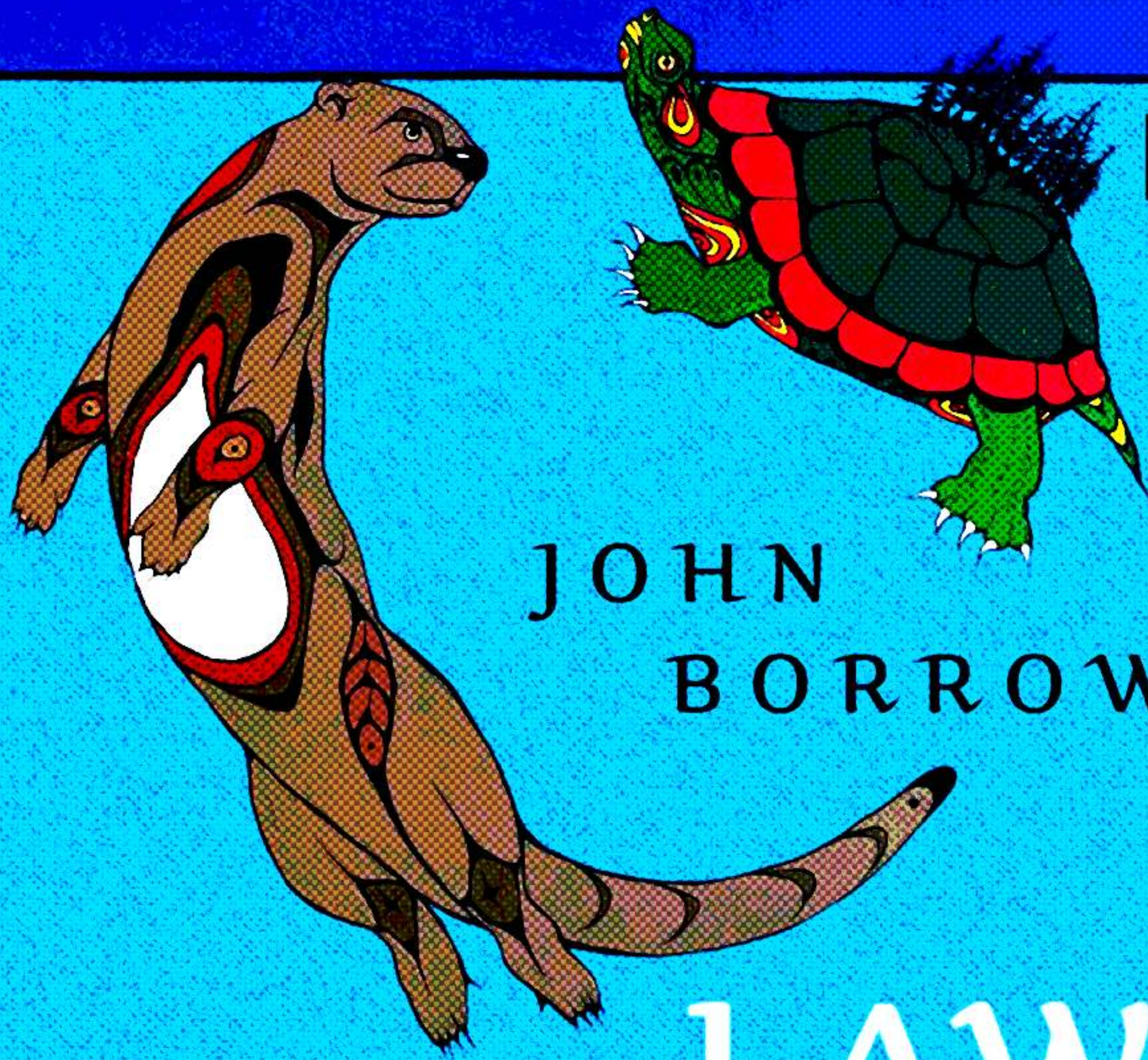
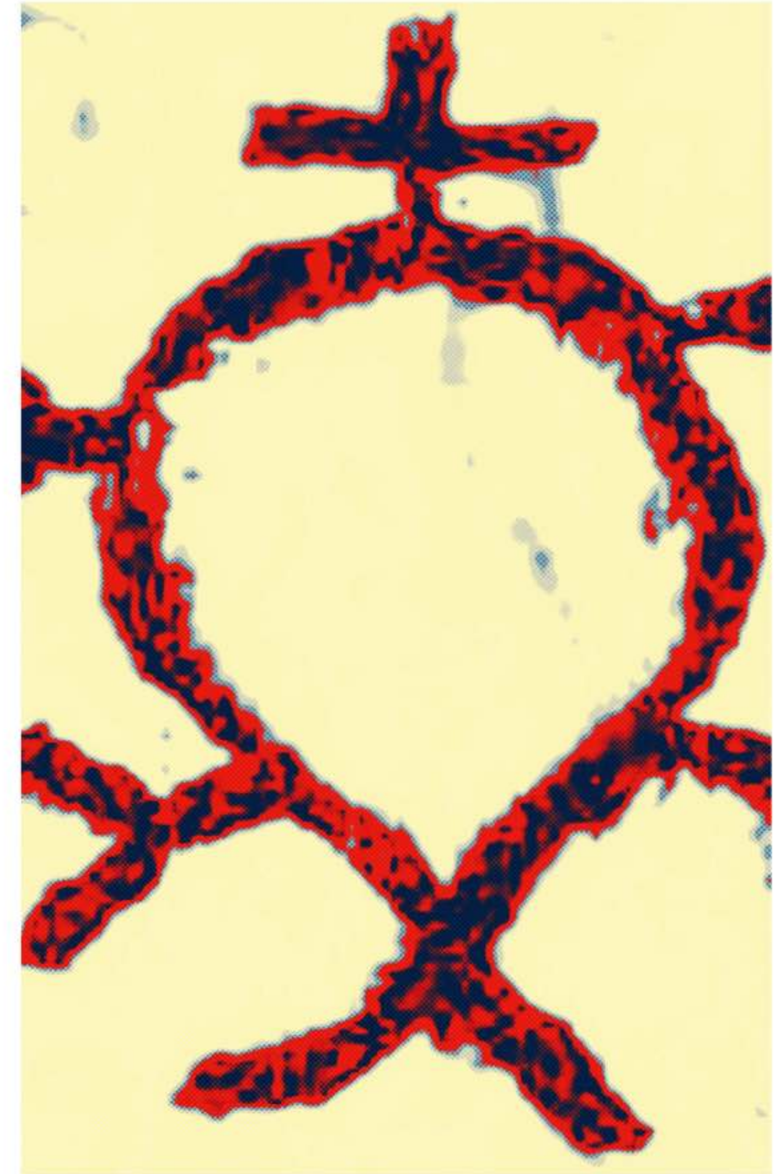
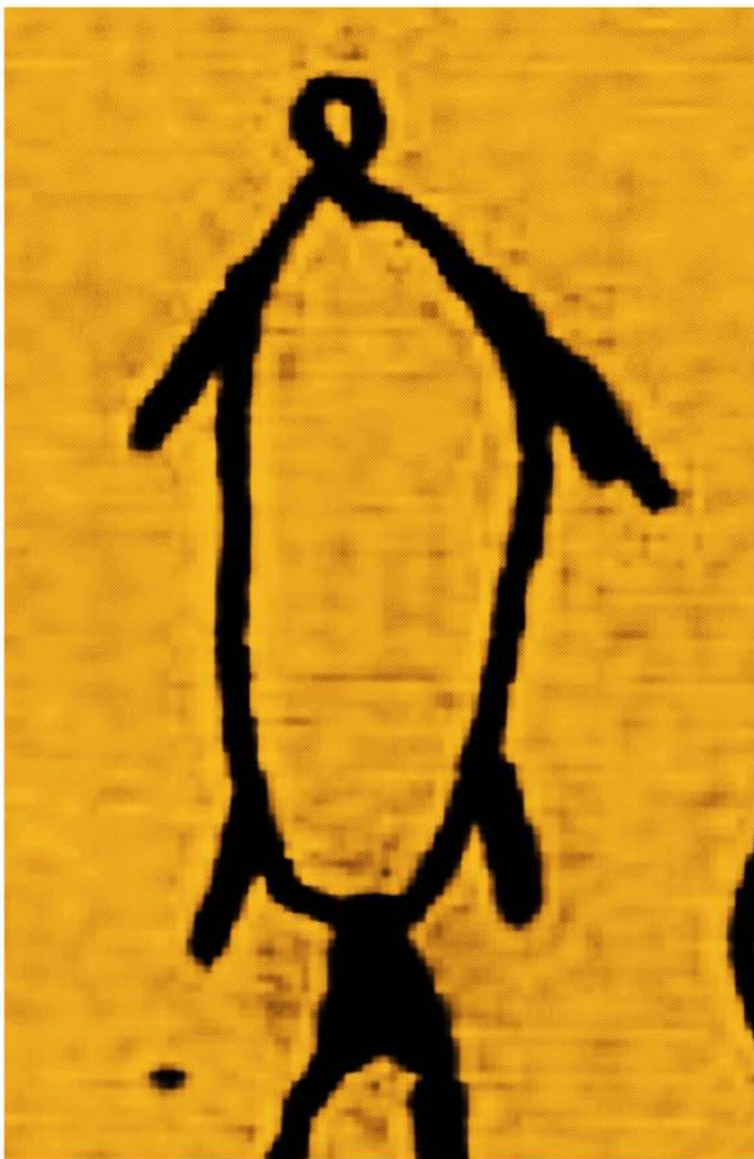
Transmotion, Volume 5, No. 2

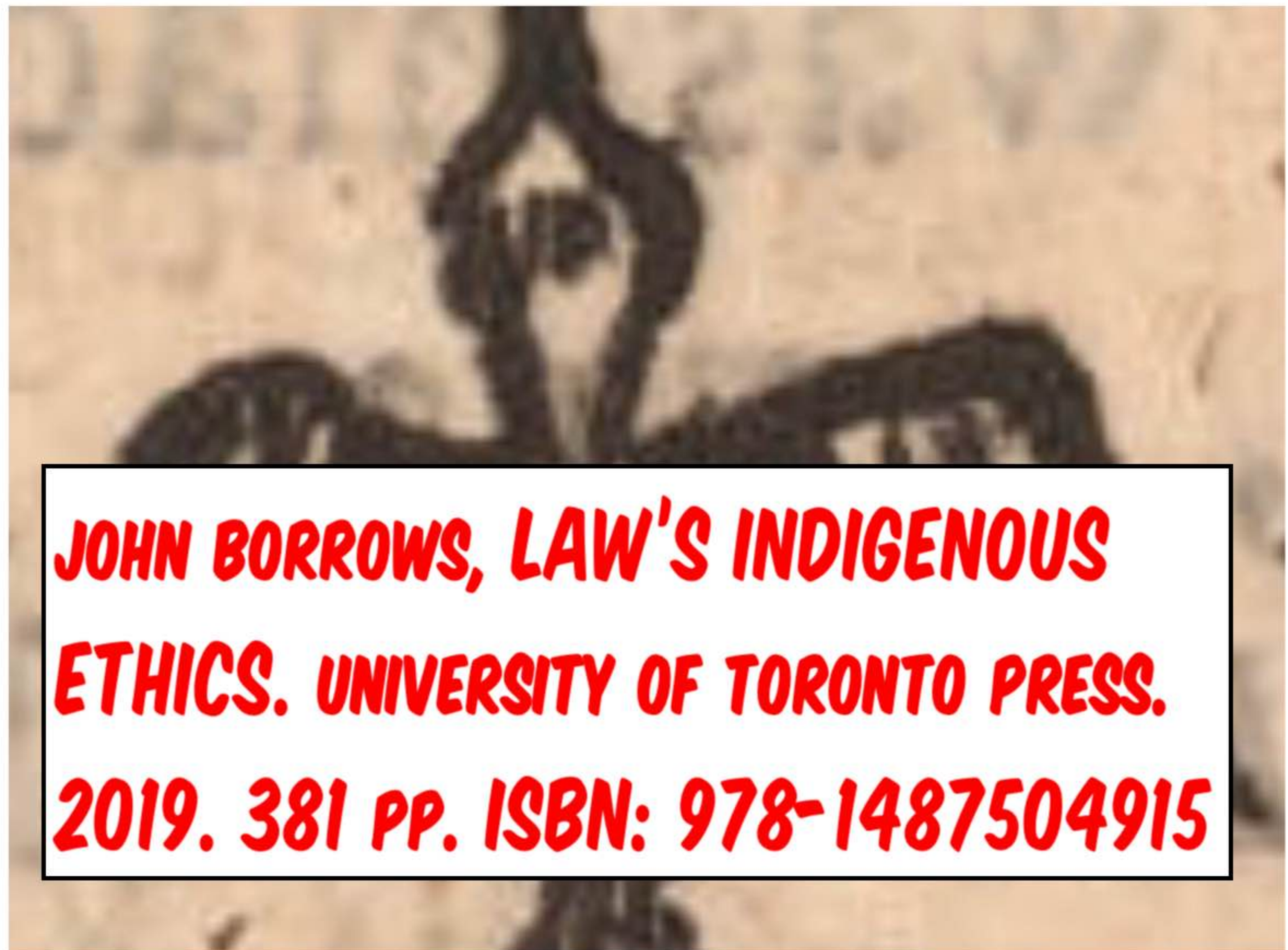
Review Essay: The Rise of Anishinaabe Jurisprudence



Matthew L.M. Fletcher







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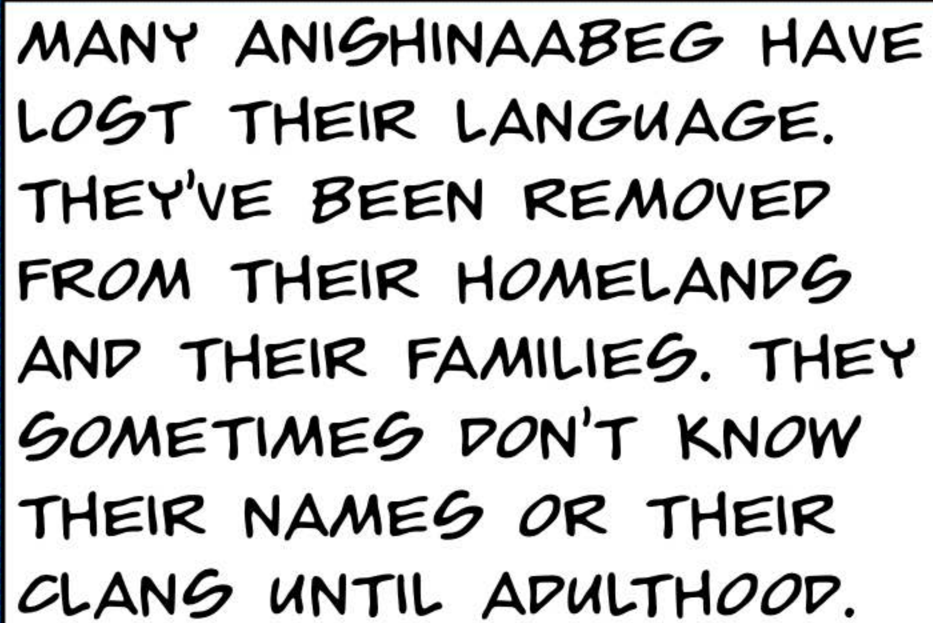

MANY ANISHINAABEG HAVE LOST THEIR LANGUAGE. THEY'VE BEEN REMOVED FROM THEIR HOMELANDS AND THEIR FAMILIES. THEY SOMETIMES DON'T KNOW THEIR NAMES OR THEIR CLANS UNTIL ADULTHOOD.
JOHN BORROWS HELPS US FILL IN THE GAPS IN OUR THINKING.
MODERN ANISHINAABE GOVERNMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES DO THINGS DIFFERENTLY THAN OTHER AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS. BUT SOMETIMES WE DON'T KNOW WHY.
"**LAW'S INDIGENOUS ETHICS**" WAS WRITTEN WITH CANADIAN FIRST NATIONS IN MIND BUT THIS WORK IS INCREDIBLY VALUABLE TO AMERICAN ANISHINAABE PEOPLE AS WELL.

THE SEVEN GIFTS

ZAAGI'IDIWIN — LOVE

DEBWEWIN — TRUTH

ZOONGIDE'IWIN — BRAVERY

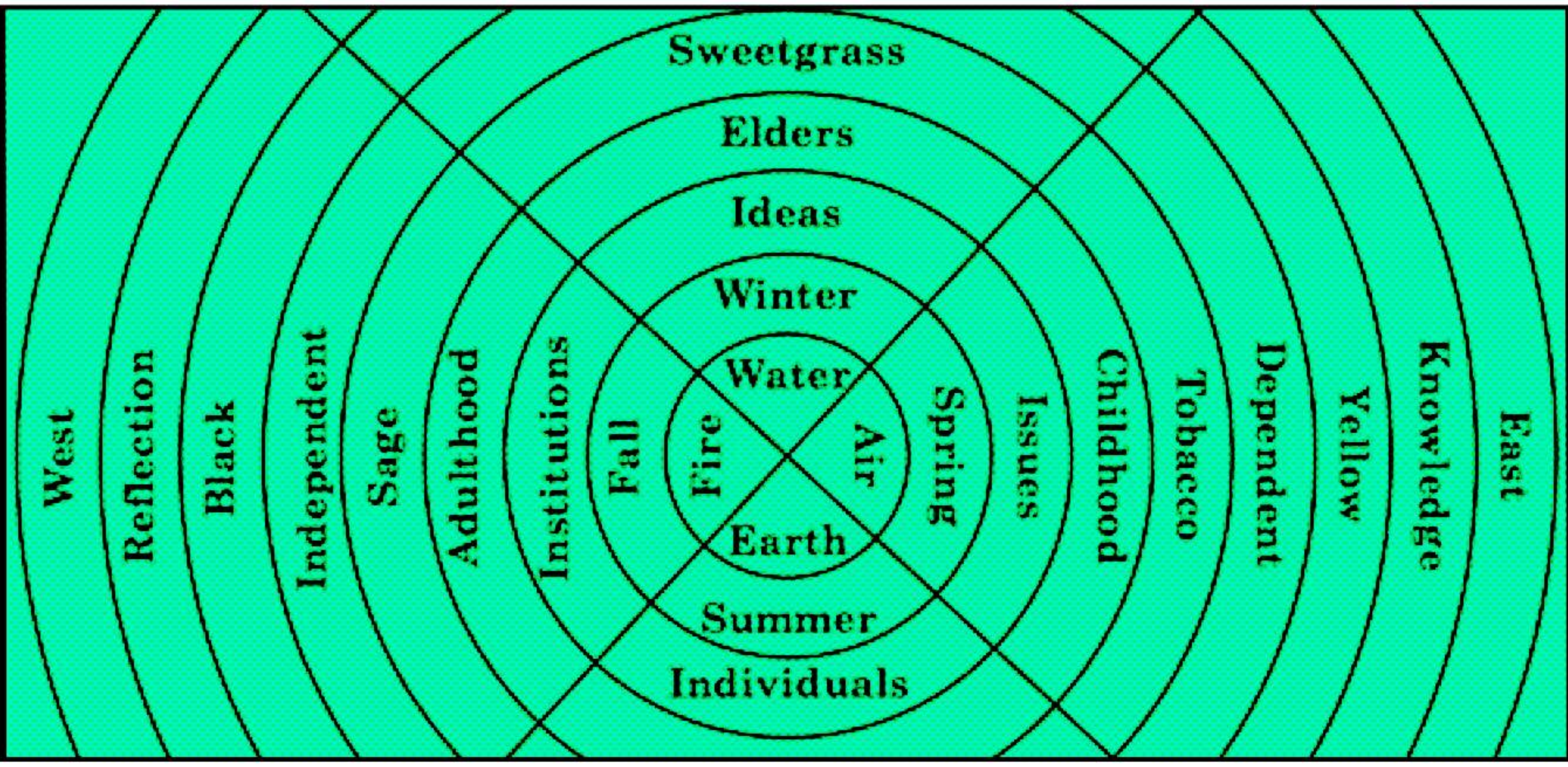
DABAADENDIZOWIN —HUMILITY

NIBWAAKAAWIN — WISDOM

GWAYAKWAADIZIWIN — HONESTY

MANAAJI'IDIWIN — RESPECT

THE SEVEN GIFTS WORK IN LEAGUE WITH PRINCIPLES OF ANISHINAABE PHILOSOPHY, ROOTED IN INAWENDEWIN, OR RELATIONAL ACCOUNTABILITY



ANISHINAABE LAW, OR INAAKONIEWIN, DERIVES FROM THIS PHILOSOPHY, AND GIVES TANGIBLE MEANING TO THE SEVEN GIFTS. WESTERN THINKERS MIGHT CALL IT "NATURAL LAW" OR "CONSTITUTIONAL LAW."

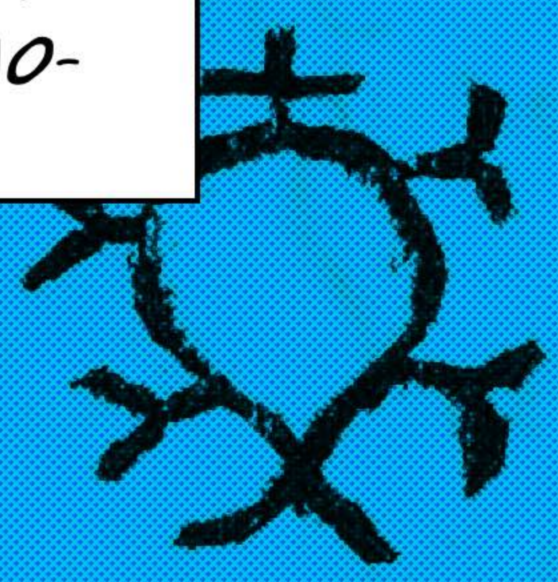
IMAGE CREDIT: BORROWS, 214

LEGAL EDUCATION

AMERICAN INDIAN STUDENTS ATTEND LAW SCHOOL WITH AN EYE TOWARD THE FUTURE OF THEIR FAMILIES AND THEIR INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES.

ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMON LAW TAUGHT IN LAW SCHOOLS IS NOTHING LIKE ANISHINAABE INAAKONIGEWIN.

THEY SOMETIMES STRUGGLE TO MAINTAIN THEIR FOCUS ON MINO-BIMAADIZIWIN.



BUT THE TRIBAL GOVERNMENTS INDIAN LAWYERS REPRESENT AFTER LAW SCHOOL KEEP THEM BALANCED.

AND THE REVERSE IS TRUE, TOO.

CRIMINAL LAW

CRIME IS TERRIBLY DIFFICULT. HOW A NATION DEALS WITH CRIME SAYS A LOT ABOUT THAT NATION'S ETHICS.

THE AMERICAN JUSTICE SYSTEM DEPENDS ON EFFICIENCY. HEARINGS ARE SHORT AND THE COURT AND THE STATE COERCES DEFENDANTS TO WAIVE THEIR RIGHTS TO SPEED UP THE PROCESS. THERE ARE NOT ENOUGH RESOURCES. AND AMERICAN CRIMINAL JUSTICE IS RELENTLESSLY VINDICTIVE.

CRIME PUTS ANISHINAABE ETHICS TO THE TEST.

ANISHINAABE JUDGES WON'T LET DEFENDANTS WAIVE THE RIGHT TO COUNSEL OR TO APPEAL.

CRIMINAL DEFENDANTS IN AMERICAN TRIBAL COURTS RECEIVE FULL HEARINGS. SOMETIMES SIMPLE ARRAIGNMENTS THAT TAKE 5 MINUTES IN STATE COURTS TAKE HOURS IN ANISHINAABE COURTS. HEARINGS DON'T END UNTIL THE COURT IS CERTAIN THE DEFENDANT KNOWS THEIR RIGHTS.

ANISHINAABE COURTS ARE LOATHE TO SENTENCE ANYONE TO EXTENDED JAIL TIME.

CHILDREN AND THE LAW

ANISHINAABE BENODJHENAAG (CHILDREN) ARE THE FOCUS OF MODERN TRIBAL GOVERNMENT.

ANISHINAABE NATIONS OPERATE LANGUAGE IMMERSION SCHOOLS AND OTHERWISE DEDICATE ENORMOUS RESOURCES TO INDIAN CHILDREN.

MANY TRIBES GUARANTEE FREE HIGHER EDUCATION.

NO ANISHINAABE COURT WOULD IMPOSE ADULT CRIMINAL LAWS ON CHILDREN. NON-INDIAN PROSECUTORS DO IT ALL THE TIME.

ANISHINAABE NATIONS USE OPEN ADOPTIONS TO ALLOW THE POSSIBILITY THAT INDIAN FAMILIES BROKEN UP BY ADDICTION CAN ONE DAY BE REUNIFIED.

INDIANS AT WORK

LIDATED CHIPPEWA 54: A Chippewa baby in the traditional cradle board at an Indian

ANISHINAABEKI

THERE IS INCREDIBLE INBALANCE AND DISHARMONY IN OUR LAND.

JOHN BORROWS REMINDS US THAT HUMANS ARE NOT INTENDED TO BE IN CONTROL OF THE WORLD.

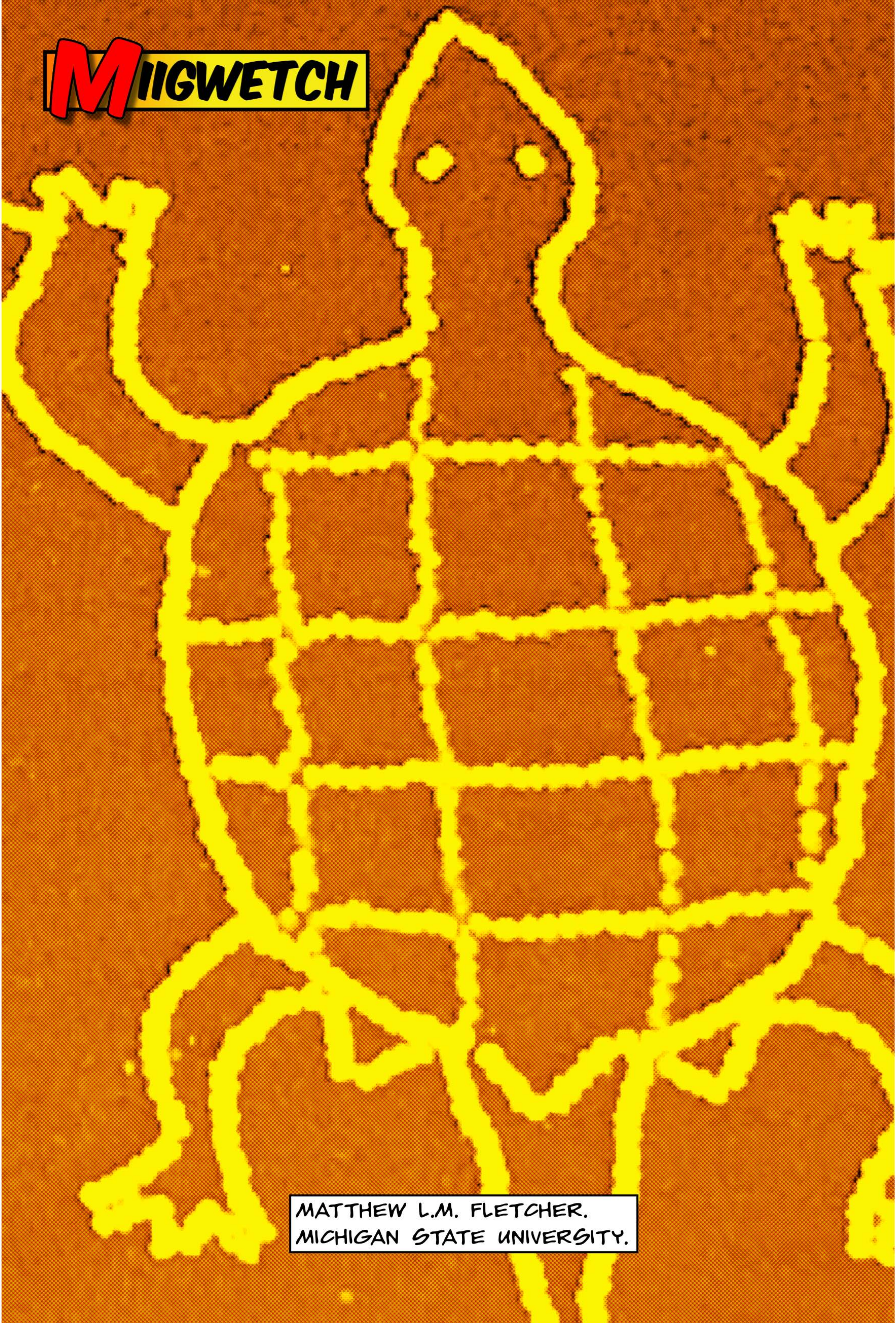
WE WERE CREATED LAST. WE SHOULD BE LAST. BEHIND THE SKIES, THE WATERS, THE AIR, AND ANIMALS.

WE ARE DEPENDENT ON **THEM**, NOT THE OTHER WAY AROUND.

ANISHINAABE NATIONS TAKE THEIR OBLIGATIONS TO ANISHINAABEKI AND THE REST OF THE UNIVERSE SERIOUSLY.

"**LAW'S INDIGENOUS ETHICS**" BUILDS A LEGAL CODE FOR ANISHINAABE PEOPLE TO FOLLOW AND MODIFY AS NEED. WE OWE **JOHN BORROWS** OUR GRATITUDE.

MINO-BIMAADIZIWN.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MATTHEW L.M. FLETCHER.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY.

Susan McHugh. ***Love in a Time of Slaughters: Human-Animal Stories Against Genocide and Extinction.*** **Penn State UP, 2019. 240 pp. ISBN: 9780271083704.**
http://www.psupress.org/books/titles/978-0-271-08370-4.html

Susan McHugh's *Love in a Time of Slaughters* pays much-deserved attention to Native theory and recognizes Indigeneity as global in scope. She builds upon the work of several Native theorists to provide strong readings of oral traditions, novels, and films by and about Indigenous peoples and nonhuman animals. In one of her critiques of settler culture, McHugh reads from non-Native novelist Lydia Millet's *Magnificence,* describing an epiphany that "extinction and genocide meet at least conceptually in the taxidermy collection" that the settler protagonist inherits (59). Within her analysis, McHugh critiques settler colonialism and demonstrates familiarity with recent scholarship in Native studies. She writes, for instance, that she "draws heavily" from the latest work of Cherokee scholar Daniel Heath Justice (20). Most critical to McHugh's approach is Vine Deloria's "American Indian Metaphysics." In addition to critiquing settler culture, McHugh offers an informed study of Native literatures and cultures, along with a sincere interest in Native theory. Her critique is firmly grounded in "literary animal studies," which McHugh describes concisely as emerging from a critical theory approach from theorists such as Jacques Derrida and Donna Haraway.

The main aim of McHugh's *Love in a Time of Slaughters* is to develop a critical lens for literary theory in animal studies that includes a concern for Native cultures. Animal studies is an interdisciplinary field concerned with the complicated (and often conflicting) relationships that exist between human and nonhuman animals. McHugh rightly focuses on the fact that the areas of the earth that contain the most biodiversity also tend to contain the most cultural diversity (1). She explains that "animal narratives are first and foremost crafted objects, involving lives of a different order passed through human filters, and as such often say more than their authors, audiences, and zeitgeists even know, an aspect that makes them both alluring and troubling" (88). In reading the more-than-human ways that stories are constructed, she links "cultural and biological conservation" (91). McHugh's approach shows why animal studies scholarship needs Indigenous theories.

In promoting Indigenous theory, McHugh posits that Native American spiritual beliefs should be read philosophically. Building on the work of both Vine Deloria and Kim Tallbear, McHugh insightfully suggests that "reframing beliefs as ontologies enables anthropologists to represent Indigenous human-animal relationships apart from terms in which metaphor is only ever opposed to reality" (40). McHugh uses this critical insight, interpreting beliefs as ontologies, throughout her book while theorizing "Indigenous metaphysics" (8). McHugh's critique, which is strongly critical of the concept of animism, gives equal weight to European philosophies and Native ways of knowing.

My critique of McHugh's approach lies in the need to engage with more tribally-specific theories (or *metaphysics*, to use Deloria's term). McHugh credits Tallbear for extending Deloria's insight on tribal philosophies to nonhuman animals in "Why Interspecies Thinking Needs Indigenous Standpoints." In that same article, however, Tallbear points out that "both Vine Deloria, Jr. and Charles Eastman get classed as 'American Indian' intellectuals, but in fact, they were also Dakota and so they wrote 'American Indian' things out of a disproportionately Dakota cultural

background." In McHugh's usage, however, "Indigenous metaphysics" carries too much theoretical weight, applying to Native American nations as well as the Indigenous peoples of the Middle East and Japan without developing sufficient tribally-specific nuances to Deloria's "American Indian metaphysics," a strategic theoretical construct. This is not to say that McHugh fails to pay attention to tribal context. She provides poignant context, for instance, about the tribal milieu surrounding stories of the Inuit sled dog massacres. McHugh's analyses are most grounded when in conversation with more voices from the tribes themselves. However, where this is lacking, the voices of Indigenous theorists from many nations are ready to be heard.

McHugh makes compelling and unexpected connections between texts about seemingly disparate Indigenous nations. In her cross-cultural analysis of the anime classic *Princess Mononoke* by Hayao Miyazaki and Linda Hogan's novel *Power*, for instance, she explains that they both "address the systematic eradications of Indigenous peoples" (23). The characters in *Princess Mononoke* are based on Indigenous people of Japan, specifically the Emishi and Utari (often referred to as Ainu). Hogan's novel is about a fictional tribe influenced by two tribes—her own Chickasaw Nation and the Seminole Nation.

McHugh connects the experiences of settler colonialism of the Utari and Hogan's fictionalized Native American tribe. In her readings of *Princess Mononoke* and *Power*, McHugh asserts that she is "imagining Indigenous resurgence as necessarily both a social and an ecological project" (24). This broad-based lens on social justice is clarified in her analysis of the anime film when she defines the conflict as "different kinds of people alongside animals and gods as all together engaged in struggles that concern differences in class, gender, sex, race, ability, age, and species" (28). McHugh notes that a boy and an elk in Miyazaki's film are "constantly caring for each other" as well as "sharing and enduring suffering" (32, 33). Her last insight here, on suffering, complements my own reading of early twentieth-century Salish novelist D'Arcy McNickle's *The Surrounded*.

McHugh sheds light on the similar ways in which settler colonialism is experienced by Indigenous peoples throughout the world. Her critique rings true in terms of how Indigenous peoples of Japan faced similar experiences of colonization as other Indigenous peoples. McHugh's analysis, however, would have been strengthened by attention to contemporary Utari voices—even Utari metaphysics—in her analysis of *Princess Mononoke*. This film was written and directed by Miyazaki Hayao, a non-Indigenous Japanese man, who portrays human and nonhuman Indigenous beings sympathetically (29). The Utari people, who were not recognized by the Japanese government until 1997, are noticeably absent in McHugh's discussion of their representation in the celebrated animated film that has reached a global audience.

McHugh sees Indigenous stories as the antidote to the sickness caused by settler colonial structures. She recognizes how the myth of the "vanishing red man" follows structurally from settler colonial acts of genocide and extinction. In her reading of Linda Hogan's *People of the Whale*, she explains that "the 'last one' trope is, after all, one of the most powerful representational strategies of erasure, all too often enlisted to naturalize genocides and other atrocities" (73). In response, McHugh describes one of Hogan's characters "creat[ing] new ways of overcoming the pressures of assimilation, environmental racism, and other modern ills…" (85). She also derives from her analysis of Hogan's novel on whale hunting the need to

understand how traditional narratives "align hunters, hunted, and other creatures as native to particular shores" (78). McHugh suggests that traditional stories that contain knowledge from other species help elucidate that settler colonialism exists as a structural problem, supporting genocide and extinction.

McHugh makes good use of several Native theorists in arguing that genocide and extinction are overlapping constructs. As previously mentioned, though, McHugh's readings are most grounded where she engages more tribal voices. For instance, McHugh reads Inuit narratives of Canadian police shooting Inuit dogs, using the excuse that the dogs were not confined and were only partially domesticated. She cites the powerful testimony of Inuit elders to the House of Commons that "to diminish our numbers as Inuit, our dogs were being killed" (27). These killings were not acknowledged by the Canadian government until 2008. Notably, this recognition occurred only after the dedicated work of the Qikiqtani Truth Commission in documenting Inuit stories. McHugh dedicates several pages to the work of the Commission in her analysis of *Qimmit: a Clash of Two Truths*, a 2010 documentary that explores Canada's colonial attempt at genocide/extinction. She clearly describes the importance of sled dogs to traditional Inuit cultures and explains that the term inua applies both to human Inuit people and to their canine companions. She also describes the important role that dogs play in holding the names of deceased humans for those who are yet to be born. This focus on tribal specificity grounds McHugh's approach to Indigenous metaphysics and helps her show that the act of extinction, in killing Inuit sled dogs, is directly tied to the act of genocide toward Inuit peoples.

In her readings of stories on birds and bees, McHugh brings in an impressive swarm of Native theorists—Thomas King, Marijo Moore, Catherine Rainwater, Daniel Heath Justice, Harry Garuba, as well as allies such as Mark Rifkin, among others—to read several novels, including Louise Erdrich's *Plague of Doves*. She reiterates that narratives by and about Indigenous humans and nonhumans disrupt those narratives that justify genocide and extinction. Interpreting Indigenous narratives from an animal studies perspective, she observes, requires an ontological shift from the reader, a shift to what I have called elsewhere a "first beings" standpoint. McHugh shows that Indigenous stories are crucial to "reweaving kinship bonds frayed by the conditions of settler colonialism" (191). I would only add that Indigenous narratives are likewise vital to those tightly-woven relationships always already existing across species.

Each Indigenous nation theorizes our relationships with the nonhumans with whom we share the land. For those interested in animal studies theory, specifically the literary turn, McHugh describes the field with clarity and authority. For current students of animal studies, McHugh introduces several Native theorists who contribute to her approach of reading animal stories in ways that acknowledge the colonial destruction of many Indigenous peoples who happen to belong to many species.

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Geoff Hamilton. *A New Continent of Liberty: Eunomia in Native American Literature from Occom to Erdrich*. University of Virginia Press, 2019. 207 pp. ISBN: 9780813942452
https://www.upress.virginia.edu/title/5184

The critical framework that Geoff Hamilton sets up in the opening pages of his monograph, *A New Continent of Liberty* is an interesting one, from a heuristic standpoint. In "eunomia," the Greek concept of an ideal, ecologically-balanced fusion of human law and natural/divine law, Hamilton puts forward a concept that allows him to chart two parallel literary histories—one "Indigenous" (comprised of major—i.e. anthologized—Native American writers from the past 200 years) and the other "Euro-American" (reflecting a conventional, white male canon of American literature). Hamilton's sympathies here are quite clear. The Euro-American story is a familiar narrative of declension, where the American ideological commitment to "autonomy" (one might substitute here the idea of white male, liberal subjectivity) gradually disintegrates as it reveals its inability to manage its own contradictions. The parallel Indigenous literary history records a process of renewal in the wake of colonialism, culminating in a present moment where Native American writers have been able to re-assert a political, ecological, and spiritual vision that balances individual and collective needs. I realize that this overview description makes Hamilton's book sound somewhat schematic. That is because it is, indeed, rather schematic. But there is value in this approach. Ultimately, what *A New Continent of Liberty* is trying to do is find a meaningful point of contact through which one might rescript a new, comprehensive "American" literary history, one that more accurately reflects the totality of voices that comprise it. In doing so, of course, Hamilton remains committed to a fairly conventional model of what constitutes literary history itself (the study of "major" authors and texts, tracing thematic through-lines across time with modest historical contextualization, etc.). This is the literary history of the undergraduate survey classroom, in other words. Recognizing those parameters allows readers to appreciate what Hamilton is able to achieve in the book (which does strike me as pedagogically useful in a number of ways) without being unduly critical of its tendency to tread rather lightly across other critical conversations.

The introduction to *A New Continent of Liberty* promises an account of the increasing pathologization and "dysnomia" in what other critics might label "settler colonial" literature and a "revitalized understanding of eunomia" in Indigenous writing. The bulk of Hamilton's work seeks to illuminate this contrast through the analytical pairings of texts. In a series of chapters, Hamilton juxtaposes Thomas Jefferson and Samson Occom; Ralph Waldo Emerson and William Apess; Mark Twain and Sarah Winnemucca; Ernest Hemingway and Zitkala-Ša; Joseph Heller and N. Scott Momaday; and Don Delillo, Louise Erdrich, and Gerald Vizenor. As one might imagine, some of these pairing allow for more detailed and specific comparative analysis than others. While Hamilton's readings in Chapter 1 don't break much significant new ground in their discrete discussions of texts, for example, it is useful to see Jefferson's deployment of eighteenth-century aesthetic categories to support his political ideology (in *Notes on the State of Virginia*) read against Samson Occom's challenging negotiation of the tensions between Indigenous communal integrity and the colonial order in his own writings. There are some arresting moments in this chapter, such as the point when Hamilton contrasts Occom's subtly

subversive archiving of Algonquian words with Jefferson's very different type of imaginative taxonomy (one can imagine deploying this contrast to great effect in the classroom.) Hamilton's distinction between the detached "specular power" implied in Emerson's famous transparent eyeball trope and the critical-historical vision Apess presents in his "An Indian's Looking-Glass for the White Man" is a similarly provocative and generative moment (47). At other times, though, the pairings developed in the book feel thinner, leading to chapters that read more like discrete reflections on texts than integrated analyses. The contrast between Twain and Winnemucca, for example, ultimately boils down to a distinction between Huck Finn's individualistic commitment to negative liberty and a Paiute emphasis on collective autonomy and integrity. The readings in this case come across as valid, then, but the payoff of the comparative argument remains fairly limited and generalized. In some other cases, one wishes that Hamilton had considered incorporating supplemental frameworks and critical conversations to help deepen the connections he establishes. In reading the discussion of Hemingway and Zitkala-Ša (which focuses attention on each writer's treatment of the impact of trauma), for example, I found myself wondering if a more developed discussion of contrasts between settler colonial and Indigenous *modernisms* (a subject of a fair amount of recent scholarship) might further enrich the story of dysnomia vs. eunomia driving the book. Perhaps making moves of this kind would have transformed this into a different kind of monograph and diluted the clear through-line around which Hamilton has structured his mediation. But I think the benefits of that type of complication of the argument would have outweighed the risks.

In the end, Hamilton argues that one of his major goals in writing *A New Continent of Liberty* was to cultivate increased dialogue regarding the distinctions between Euro-American and Indigenous "conceptions of autonomy" (179). In the introduction, he notes that he prefers that term "autonomy" to "sovereignty," viewing the former as both having an older pedigree and also better conveying the idea that "self-rule," in its most ideal form, entails the idea that the individual and communal self is "interwoven with the earth that sustains it" (5). What comments like this reveal, of course, is that co-existing with the literary historical argument of this book is a deeper political and philosophical one, which is much more congruent with the decolonial thrust of contemporary Indigenous studies scholarship than might first appear to be the case. Once or twice in the book, Hamilton mentions in passing that he is interested in developing a "dialectical framework for understanding American literary history" (2). The subtext of his overall literary historical argument supports this, as ultimately Hamilton seems to be presenting an Indigenous *nomos* (or, normative universe) as the type of antithetical ideology needed to sublate and transform settler society to create a balanced and shared eunomic order. What the readings contained in the book also reveal, however (perhaps ironically at times), is that dialectical criticism must always wrestle with the danger of overgeneralization, and that dialectical transformation requires more than the mere juxtaposition of contradictions. In this regard, I find myself compelled by Hamilton's larger project, but also wondering if the conventional structures of literary history through which he is advancing it here end up being more restrictive than he would ultimately like. The fact that Hamilton ends his book by holding up Gerald Vizenor's particularly fluid (and dialectical) imagination as an example of how we might approach the

reformulation of the concept of self-rule suggests to me that he is aware, himself, of the need to develop new critical forms to carry on with the work he has ably begun.

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Gerald Horne. *The Apocalypse of Settler Colonialism: The Roots of Slavery, White Supremacy, and Capitalism in Seventeenth-Century North America and the Caribbean*. Monthly Review Press, 2018. 256 pp. ISBN: 9781583676639.
https://monthlyreview.org/product/apocalypse_of_settler_colonialism/

In *The Apocalypse of Settler Colonialism*, Gerald Horne once again earns his reputation as a nuanced transnational historian of race and class. In this, his thirtieth book, Horne demonstrates that modernity arrived in the seventeenth century on the three horsemen of the apocalypse: slavery, white supremacy, and capitalism. Through a focus on English colonial projects, Horne proves these phenomena to be inseparable and interlocking, rather than, for instance, separate pillars of a single structure. Horne's deft archival work reveals rebellion to be a powerful and primary historical force, and clarifies whiteness as a category of convenience used to quell the vibrant cross-class and cross-racial revolutions which erupted throughout the seventeenth century—from England to Jamaica, Barbados to Boston—rebellions that reverberated through the formation of the United States forward to this day. In Horne's adroit analysis, seventeenth-century merchant class revolts against the monarchy, long thought to be paeans to democracy and liberalism, are shown to be inextricable from the violent enslavement of Africans and Native Americans. For example, Horne shows how the American revolution of 1776, often understood as a liberal democratic rebellion, was less laudable: a merchant class of capitalists used the "democratic" spread of white supremacy to wrest wealth from a divinely ordained monarchy's monopoly on slavery. White supremacy, as Horne's historical research shows, is a tool of capital accumulation. Whiteness was used to justify the opening up of slave markets, the accelerated brutality of colonial and settler colonial genocide and extraction economies, and the solidification of a categorical Other underwriting the war logic that continues to define modernity. *The Apocalypse of Settler Colonialism* makes essential interventions into existing scholarship on the history of racial formation, the emergence of liberal democracy, and the transnational dynamics of settler capitalism.

In its attention to the conditions of crisis within seventeenth-century colonial projects, this book importantly backdates scholarship documenting the relationships between capital, class, and racial categories. Horne's text traces a transnational and early history that Nell Irvin Painter takes up in the centuries that follow in her predominately American-focused *The History of White People*. Horne reveals the seventeenth century as an era where the preconditions for what Painter details are transnational. He establishes white supremacy ("often disguised in deceptive 'non-racial' words") as an essential handmaiden to mercantile capitalism that crossed oceans, national boundaries, and political commitments (Horne 135). Merchants invoked white superiority to argue for their share of slave markets, making leaps from anti-monarchism to collaboration with royals with a flexibility that allowed an emergent capitalism to combine with elements of feudalism and slavery, a "blatant power and money grab by merchants [that] was then dressed in the finery of liberty and freedom" (Horne 172). Here, Horne joins the likes of Cedric Robinson, whose "racial capitalism" challenges the Marxist idea that capitalism was a revolutionary negation of feudalism. Instead, Horne and Robinson agree that a historical continuum of exploitation dominated by the merchant class who allied with republicanism or monarchism as it suited their financial and social gains. In some cases, too, this continuum was embodied in a single figure, as "some aristocrats by lineage became merchants by currency" (Horne 37). Tracing these continuities, Horne pays special attention to advancements in military

technologies, national and imperial political dynamics, and the force of venture capital as the material conditions which allow for this "new kind of aristocracy that is whiteness" (13).

Horne's book offers an early transnational history for work on the paradoxes of liberal democracy. Horne hones in on the Glorious Revolution of 1688—"Not So Glorious for Africans and the Indigenous"—as emblematic of the convenient use of liberal democracy to cover merchant capitalists in the dawning of the Africa and Native North America's apocalypse (Horne 164). Horne catalogues the historical beginnings of what Chandan Reddy calls *Freedom With Violence* but argues "It would be an error to ascribe fiendish barbarity to Western Europeans alone, even settlers" (Horne 59). He instead attributes the apocalypse to the systems of settler capitalism that recruited from across Europe and Britain and had impacts across the globe (Horne 59). Indeed, "the bloody process of human bondage" which included nearly 13 million Africans and possibly as many as 5 million Native Americans, was "the driving and animating force" of the apocalypse that made both democracy possible and the executors of this apocalypse unbelievably wealthy (Horne 9).

Horne's text complements studies taking up more recent paradoxes of liberalism, adding transnational historical depth to studies of our contemporary moment. Horne's research fills out the colonial history informing work such as the *Economies of Dispossession* explored in a 2018 issue of *Social Text,* Lisa Lowe's *Intimacies of Four Continents*, Wendy Brown's *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty,* David Theo Goldberg's *Sites of Race*, and Grace Kyungwon Hong's *The Ruptures of American Capital*. Horne's book also provides an essential antecedent to texts that take up these paradoxes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, such as Timothy Powell's *Ruthless Democracy*, Brenda Bhandar's *The Colonial Lives of Property*, Laura Stohler's *Race and the Education of Desire,* and Patrick Wolfe's *Traces of History*. *The Apocalypse of Settler Colonialism* is an essential colonial pre-history for Aileen Moreton-Robinson's *The White Possessive*, Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz's *An Indigenous People's History of the United States*, and David Stannard's *The American Holocaust*. Moreover, Horne documents the seventeenth century's "racializing rationalization of inhumanity" in complement to Jamaican social theorist Sylvia Wynter's essential insights that categories of the "human" were crucial to the creation of racial Others that accompanied conquest even before Columbus with the landing of the Portuguese on the shores of western Africa (Horne 8).

Horne's focus on rebellions like King Phillip's war, which was enflamed by colonists selling Indigenous peoples into slavery, connects Indigenous and African political movements and details their power in the face of right-wing populist demagogues like Francis Bacon (Horne 145). Crucially, just as Nick Estes' *Our History is the Future* reveals Indigenous struggles to be a powerful historical agent, Horne's attention to the power of seventeenth-century political movements, especially African and Native rebellions, makes clear that transnational solidarity is as old as colonialism and remains the greatest opponent of transnational settler colonialism and imperialism.

Horne's text enhances recent work in Indigenous, Black, and ethnic studies that explores the "apocalypse," rebellion, and settler colonialism as a set of apocalypse-inducing technologies aimed at dispossession that communities of color have been outlasting for centuries (la paperson 10). Potawatomi environmental philosopher Kyle Whyte has shown the ways Native

communities in the United States and Canada already live "what our ancestors would have likely characterized as a dystopian future" (Horne 207). Whyte's words resonate with scholars across disciplines such as Grace Dillon (English), Cutcha Risling Baldy (Native American Studies), Zoe Todd (Anthropology), Lawrence Gross (Race and Ethnic Studies), Sidner Larson (American Indian Studies), and other Indigenous writers who emphasize that Indigenous peoples are experienced survivors of the past and ongoing apocalypse of settler colonial capitalism. Indigenous Futurisms, a term coined by Grace Dillon, was inspired by Afrofuturism which builds on Mark Sinker's claim that the "Apocalypse already happened: that (in Public Enemy's phrase) *Armageddon been in effect*" (Sinker). Horne's study offers a vital historical archive for these recent anti-colonial futurisms.

Horne's vibrant language and anticolonial methodology tracing seventeenth-century apocalypse adds urgency to his argument that revolution today is not just possible, but long overdue. For instance, his historical narrative relates the rebellions in 1640s Barbados, Antigua, Virginia, Maryland, and Bermuda to our own delayed revolutionary moment, making clear that the apocalypse was not merely a game of the elites, but, rather, perpetrated by those who could rapidly class-climb by consenting to a solidarity based on racial capitalism that has yet to disappear. To make these connections across decades, centuries, and geographies, Horne moves forward and backward in time in ways that can be dizzying for those more comfortable with linear chronology. However, Horne's deliberate interruption of progressive time may be a methodological aspect of his argument. *The Apocalypse of Settler Colonialism* disrupts the forward movement of what Mark Rifkin calls "settler time" which normalizes colonial histories of modernity, and refuses the backward revisionism that Claire Colebrook reads in Western apocalyptic narratives (Rifkin). In this interruption, Horne's methodology closely aligns with Nick Estes' explorations of the apocalyptic prophecies informing the Standing Rock movement. Estes reminds readers that "Indigenous resistance draws from a long history, projecting itself backward and forward in time" (Estes 18). Similarly, Alexis Pauline Gumbs examines this forward-backward movement in terms of "black feminist time travel," a time-space continuum where those seeking social justice today draw on the strength of people like Harriet Tubman, who, too, used her imagination of the freedom that many experience now as a source of strength to survive and free others. These Indigenous and Black studies scholars detail continuance through and beyond *The Apocalypse of Settler Colonialism*, vital scholarship that builds decolonial futures into the historical recognition so assiduously archived in Horne's research. Horne's research and powerful conclusion gain even more force when understood in conversation with this growing body of research. *The Apocalypse of Settler Colonialism* also draws attention to the ways apocalypse has been used to justify and reinvigorate these systems of exploitation, as scholars like Betsy Hartmann, Joanna Zylinska, Andrew McMurry, Eddie Yuen, Larry Lohman, and Frederick Buell show and the recent issue of *ASAP/Journal* explores. Though Horne does not make these literary connections explicit, his brief mention of today's alarming reprise of fascism offers scholars an opportunity to connect his work to literary, Black, and Indigenous studies scholarship regarding contemporary invocations of the apocalypse such as ecofascist responses to climate change.

The Apocalypse of Settler Colonialism provokes, but does not plot, the correlations between the rebellions and climate crisis of the 1600s and the ways that relates to our own contemporary climate chaos and social justice movements. Horne does gesture to those connections, drawing

Geoffrey Parker's work on seventeenth-century climate change into relation with the piratical character of capitalism, anti-Blackness, Indigenous genocide, and settler colonialism. Horne gifts scholars the space to extend these exigent connections from his seventeenth century work even farther across time and space. *The Apocalypse of Settler Colonialism* is essential reading for any scholar, student, or civic intellectual interested in transnational American studies, global economic systems, or the contemporary parallel rise of fascism and the apocalypses of climate change.

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https://www.umass.edu/umpress/title/through-indians-looking-glass

And I can tell you that I am fully satisfied with the manner of my creation, fully—whether others are or not. — William Apess

Drew Lopenzina is Associate Professor at Old Dominion University of Early American and Native American literatures with a PhD in English from the University of New Hampshire. *Through the Looking Glass* argues that William Apess was an early nineteenth century indigenous author who exemplified the "terrible negative voice" (a Walt Whitman metaphor) that challenged the hegemony of dominant American literary discourse's celebration of settler colonialism by "directly confronting the dominant narrative structures presented in 'novels, histories, newspapers, poems, schools, [and] lectures" (1-2). Lopenzina hopes his book will make readers aware of the enormity of the injustices against indigenous peoples by rendering their "stories and claims visible once more" through a cultural biography of William Apess (2). Lopenzina's text includes numerous scholarly works and key concepts by Native American authors and critics. For instance, he uses Gerald Vizenor's term "survivance" when describing the work of Apess as well as Apess himself, whom he describes as a "dynamic figure of liminality or hybridity" (4). It can be argued that Apess's liminality and hybridity, as with his indigenous contemporaries, are the outcome of the lack of investment in record-keeping that the U.S. government demonstrated toward the people and peoples it had a vested interest in erasing. Given these constraints, Lopenzina constructs a cultural biography that "holds up Apess's life as a lens through which to view the dynamics of Native lives in the Northeast" (7). Or, as Apess poetically phrases it, "through an Indian's looking-glass darkly" (7). Feminist scholars will appreciate that this cultural biography does not fail to acknowledge the contribution of women who mentored Apess, such as his aunt Sally George and Anne Wampy (143). Finally, the author desires to discover why Apess's life and work continues to be a cultural lacuna while elucidating "Apess's place on the literary, cultural, and historical map…" (251).

One of the key concepts addressed in Lopenzina's text is "unwitnessing." Acts of unwitnessing consist of rhetorically erasing inconvenient truths such as the "persistence of Native peoples and their cultures" (3). The author cites numerous examples of canonical authors, including Tocqueville, Cooper, Whitman, Thoreau, and Emerson, as unwitnessing the resilience and integrity of individuals and communities they observed firsthand. For instance, Tocqueville famously unwitnesses the persistence of Native peoples when he writes in his highly acclaimed and iconic *Democracy in America* that America's indigenous peoples are fated for "inevitable destruction" because of, in his words, their "implacable prejudices, their uncontrolled passions, their vices… and savage virtues" (qtd. 2-3; *Democracy in America*). James Fenimore Cooper not only prognosticates the inevitable demise of indigenous inhabitants but claims it has already occurred in defiance of his own proximity to his Native neighbors (53). Although Lopenzina does not cite specific examples from the works of Whitman, Thoreau, and Emerson—although those do exist—he does note that America's extensive biographical archiving of their lives and works, while neglecting Apess's life, is testament to another equally insidious form of unwitnessing (9). Lopenzina also highlights that, in popular culture, unwitnessing may be observed in the bias against Natives who look like Apess: an "evangelizing, book-writing, temperance-lecturing promoter" (19). Lopenzina argues that Apess rhetorically mocks popular

colonial tropes by titling his biography *A Son of the Forest* when he was primarily raised in urban environments (20).

Lopenzina observes that it is within the discipline of history itself that one of the most egregious and damaging examples of unwitnessing may be found: namely, George Bancroft's ur-text of American history, *The History of America from Colonization to Present Times*, published in 1834. Bancroft's colonial distortion of history "decrees that prior to colonization the whole of the continent 'was an unproductive waste. Throughout its wide extent, the arts had not erected a monument. Its only inhabitants were a few scattered tribes of feeble barbarians, destitute of commerce, of political connection, and of morals'" (23). Lopenzina laments that these assertions are all too often widely repeated today. These misconceptions reoccur in texts that purport to be historically accurate because they have become a part of America's national identity and legal fiction (24). Lopenzina notes that Bancroft's own textbook contradicts itself where he "records the systematic destruction of Pequot crops" while simultaneously asserting that Native landscapes were a wasteland (24-25). Interestingly, Apess wrote an account of the War of 1812 that, if not for the project of unwitnessing, should and would be of value to historians because of "its consistently ironic tone… his account is a surprisingly modern critique of military absurdity and inefficiency" (101). The author asserts that the unwitnessing of Apess stems not only from "prolonged historical disinterest" but also from "an archival negligence that runs through the field of early Native studies" (111).

Another species of unwitnessing is the legalized fantasy that one drop of 'negro blood' negates a Native person's rights as an 'Indian' to their tribal land and treaty rights. The fallacy of this racialized construction of indigenous identity was the source of some of Apess's "most poignant rhetorical arguments" (54). This legalized fantasy also contributed to the practice of bonding out Native children which Margaret Ellen Newell terms as a project of "judicial enslavement" for "generations of Native children" that wrenched families and communities apart while subjecting children to violence, forced labor, and sexual exploitation (Newell; Lopenzina, 70). Lopenzina asks readers to compare Apess's narrative to slave narratives in order to comprehend the full magnitude of the trauma Apess experienced (72). In actuality, Apess's mother was literally a slave without the pretense of the legal legerdemain of "bonding out." Finally, Lopenzina attests that the schoolhouse on Catamount Hill has an honor roll of speakers— "Stearns, Myers, Strong, Wolcott"—but "their most famous preacher [Apess] is never counted among them" (155). This elision may also be considered an example of unwitnessing in our national landmarks.

Lopenzina's background in English is apparent in his critical review of Apess's writings. Lopenzina claims that *A Son of the Forest* is a potent example of a "negative work in which the assumptions of the dominant culture are systematically dismantled and inverted, reflected back on a predominantly white audience in harshly critical terms" (173). This scholarly background is also clear in his appraisal that *A Son of the Forest* is Apess's declaration of his humanity and demand for respect as an innovative thinker and critic (173). In addition, Lopenzina classifies and distinguishes the genre of Apess's biographical narrative as a special form of "spiritual autobiography," which "recasts John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*" from Apess's own unique cultural perspective and lived experience (63). In fact, Lopenzina argues that readers would be well-advised to consider Apess's texts in reference to other "discourses of piety" (67). Furthermore, he notes Apess's use of sophisticated forms of "rhetorical reversals" to create stories that defeat an inattentive reader's expectations—a thoroughly modern technique (65).

More broadly, Lopenzina observes that Apess's writing deliberately frustrates readers by defying conventional understandings of meaning and artless exposition (66). Apess, it may be argued, provided the exemplar of the genre of cultural biography by viewing the wrongs he was subject to as part of "larger machinations at work" (17). He sought to "bear witness" to the "complex social forces" and "powerful tide of history" that were responsible for his conditions (17). Heartbreakingly, Apess states that, ultimately, he is unable to chronicle the full "intensity of our sufferings" (21). Indeed, there are injuries for which words have not been invented.

Lopenzina's expertise in critical theory is illustrated by his particularly helpful precis of Apess's oeuvre: simply put, Apess was in conflict with history itself (234). He resisted "the semantics of colonial discourse" by rejecting the common derogatory and subjugating tropes of dominant discourse such as "savage," "barbaric," and "wild" (175). Furthermore, it is Apess's own metaphor, that of the "looking glass," that most readily describes his project of exposing the dominant discourse as one that "only magnifies the qualities white people wanted to see" (193).

Lopenzina notes the vital role of storytelling in indigenous communities, as well as including contemporary studies that present storytelling as a "path to overcoming trauma" (123). He cites the work of trauma experts who conclude that healing and well-being are products of "strong, enduring, cultural frameworks, or the ability to fully embrace a narrative" (122). In other words, storytelling is essential to cultural preservation and community restoration. Lopenzina refers specifically to the work of trauma specialist Jonathan Shay, who uses the concept of "*themis*" or "what's right" to explicate a person or community's understanding of what it means to be a good mother, father, son, daughter, or neighbor. For Shay, trauma is the "betrayal of *themis*," through a "violent and unanticipated fragmentation of what once seemed a sage and integrated worldview" (qtd. in Lopenzina, 122). Shay argues that only by a communal sharing of the traumatic experience through storytelling can that trauma be processed and overcome. However, in a colonial context, the colonizer's well-being is threatened by any appeal to an alternative *themis* whereby they are the wrongdoer, and their sense of right and wrong is thrown in disarray. Thus, the colonial "culture itself is a construction that attempts to contain traumatic knowledge through coercive hegemonic power" (132).

Native American readers will appreciate the poignant and painful anecdotes from Apess's texts that Lopenzina highlights as symptomatic of the ills that still plague our lived lives. For example, Apess's professional aspirations and personal dream of becoming an ordained reverend in order to help indigenous communities were repeatedly thwarted because of discrimination. He earned the right to be ordained through relentless study, serving as a "circuit riding" preacher, and publishing his sermons at his own expense. The first step to being ordained required the granting of an "exhorter's license." Even at this stage, though, he was strongly "opposed by certain members of the congregation… the discord arising over his candidacy nearly split the congregation" (162). Nevertheless, he persisted. And, after successfully serving as an "exhorter of the Word," he applied to be ordained by the Episcopal Methodist Church. In 1828, Apess was denied (164). He reapplied in 1829 and expected to be ordained, but was denied again (167). Although Lopenzina does not dwell on this particularly heartbreaking event in his life, I invite you to think for a moment what a profound disappointment this must have been for him. Imagine the humiliation and shame he must have felt as he ploughed those lonely miles and ministered to those isolated congregations. Imagine how his hopes must have grown when he applied a second time, along with those of his wife and children as they waited for the desired outcome. Only, it

was not to be. He was never given an explanation—only a perfunctory rejection. Apess's response to discrimination was to write his autobiography, and "Just a little over two months later, he deposited the manuscript of his autobiography, *A Son of the Forest*, with… the patent office for copyright… Refused ordination in the church, he located another bold avenue to begin to offer his message to the world" (168). Eventually Apess was ordained by a seceding group of Methodists—the Protestant Methodists—and Apess's "impossibly long road to ordination was finally complete" (187).

Apess did not rest on his laurels. He used the status and clout of an ordained minister to help the Mashpee Indians to regain control of the resources they needed for their livelihood during the Mashpee Revolt of 1833 (199). It could be argued that this was the first civil rights protest in U.S. history, because it was premised on Apess's apprehension of "how resiliency and effectiveness of a marginalized resistance to power would have to be conducted through the acquired moral authority of directed nonviolent action or civil disobedience" (198). Like Dr. Martin Luther King, Apess was arrested, and subsequently was sentenced to thirty days in prison (209). Similarly, too, "Apess used his night in jail as a means of holding up American democracy itself before his Indian's looking glass, and the reflection proved unsettling to a number of people in relatively high places" (205). Again, for Native readers, this has resonance—think 'water protectors,' for instance.

Lopenzina describes how some detractors tried to silence Apess by publishing lies about him. Among the most notable were that he was a "'colored man' rather than a Pequot… calling into dispute his ordination, and… charging that he had collected church monies for his own use" (219). These were pernicious attacks on his sense of self and identity as well as his life's work. How it must have stung a man who valued the printed and spoken to word to see his reputation so misrepresented and published abroad. Apess, in a move that no doubt surprised his libelers, sued and won in court. Instead of taking the full recompense allowed by law, however, he gave up his claim for the restoration of his good name by having them publish a full retraction of their defamations. This act, in my mind, illustrates his *themis*. Lopenzina conveys Apess's writing which claims that he did this:

> "'in order to show them that I wanted nothing but right, and not revenge, and that they might know that an Indian's character was as dearly valued by him as theirs was by them.' He concluded by wondering, 'Would they ever have thus yielded to an Indian, if they had not been compelled?…Though an Indian, I am at least a man, with all the feelings proper to humanity, and my reputation is dear to me; and I conceive it to be my duty to the children I shall leave behind me, as well as to myself, not to leave them the inheritance of a blasted name'" (220).

Thus, when representing himself, as well as when he was representing the will of the Mashpee Indians, Apess sought justice, not money.

Native readers will recognize the stark contrast between indigenous and colonial philosophies of justice. Apess and the Mashpee sought reparative justice whereas American jurisprudence is focused on compensatory justice. These are not only dissimilar, but the outcome of one often precludes the actualization of the other. In the instances cited in the text, if Apess had taken 'damages' as measured in dollars and cents, instead of having the men who libeled him retract

through publication their spurious and hateful lies, his reputation and good name would not have been recovered. He understood that no amount of money alone would restore his good name. Likewise, if the Mashpee had accepted money for the loss of the resources that provided them their livelihood, they never would be an independent self-sustaining community.

Apess's death did not relieve him of the burden of continuing being an 'Indian.' After his death it was widely reported that he died from "the demon rum" and that he "possessed the real traits of the Indian character, cunning and the disposition to never forgive an enemy" (248-249). The aspersion that Apess died of alcoholism has been so embedded in our culture that Robert Warrior's "Eulogy on William Apess" repeats it—albeit in sympathetic language. I was pleased that Lopenzina addressed this fallacy by finding the coroner's report of his death and having it evaluated by a "number of physicians who have declared it a textbook case of appendicitis" (248). In reference to the so-called "real traits" of the Indian, Apess identifies these as "forbearance, sympathy, permanence" (229).

Lopenzina's *Through an Indian's Looking Glass: A Cultural Biography of William Apess, Pequot* is a valuable and long overdue study of William Apess and the cultural context of his lived life. This book is a welcome addition to the field of Native American Studies, as well as numerous others besides. Although some of the academic jargon and arguments may be challenging, I have no hesitation recommending this book to readers in general. This is a salient and cogent reminder of the long history of indigenous struggles for justice, as well as an affirmation of indigenous values and survivance.

Rachel Tudor

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Philip J. Deloria. *Becoming Mary Sully: Toward an American Indian Abstract*. University of Washington Press, 2019. 324 pp. ISBN 9780295745046.
https://uwapress.uw.edu/book/9780295745046/becoming-mary-sully/

Since the turn of the twenty-first century, the walls of the narrow enclosure called "Modernism"—a structure with rooms designed principally for denizens of New York City and Western Europe—have been blown apart by a global re-evaluation of the many modernisms that have co-existed and flourished in the last one hundred years. Prominent scholars of modern African art (Mercer 2005, Hassan 2010, O'Brien et al., 2012) as well as scholars of Latin American modernism (Ramírez and Olea 2004) have been documenting this phenomenon for two decades. But with few exceptions (Anthes 2006), scholars of Native North American art have turned to this phenomenon only recently (Phillips 2010, 2015, Harney and Phillips 2018).

Philip Deloria's study of the remarkable work of his great-aunt, Mary Sully (born Susan Mabel Sully, 1896-1963) adds depth and nuance to our understanding of the many forms that modernism takes outside of the metropolitan mainstream. Sully's legacy to the art world was a box of more than 100 colored pencil drawings that she called "personality prints." Each of these is a vertical triptych, the ostensible subject of which is often a figure from popular or highbrow culture. Film impresario Florenz Ziegfeld, actor and dancer Fred Astaire, and writers Eugene O'Neill and Gertrude Stein (Plates 4.8 and 4.9) are among them. In other instances, she grapples with something more abstract: "Easter" (167-172), or "Children of Divorce" (82-83).

Trained in History and American Studies, Deloria gets high marks as an art historian in this book, successfully and persuasively reading these images iconographically, stylistically, and socially. In addition to the expected reading of each triptych alone, he cleverly deciphers them across the horizontal registers, concluding that their meaning as a collected *oeuvre* is to be found in the way that Sully defined the top-most image as the "signifying abstract": generally representational designs in which the iconographic clues have the most clarity. The middle registers contain the "geometric abstract" in which Sully uses all of her draftsmanly talents for pattern, symmetry, and repetition. The bottom registers, the "American Indian abstract," generally contain what the author describes as "overdetermined images that want to leap out of any categorical box that might try to contain them" (114), sometimes drawing from what we might think of as Native imagery—beadwork, quillwork, hide-painting, and the like—as well as from the broader visual realm that, over the last century, Native people have incorporated as deeply as the rest of us.

Deloria explains the haphazard way that these survived the artist's death, first forgotten in the archives of her distinguished sister, the writer and Dakota linguist Ella Deloria (1889-1971), then nearly destroyed, and eventually passed on to the author's mother, who gave them to him (4-5). His scrutiny of these astonishingly complex works, which veer from the representational to the abstract and decorative, wrestles not only with family biography but with the cultural history of modernism in art, as well as what modernism meant to twentieth-century Native people. In part, it is a logical continuation of his previous well-received books (Deloria 1998, 2004) that shake up received truths about Native people and others; in part it is also a loving family memoir.

Sully's work sits comfortably within the American art historical canon with which she was certainly familiar, and Deloria compares her favourably with Marsden Hartley, Charles Demuth, John Sloan, and others, reminding us that "one did not need a passport to breathe the air and drink the water of modernism" (147). Sully was her sister's driver and companion during the many summers of Ella's ethnographic and linguistic fieldwork across the Plains; during the academic year the sisters principally lived in New York City, at least during much of the 1930s and 40s. Here Sully was exposed to a panoply of modern popular culture, from which she drew much of her subject matter. In the museums of New York, as well as within her family and during the long trips across the Plains, Sully's eyes were filled with the Native imagery that rubs shoulders so comfortably in her work with the popular, the modern and the cosmopolitan.

While Deloria does not compare Sully with artists who have principally been understood within the vexed categories variously known as outsider, visionary, or self-taught art, her life and work has much in common with some of them. She was a socially uneasy and reclusive commentator on popular culture, like Joseph Cornell and Henry Darger (Hartigan 2015, Bonesteel 2000); her work reflects turbulent inner emotional and spiritual states as well as a reckoning with the larger modern world, like that of Josephine Tota, Theora Hamblett, and Minnie Evans (Berlo 2018). The author speculates that today Mary Sully might be diagnosed with depression, anxiety disorder, or bipolar disorder, and treated pharmaceutically (85). Her art was clearly her refuge, and we are the better for it. She provides a brilliant nuance to our understanding of the many modernisms that flourished in the mid-twentieth century, and her great-nephew is a most worthy interlocutor for her art.

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Jennifer Wemigwans. *A Digital Bundle: Protecting and Promoting Indigenous Knowledge Online*. University of Regina Press, 2019. 256 pp. ISBN: 9780889775510.
https://uofrpress.ca/Books/A/A-Digital-Bundle

A well-needed and critical advancement in the fields of digital technologies and Indigenous resurgence, Jennifer Wemigwans' *A Digital Bundle: Protecting and Promoting Indigenous Knowledge Online* examines the practicalities and potentialities of safeguarding cultural heritage on the Internet for future generations. The book is grounded by a case study focused on the process of creating the website FourDirectionsTeachings.com, and examines the site's impact through carefully selected interviews with primarily Indigenous scholars, educators, activists, and workers serving in public or organization capacities. Based on an impressive breadth and depth of research, Wemigwans compellingly argues that it is possible for Indigenous Knowledge, a phrase she capitalizes throughout, to be cared for respectfully online, following Indigenous cultural protocols. Furthermore, she shows how providing a platform for stewarding this knowledge plays a crucial role in offline political action and resurgence movements.

A "digital bundle" is the term Wemigwans uses to describe the sacred meaning and "lifelong commitment" that Indigenous Knowledge kept online requires (35). Wemigwans is cognizant of the dangers that come with making Indigenous Knowledge accessible on the Internet—including appropriation and commodification by non-Indigenous audiences. Using this term communicates the risks involved in this work, and also highlights the need for following clear and intentional protocols when embarking on projects such as FourDirectionsTeachings.com. For example, as Wemigwans argues: "The cultural transference of the site, then, becomes a very important responsibility that must be considered and attended to in the future because, as a bundle of knowledge, it must be transferred lovingly and with great care, according to cultural protocols" (45). *A Digital Bundle* fills the pressing need for scholarship which lays out the theory and methods behind using the Internet as a space to steward and validate Indigenous Knowledge. While she is clear that no online tool can replace the face-to-face transmission of cultural teachings, *A Digital Bundle* convincingly shows how the protocols, wisdom, practices, teachings, and stories that FourDirectionsTeachings.com holds can contribute to imagining a future where Indigenous peoples are able to protect and share knowledge collaboratively across the globe.

Part of the accomplishment and significance of *A Digital Bundle* is in the use of Indigenous analytical perspectives in assessing the process of creating and evaluating the impact of FourDirectionsTeachings.com. Drawing on the works of Taiaiake Alfred (2009), Wendy Makoons Geniusz (2009), Leanne Betasamosake Simpson (2011) and Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999), Wemigwans "connects and juxtaposes [their] interrelated principles and perspectives," not to identify a singular, coherent perspective, but to start a conversation around the ethics of keeping Indigenous Knowledge on the Internet from a specifically Indigenous framework (46). In adopting this perspective, the book seeks to apply an Indigenous research design that can be a guideline for Indigenous settler and non-Indigenous scholars alike.

In Chapters 1 and 2, Wemigwans lays out the scope of her project design to create FourDirectionsTeachings. She defines Indigenous Knowledge and "digital bundles," and outlines the goals and methods behind the book which proposes broadly to examine "how information communication technology (ICT) affects relationships among diverse Indigenous peoples and the

flow of power between Indigenous Peoples and the state" (1). She also explains the content and background behind FourDirectionsTeachings.com, which hosts the teachings and worldviews of elders from five different First Nations: Blackfoot, Cree, Ojibwe, Mohawk and Mi'kmaq. To analyze how this online space can be "designed and validated through cultural protocols" (43), Chapter 2 identifies Linda Tuhiwai Smith's twenty-five projects as powerful methodologies that can provide an important framework for thinking about the connection between Indigenous Knowledge and resurgence. Wemigwans reorganizes these twenty-five methods under Leanne Betasamosake Simpson's Four Tenets of Nishnaabeg principles (Biskaabiiyang, Naakgonige, Aanjigone, and Debwewin): "culturally embedded concepts and teachings that bring meaning to our practices and illuminate our lifeways" (Simpson 61). Chapters 4 – 7 each focus on a single tenet, and carefully walk through how Smith's methods are applied to analyze the conversations Wemigwans has with each of her interview participants. Throughout the text, braiding connections between Indigenous scholars creates a web of interlocking methods and expertise. This in many ways mirrors the network of Indigenous Knowledge Wemigwans is tracking and assessing through FourDirectionsTeachings.com

The third chapter describes the recruitment and interview process, taking care to introduce each research participant, identify why they were chosen, and explain how each person uses the Internet, and FourDirectionsTeachings.com specifically, to facilitate their work. The interviewees each fall under the category of "educators, cultural arts workers, and systems workers (those who work in organizations/institutions such as child welfare systems or penitentiaries)" (74). Throughout the next four chapters of the book, Wemigwans puts each participants' experiences and opinions about Indigenous Knowledge online in conversation, providing detailed and extensive documentation of how this knowledge is being activated in a wide variety of spaces. For example, in focusing on Biskaabiiyang ("To Look Back"), she shows how this tenet is being activated by educators using Indigenous Knowledge online as "a political act of survival because it connects the values and beliefs of those in the past to those of the present" (109). Bringing forward knowledge found in the worldviews and stories stewarded on FourDirectionsTeachings.com is one way in which Indigenous activists are engaging with these teachings.

Finally, in Chapter 8, *A Digital Bundle* calls for recognition of the transformative potential Indigenous Knowledge online has for contributing to the political and decolonizing goals of Indigenous communities across Turtle Island, and beyond. Wemigwans' argument is well worth quoting in full: "In continuing to create digital bundles and to come together to decide on the future of an Indigenous presence on the Internet, Indigenous communities will control information and thus shape the minds of their people in ways that support healing and regeneration" (227). By connecting the varied ways people are engaging with Indigenous Knowledge online, Wemigwans persuasively shows how this diversity of uses is nevertheless united under the goal of working towards Indigenous resurgence. Her writing powerfully unites these activists together across territories, without losing the creative, context-specific, and inspiring ways they draw on Indigenous Knowledge in their own work. Foregrounded in Indigenous theory, methods, and analysis, *A Digital Bundle* is an invaluable case-study in how to ethically write and conduct a research project in Indigenous studies. An essential addition to digital technologies and Internet scholarship, this book is a must-read for any student or researcher writing on Indigenous topics.

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**Bernard Saladin d'Anglure. *Inuit Stories of Being and Rebirth: Gender, Shamanism and the Third Sex*. Trans. by Peter Frost. University of Manitoba Press, 2018. 387pp.
IBSN: 9780887558306.**
https://uofmpress.ca/books/detail/inuit-stories-of-being-and-rebirth

Inuit Stories of Being and Rebirth is an English translation of Bernard Saladin d'Anglure's 2006 *Être et renaître Inuit: homme, femme, ou chamane.* The fifteen-plus Inuit stories the author recounts are drawn primarily from a series of myths, as well as few legends and oral histories that the author recorded in Igloolik beginning in 1971. Saladin d'Anglure was fluent in Inuktitut when he first arrived in Igloolik, and although he worked with several bilingual Inuit assistants, he was able to interview the storytellers and translate their narratives into French largely without assistance. Most of the stories are beautifully illustrated with drawings by Inuit artists including several by the Nunavik artist Davidialuk Amittuk (1910-1976), who was well known for his soapstone carvings, drawings, and prints depicting Inuit traditional stories.

This collection of stories is, in equal measure, both fascinating and frustrating. Early ethnographers of Inuit including Hinrich Rink (1997 [1875]), Franz Boas (1964 [1888]; 1901), and Knud Rasmussen (1929) published versions of most of the stories included. The stories in the present volume are well-told, and the author's Inuktitut cultural and linguistic fluency allow him to explain many of the subtle metaphors and other symbolic references that give meaning to the stories. Unlike many earlier publications, these versions are earthy, revealing sexual and scatological allusions that can still be observed in contemporary Inuit communities.

Saladin d'Anglure studied with Claude Lévi-Strauss, who wrote the forward to the original French text. It is translated and included here, and Saladin d'Anglure includes a tribute to his mentor as an afterword. Lévi-Strauss theorized culture as a structured system of symbols that could be universally understood. Saladin d'Anglure was heavily influenced by this form of structuralism oriented around discovering binaries—male/female, light/dark, land/sea, etc. The concluding chapter includes a Lévi-Straussian diagram of *the* Inuit worldview as three perfectly symmetrical and binary intersecting levels of existence: fetal life, human life, afterlife (285). One feature of structuralist anthropology more generally is the understanding of cultures as systems of thought rather than as sets of practices. In other words, structuralists make no distinction between a cultural schema and the ways that people who share those schemas conduct their actual lives. If something is said to be a rule, then it must be what everybody does: on the injunction to turn a somersault upon entering an unfamiliar territory, Saladin d'Anglure states, "This custom *was observed whenever* you entered a territory for the first time. The somersault corresponds here to a rebirth" (50, my emphasis).

Like Boas and Rink, Saladin d'Anglure's renditions of Inuit myths are composites of multiple versions, some of which he recorded from different narrators, and some of which were told at different times by the same narrators. Most of the myths he recounts include excerpts from versions collected 50 years earlier by Rasmussen. While combining accounts allows Saladin d'Anglure to render the stories into a narrative form familiar and accessible to readers of English or French, the stories are stripped of the contexts and purposes for which they were told. While logically consistent with a structuralist anthropology for which culture is mental process, it is out of step with contemporary ways of presenting Indigenous stories as practice. It is worth noting

that the stories presented in *Life Lived Like a Story* (Cruikshank 1990) and *Wisdom Sits in Places* (Basso 1996) were collected contemporaneously with those Saladin d'Anglure recorded for *Inuit Stories of Being and Rebirth*.

Context and audience matter in oral storytelling. No two tellings are identical, in part, because they are co-creations of the storyteller and the audience. Narrators emphasize some details and omit others depending on their situated purposes and the audience's situated responses. Yet only once does Saladin d'Anglure mention the presence of an audience—the narrator's (adult?) children who asked questions. We learn that the "interactive setting" contributed to the richness of the telling but are told nothing of what the audience asked (152). Instead, we have Saladin d'Anglure's narration of Inuit myths written in a way that emphasizes—possibly overemphasizes—simple binary and symmetrical symbols. Here is one example from a story about the origin of daylight: "Paradoxically, the black raven preferred the lightness of day and the white fox the darkness of night" (52).

At other times, the symbolic connections Saladin d'Anglure identifies strike me, to use another idea from Lévi-Strauss, as good to think with. This is the case with the book's opening and closing oral narratives from two individuals who recount their memories of their own fetal life and birth. These are among the few places in the collection where Saladin d'Anglure presents Inuit concepts of gender fluidity. The analogies he draws between the womb and the snowhouse seem apt and say something about the ways that Inuit use stories to create connections between contemporaneously living people as well as between past, present, and future generations. Despite my misgivings about his theoretical approach, what Saladin d'Anglure has documented is important and useful.

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Allison Hargreaves. *Violence Against Indigenous Women: Literature, Activism, Resistance*. Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2017. 281 pp. ISBN: 9781771122399.
www.wlupress.wlu.ca/Books/V/Violence-Against-Indigenous-Women

Shannon Speed. *Incarcerated Stories: Indigenous Women Migrants and Violence in the Settler-Capitalist State*. University of North Carolina Press, 2019. 163 pp. ISBN: 9781469653129.
www.uncpress.org/book/9781469653129/incarcerated-stories/

Shannon Speed's *Incarcerated Stories* presents in unflinching fashion the lived experiences of Indigenous women migrants seeking asylum. Speed argues that the resulting violence—which she dubs "neoliberal multicriminalism"—is rooted in the convergence of the anti-Indigenous systems and ideologies of the United States. Using the means available, Speed's practices in collecting these stories are a story unto themselves, and the resulting guerilla methodology brings a tangible sense of urgency to the ideas being explored in this work.

Speed's title refers not just to the brick and mortar detention centers that hold these Indigenous women but also reminds readers that these stories "are not normally heard, are locked away and silenced, and reflect the women's entrapment in the structural cages of the settler capitalist state" (Speed 7). Facing obstacles of access, language barriers, and material lack, the fact that these women's stories have even made it to publication is a great victory. Indeed, the precarity of the Indigenous woman migrant's life extends beyond the violence and discrimination against her body, onto the printed page in the form of resistant questions of validity, legality, and worth.

The stories are presented in chapters centered around home, journey, detention, and post-detention. Though the structure is familiar—evoking Campbell's Hero's Journey, to a certain extent—the lives on display are anything but. Time and again I found myself moved by Speed's style and her ability to balance such moving narratives with critical commentary. These are truly dramatic stories, made even more so by the knowledge that the violence is real and the systems employing such violence are still in place. As Speed notes, these women's lives and stories are the very definition of *survivance*, survival + resistance. The levels of violence these women face are matched only by the lengths they go to in resisting them.

Throughout the text, Speed puts in the work to create a context for the reader in such a way that the uninitiated will have little trouble placing these stories into the existing conversation surrounding violence against Indigenous women, while also leaving open areas for deeper exploration. Ultimately, one of Speed's arguments that resonated deeply across the various narratives was that a shift needs to occur from making claims *about* these stories to making claims *from* these stories. The violence of the settler-colonial state is not an artifact of the past, and these stories are not only evidence of that but demand further engagement.

The idea that we begin to make claims from stories instead of about them is explored in a recent work by Allison Hargreaves. Her 2017 book from Wilfrid Laurier University Press, *Violence Against Indigenous Women*, recognizes the position and capacity of Indigenous women's literature as a site of knowledge and resistance. Hargreaves examines several works—including cinema, poetry, plays, and memoir—to discover the claims they make and to "demonstrate the

important theoretical and practical contributions made by Indigenous literature in helping all readers to imagine beyond the possibilities, limits, and gaps" of settler-colonial policies and initiatives. Hargreaves is, in no uncertain terms, demonstrating the embedded Indigenous futurisms present in the works she includes. That is to say, by centering Indigenous literature and its claims, Hargreaves allows audiences to see for themselves an envisioned future where Indigenous people and perspectives are not only present but require no validation for that presence.

It should come as no surprise that two works scrutinizing the structures of violence against Indigenous women grapple with similar problems. Speed's notion of "incarcerated stories," or those stories coming from perspectives that have historically been silenced, contained, and in some cases literally caged, could be applied to many of the stories Hargreaves examines in interesting ways. In a chapter exploring the politics of commemoration, Hargreaves states, "storytelling has emerged as an inveterate strategy of anti-violence campaigns; what, then, of those recurring figures whose individual stores are told and retold" (133). In other words, we are seeing a trend develop in the anti-violence struggle to put a human face to the violence with these narratives—which Hargreaves argues become certain "faces" in particular. Stories and faces that are deemed less successful are silenced and removed from circulation, while those considered successful become locked in place, "enact[ing] the very hierarchization of human life they protest against" (133). The resulting cycle of violence and commemoration creates a blind spot for the well-meaning white liberal subject and is evidence of Speed's "neoliberal multicriminalism." The colonial violence of the present is obscured from view, and no reckoning takes place precisely because of the recognition and commemoration of the victim of past violence (Hargreaves 151). Hargreaves goes on to explore how Indigenous literature raises important questions about the public systems of memorial and the agency of the actual bodies impacted by the violence in question.

Both Hargreaves and Speed reveal through their work a belief in the vitality and necessity of Indigenous women's stories. The systems enabling violence against Indigenous women's bodies remain in place, but these texts demonstrate the survivance on display in the lives and narratives of Indigenous women. Speed shares narratives that expose the systematic violence of the settler-capitalist state, while Hargreaves reminds us that our storytellers have shown us alternative ways of being that address that system. Both recognize that we must confront the notion "that colonialism is a historical phenomenon to learn about, rather than an ongoing set of relationships to be transformed" (Hargreaves 166). Each text promotes Indigenous feminisms that honor the bodies and experiences related in their pages and are excellent additions to the growing scholarship around violence against Indigenous women. These works contribute to the discourses surrounding structural violence, Indigeneity in North and South America, and neoliberalism, while also opening clear avenues for further exploration relating to the material rhetorics of precarity, memorial, and necropolitics that these stories embody. Scholars in Indigenous studies, Gender studies, Anthropology and/or Literary studies would benefit greatly from engaging with the ideas presented here.

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David E. Wilkins. *Red Prophet: The Punishing Intellectualism of Vine Deloria, Jr*. Fulcrum Publishing, 2018. 350 pp. ISBN: 9781682751657.
https://fulcrum.bookstore.ipgbook.com/red-prophet-products-9781682751657.php

A table entitled "Recommendations for Native Peoples and Governments" appears in the first few pages of Lumbee legal scholar David Wilkins' *Red Prophet*. It is an astounding six pages long and documents seventy-six policy recommendations over the span of forty-six years. By far the longest and largest table I have ever seen in a humanities book, it offers a condensed version of the book at large, which functions as a sort of long-form annotated bibliography of Vine Deloria's most significant contributions to Native policy and politics.

Interspersed with the author's personal correspondence with Vine Deloria over the course of two decades, the catalogue of Deloria's policy contributions is impressive. Like the clean lines and categories of the six-page-long table, Wilkins neatly organizes these contributions into three chapters that are then divided into short—sometimes only two-page-long—sections that outline a litany of Deloria's policy recommendations about some of the most important issues facing Native peoples. These brief but numerous sections give the reader a clear sense of the truly impressive range of Deloria's work, not to mention the volume of what he produced over the course of his forty active years of writing and political advocacy. They address over a dozen interrelated areas of focus, including education, self-determination, sovereignty, treaty rights, healthcare, land return, jurisdictional disputes, tribal leadership, the environment, intellectual history, religion, medicine, science, and much more.

Although Wilkins provides a comprehensive accounting of Deloria's contributions to policy, it is clear as readers make their way through the book that a few key areas stick out as major highlights in his oeuvre. Anyone familiar with Deloria's career might recite his influence on landmark legal battles over the interpretation and enforcement of treaty rights and tribal sovereignty, and with its named focus on detailing and highlighting Deloria's contributions to Native policy and politics, *Red Prophet* is primarily about these key aspects of his work. In a passage about an interview that appeared in a 1973 issue of *Akwesasne Notes*, Wilkins reminds us of Deloria's sharp and ethical commitment to sovereignty and treaties:

> Politically, he said the real crisis in the relationship between Indigenous nations and the United States lay in the fact that the federal government had not yet formally and emphatically recognized that 'Indian tribes are sovereign nations as guaranteed in the hundreds of treaties…and that you [federal government] can't interfere with our property rights, life style, anything that is important to us' (39).

Although Deloria's legacy in this regard is well-known (and well-studied), I still found the emphasis on sovereignty and treaties refreshing in an age where research and writing on treaties and treaty rights as the basis of sovereignty has lost favor. Wilkins chooses also to emphasize Deloria's unflinching critique of academic knowledge produced by and about Native peoples. "Anthropologists and Other Friends," a chapter by Deloria that was made famous with the 1969 publication of his landmark book, *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto*, is still regularly taught in introductory courses on Native American studies. Generations of Native intellectuals and teachers have drawn upon this chapter to help students understand one of the

basic tenets of Native intellectualism: "Indigenous peoples can speak, think, and act for themselves" (4). But for Deloria, speaking, thinking, and acting needed to be done with the goal of addressing the major issues facing Indigenous peoples. Throughout the book, Wilkins offers candid exchanges with his mentor (Wilkins is one of Deloria's most celebrated students) to contextualize Deloria's expectations for Native intellectuals to undertake writing and research for the direct purpose of political advocacy. Wilkins recounts a response he received from Deloria to a letter he wrote requesting advice on his first book: "Deloria was bemoaning the fact that a substantial number of Native academics appeared to have a stronger allegiance to their disciplines that to their own peoples. This, he argued, was frightening because one might then conclude that 'in a crisis they will side with the Whites and will not, under most circumstances, do anything to help Indians'" (127). For Deloria, the purpose of intellectual labor was "to do a better job of educating the public about Indigenous rights and epistemologies" in an effort to promote Indigenous self-determination, enforce treaty rights, and design real projects that could bolster tribal sovereignty in measurable ways.

The action-oriented foundation of Deloria's work clearly influenced Wilkins, who has served as a foundational thinker and advocate for Native policy and law in his own right for the last twenty-five years. Works like *American Indian Politics and the American Political System* (now in its third edition) and *Tribes, Treaties, and Constitutional Tribulations*, which Wilkins coauthored with Deloria, are touchstones for comprehensive understanding of the history of federal Indian law and policy, particularly the relationship of tribal sovereignty to state rights, constitutional law, executive power, and congressional legislation.

The lineage of Native intellectualism that Deloria and Wilkins represent comes through in the book's celebration of "the deep complexity and sincerity of Deloria's thinking" (123). While this makes *Red Prophet* an invaluable resource for contemporary thinking and advocacy about policy and law, the book does at times feel hagiographic. Its contribution to Indigenous intellectual history might have been strengthened by placing Deloria in conversation with other Native thinkers, leaders, and activists who have made equally significant and critical contributions to shaping sovereignty and self-determination, most notably Indigenous feminists like Joanne Barker, Audra Simpson, and Jennifer Nez Denetdale. It is important to remember that while Deloria is certainly a tour-de-force in the history of Native American studies, he is also one of many Indigenous thinkers and leaders who belongs to a long tradition of Indigenous intellectuals that precede and follow his work. I imagine this is how Deloria would have positioned himself.

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Michael Asch, John Borrows, and James Tully, eds. *Resurgence and Reconciliation: Indigenous-Settler Relations and Earth Teachings*. University of Toronto Press, 2018. 369 pp. ISBN: 9781487523275.
https://utorontopress.com/us/resurgence-and-reconciliation-2

Recent decades have seen a debate within North American Indigenous studies in which a focus on mending Indigenous-settler relations tends to be contrasted with an emphasis on assertive self-determination and cultural renewal. As its title suggests, this collection provides readers with an opportunity to engage with a community of scholars seeking a non-oppositional approach to this conversation. As its subtitle suggests, the volume is also invested in minding the ecological interdependencies of Earth's lands and seas. The conversations represented in this book emerged out of a series of dialoguing presentations involving its three editors held during 2012 and 2014 in Mi'kmaq territory. The conversation was significantly expanded with a 2015 event in Coast Salish territory that brought together most of the collection's contributors to engage with and respond to articulations of conceptual understandings and practical approaches to resurgence and reconciliation put forth by the project editors. One outcome of that dialogue is the publication of the book considered here, which retains and reflects the format and interactions of the 2015 exchange.

As noted, the volume sustains a commitment to a non-oppositional approach. At the same time, it is even more deeply and extensively committed to the transformation of Indigenous-settler relations, of the associated conditions of Indigenous lives, and of human peoples' relations with Earth and other-than-human peoples. The collection gestures toward critiques of what it characterizes as a "separate resurgence" viewpoint, but this remains a rather abstract reference ultimately left unassociated with particular advocates. According to the collection's introduction, "Some practitioners of resurgence refuse and reject reconciliation-based relationships between settler and Indigenous peoples, claiming they are assimilative or colonizing" (4). The editors leave these practitioners unidentified and their claims unattributed. A footnote linked to the passage just quoted does suggests that books by Glen Sean Coulthard and Audra Simpson are "taken to be" "the classic texts for resurgence *contra* reconciliation," yet the same footnote quickly jettisons substantive consideration of the complexities entailed, concluding that such a pursuit would be "a question for another time" (23, n1). The volume's generally elusive treatment of what would seem a core premise of its project will likely irritate some readers while relieving others. And still other readers will see in it a sophisticated navigation of tensions that frees contributors to focus their attention and energies on more pressing questions, possibilities, and pitfalls. In any case, the chapters do deliver consistent, even while varying, critiques of the unacceptable status quo of Indigenous-settler relations. Most importantly for its collaborative endeavor, the contributors reject programs of resurgence and reconciliation that eschew transformative aspirations and thus would settle for some kinder, gentler colonialism.

I have never successfully written and only very rarely have I read a review of an edited collection that manages to capably account for the full range, depth, and power of its contributing voices and content. This review cannot but likewise fall short. While all of the contributions to the volume seek pathways away from the devastation of ongoing colonialism and toward just relations, they do so diversely and in some instances divergently. The collection includes considerations of treaty-oriented constitutionalism, biospheric interdependency, gendered dys/relationality, conventional international law, cross-cultural mis/communication, convergent condominium, ethnoecology, erroneous unilateral settler sovereignty, and storied treaty ecologies. The chapters share the overall project's titular affirmation of both resurgence and reconciliation, as well as its active pursuit of transformation. Some are assertively grounded in the concerns and knowledges of particular Indigenous peoples, while some deliberately leverage the contours of dominant systems and frameworks. Taken together they present a sophisticated, multidimensional, and dynamic continuum. My own current research, teaching, and outreach engagements lead me to be particularly drawn to John Borrows' emphasis on the "inherent limits" of both ecology and treaty-dependent settler authority, to Kiera Ladner's incisive consideration of the hubristic assumption of Crown sovereignty, and to Kent McNeil's related inquiry into Canada's sovereignty claims vis-à-vis Native nations. I mention these not to suggest that they are the most important chapters in the collection, but rather because at this moment they happen to be the most important to me. Other readers will find other chapters particularly timely and resonant. The voices brought together here have a wide array of insights to offer to a wide array of readers, and the collection also succeeds in providing an exceptional one-stop destination for wide and deep learning about Indigenous resurgence and reconciliation in Canadian contexts.

Moreover, the chapters collectively exhibit an interdisciplinarity that is sometimes tacit and sometimes observed but always present. With work cutting across law, ecology, political science, philosophy, anthropology, governance, environmental studies, history, ethnobotany, sociology, and public policy, the volume will be of interest not only to students and scholars embedded in those fields but also to those more oriented toward the questions and possibilities at hand rather than to conventions of method and academic discourse. The book could be deployed in full for undergraduate and graduate courses, and selections from it would also readily stand alone as syllabi components. And while it is a scholarly text published by a settler academic press, the concepts and debates it addresses have broad resonance and utility in numerous community, institutional, cultural, and political contexts. At both its core and margins, the collection aims to contribute to discussions and actions that change this world, rather than merely comment on them. It thereby and necessarily would resonate with community audiences well beyond scholarly institutions and indeed undermines simple distinctions one might assume to draw between communities and the academy. Finally, the diverse and planetary readership of *Transmotion* will benefit from this collection's capacity to provide insight into how

conversations regarding resurgence and reconciliation are taking place in and emanating from Indigenous studies in what is today Canada.

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Devon A. Mihesuah and Elizabeth Hoover, eds. ***Indigenous Food Sovereignty in the United States: Restoring Cultural Knowledge, Protecting Environments, and Regaining Health*****.** **Foreword by Winona LaDuke. University of Oklahoma Press, 2019. 390 pp.**
ISBN: 9780806163215.
https://www.oupress.com/books/15107980/indigenous-food-sovereignty-in-the-united-sta

In her 1999 book, *All Our Relations: Native Struggles for Land and Life*, Winona LaDuke introduces her discussion of environmental issues and the negative impacts of colonization (both direct and indirect) on Indigenous communities. She explains "The last 150 years have seen a great holocaust. There have been more species lost in the past 150 years than since the Ice Age. During the same time, Indigenous peoples have been disappearing from the face of the earth" (1). Her book from 20 years ago addresses ongoing issues that are still present today, though she poses questions and possibilities of hope for the future of Native tribes. Similarly, she writes "the survival of Native America is fundamentally about the collective survival of all human beings. The question of who gets to determine the destiny of the land, and of the people who live on it—those with the money and those who prey on the land—is a question that is alive throughout society" (5). LaDuke's investigation of this division highlights a topic that is still alive today, and *Indigenous Food Sovereignty in the United States* is a text that continues the discussion because it addresses this question, highlights the activism and goals currently in place in 2019, and demonstrates hope for the future of tribal communities who do not own the land or officiate neoliberal practices, but resist the power structures that do. Winona LaDuke writes in this text's foreword:

> Despite the $13 billion corporate food industry, 70 percent of the world's food is grown by families, peasants, and Indigenous farmers…In a time when agrobiodiversity has crashed and world food systems are filled with poisons, our seeds remain, and they return. These are our stories: stories of love and hope (xiv).

LaDuke's role as an economist, environmentalist, feminist, and activist demonstrates how close she is to the topics that this edited collection addresses. Her foreword to the book emphasizes the idea of returning to Indigenous food practices and the ways that individuals or communities have actively initiated these processes to counter the extreme damages from the food industry. Similarly, LaDuke's work and the work highlighted in *Indigenous Food Sovereignty* reflect not only a desire to change a heavily flawed corporate system, but the authors also draw attention to public practices that are enacting these changes.

Devon A. Mihesuah's and Elizabeth Hoover's edited collection discusses important concepts surrounding the commodification and marketization of food in the United States, specifically emphasizing the negative impact colonization has had on the decline of tribal communities' environmentally conscious and healthy practices. This book significantly foregrounds public projects that aim to restore food sovereignty to Native American people, and it functions as both a criticism of neoliberalism and as a hopeful message about the growing changes activism can bring. Mihesuah and Hoover set up their book by directly blaming colonial systems of operation

at both the state and federal levels for the loss of Indigenous food practices and the statistically proven decline in Native people's health. They write that "Over the past several centuries, colonialism has unleashed a series of factors that have disrupted Indigenous communities' ability to retain control of their food systems. In many cases, this interruption was intentional" (4). The authors then follow up with moments from history that have either directly or indirectly enforced the decline in Indigenous food practices, including the forced introduction of boarding schools, relocation programs in the 1950s, environmental change brought about by industrial practices, and U.S. governmental food rations (5-6). Unfortunately, these federal and state practices that have intentionally labeled Native people as subordinate individuals on their own lands have also heightened neoliberal practices and have led to an emphasis on the economy that dehumanizes those that are forced to participate in it.

Neoliberalism embeds in its structures a system that continues the marginalization of communities by not permitting much room for social or economic mobility. In a section about the transformation of food production in Alaska Native communities, Melanie M. Lindholm explores the shift in morals and the economic damages that a neoliberal, corporatized system of food production has created. She explains that Alaska Natives have traditionally hunted in the cold climate, specifically relying upon a healthy, marine-based diet, and they typically utilize all parts of the animal to avoid being wasteful (161). The differences between tradition and the contemporary economization of food therefore signifies an increasing amount of waste, a system that does not value animals beyond their food profit, and a forced assimilation for those who must participate in the market in order to achieve success. Lindholm explains that the "combination of corporate control over what foods are available, who can afford them, and how they are produced can be termed nutritional colonization because it exploits people's labor, health, environment, and well-being" (162). Thus, this chapter (and others in the book like it) addresses the issues Indigenous communities experience when they feel forced to assimilate to a system ruled by profit and the commodification of traditional skills. Similarly, this marketization of food preparation and consumption attempts to erase tribal practices and, in effect, distances descendants from the cultural traditions of their ancestors.

In an attempt to advocate for a return to food structures through Indigenous sovereignty after the damages of colonial practices and political structures have taken a toll on diverse tribal communities throughout the country, Mihesuah and Hoover incorporate interviews from members of different tribes who detail their personal experiences with food systems and their goals to attain Indigenous food sovereignty. Stories that account for working in the food industry but advocating for Native dishes alongside European or American ones, exercising treaty rights to fish, and criticizing the unhealthy commodity foods from the USDA are among stories that make this text powerful, homing in on issues that impact people both systematically and individually (37-40). By acknowledging that discriminatory food practices and poor health conditions on reservations and among poverty-stricken Native communities are direct results of colonization, Mihesuah and Hoover place direct blame on the ways that a profit-driven market negatively impacts the people who had been exercising effective food and ecological practices long before settler colonialism. The stories and research within this book therefore demonstrate

the direct engagement of the authors with the public, and they also reflect the public's collective concerns about maintaining knowledge of traditional food practices so that diverse Native cultures can continue to persist, despite the U.S. systems that attempt to erase their history and dominate their lifestyles.

In another chapter about the decline of health among Indigenous peoples, Mihesuah explains the ambitions of the food sovereignty movement as follows:

> To be a 'food sovereign' tribe would ultimately mean, then, that the tribe has the right to control its food production, food quality, and food distribution. It would support tribal farmers and ranchers by supplying machinery and technology needed to plant and harvest. The tribe would not be answerable to state regulatory control, and would follow its own edicts, regulations, and ways of governance. Its members would have educational and job opportunities (95).

Rather than simply acknowledging and critiquing a flawed system that privileges one group of people over another, this book poses a solution to the problem and explains that there is hope in enacting a reclamation of some tribal sovereignty. Thus, this text contributes an important message about public engagement in practice and the various ways communities can advocate for their rights to control the land and the systems of food production that their ancestors once maintained a successful, unopposed authority over. This text relates to ongoing discussions within food studies and public intellectual studies because it identifies individual and public concerns of people living in a society dominated by consumerism and the marketization of everyday items or practices.

In the context of Mihesuah's and Hoover's work, someone examining the problematic role of major corporations on public consumption could read this text within the context of the capital power the food industry exerts on U.S. society. This book demonstrates that food has become a commodity that no longer revolves around utilizing available resources in the environment while being as resourceful as possible with the products, and it has instead become heavily integrated within the neoliberal market system that works to generate finances. In this way, public engagement practices like the ones listed throughout this text advocate for Indigenous food sovereignty and work to disrupt the system of commodification that rests on mass production and the waste of materials.

Furthermore, Mihesuah and Hoover connect their ideas about public intellectualism and public practice to larger problems within federal and state systems that emphasize commodity culture on a wide variety of levels. They highlight that initiatives with motives to reclaim sovereignties mean different things for different levels of activism. While Indigenous people are facing challenges from the colonial ideologies set in place for oppression, their communities remain resistant to these structures and have initiated movements to reclaim traditions that enforce cultural continuity. Mihesuah and Hoover explain that, "[i]n the Native American context, whether as sovereign nations or 'domestic dependents'… tribes have been integrating the

struggle for food sovereignty into broader efforts of self-determination" (10). This idea of self-determination reoccurs throughout the book—emphasizing Indigenous communities' goals to resist federal contexts that label them as dependent or incapable of being self-sufficient. In fact, this text boldly and accurately blames the European influences of colonization for many of the major challenges the U.S. is experiencing, but also for issues that influence the larger global structure. By identifying concerns across the U.S., including Arctic regions, the authors make a strong argument in favor of Indigenous communities who "view traditional foods as being affected by political, economic, environmental, and other changes in the world" and should therefore be protected (165).

Mihesuah's and Hoover's text therefore acts as a work of resistance, both by advocating for a return to Indigenous food sovereignty and by demonstrating how people are engaging with this movement throughout the country. This work will be beneficial for students, scholars, and wider public audiences who are particularly interested in concepts of tribal sovereignty, political systems of oppression, and public engagement that intends to challenge those very systems that have been negatively impacting marginalized groups. Thus, *Indigenous Food Sovereignty in the United States* is a detailed text that effectively conveys hope for the future of Indigenous communities while criticizing colonial practices—emphasizing that there are serious repercussions for abandoning tradition, and there is beneficial power in reclaiming Indigenous authority over food and environmental practices.

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Lisa King, Rose Gubele, and Joyce Rain Anderson, eds. *Survivance, Sovereignty, and Story: Teaching American Indian Rhetorics*. Utah State University Press, 2015. 240 pp.
ISBN: 9780874219951.
https://upcolorado.com/utah-state-university-press/item/2805-survivance-sovereignty-and-story

Huia Tomlins-Jahnke, Sandra Styres, Spencer Lilley, and Dawn Zinga, eds. *Indigenous Education: New Directions in Theory and Practice*. University of Alberta Press, 2019. 560 pp. **ISBN: 9781772124149.**
https://www.uap.ualberta.ca/titles/922-9781772124149-indigenous-education

Survivance, Sovereignty, and Story is a foundational book that introduces American Indian rhetorics into the field of composition. The editors develop the book on the foundation that stories shape and share worldviews and that Indigenous stories are, in fact, rhetorical (3). This foundation becomes the exigence for the book: there is no shortage of books about how to teach American Indian literature, but this is perhaps the first about teaching American Indian *rhetorics* (6). Because this book is meant to be accessible to a non-Native audience, the pieces in this collection offer theoretical and practical insights about including American Indian rhetorics in writing classrooms. To accomplish this goal, the editors identify three themes included in the title: the role of survivance in American Indian rhetorics (7); the importance of sovereignty as a lens for American Indian rhetorics (8); the centrality of story for American Indian rhetorics (9).

Indigenous Education is likewise foundational. Tomlins-Jahnke, Styres, Lilley and Zinga curate a panoramic view of Indigenous education theory and practice in its current state. The pieces in this collection acknowledge the importance of Indigenous peoples' connection to place—specifically, places in Aotearoa, Hawai'i and Turtle Island (xvi). Within these colonized places, though, the authors in this collection write about education as a contested space—a physical, social, and deeply political space where Indigenous voices are often silenced (xvii). This collection seeks to equip educators at all levels and in all academic fields to reclaim Indigenous voices in the contested space of education. To better highlight this contestation, *Indigenous Education* includes some pieces by non-Native authors, but the primary audience is Indigenous educators (xix). The editors organize the chapters by the themes of Vision (xxi), Relationships (xxii), Knowledge (xxiv), and Action (xxv).

Together, these collections provide educators with a range of tactics for including Indigenous voices in the classroom. First, though, they ensure that readers have a firm grasp of the problems surrounding Indigenous sovereignty and education. In *Indigenous Education*, the first chapter by Margaret Maaka sets the foundation for the book, particularly the chapters about Māori education, by summarizing the institutionalized assimilation of Māori children in the mid-twentieth century (3-38). In the very next chapter, Sandra Styres draws attention to issues of (de)colonization and the fine line between indigenizing and appropriating (39-62). Both of these issues could be further analyzed through Huia Tomlins-Jahnke's argument that "epistemologies of ignorance" perpetuate systems of oppression that continue to marginalize Indigenous peoples and their ways of knowing and being (83-102). Indeed, Dwayne Donald critiques the epistemologies of ignorance embedded in public school curriculum (103-125). All of these problems echo Lisa King's opening chapter in *Survivance, Sovereignty, and Story* which draws a

connection between the misrepresentation of Indigenous peoples and the centuries-long struggle for sovereignty.

After explaining the problem of Indigenous oppression, both collections offer diverse strategies for moving toward a solution based on Indigenous epistemologies. Specifically, Gabriela Ríos shares the Nahua wisdom of *in ixtli in yollotl* as an alternative rhetoric for first year composition (King et al. 79-95) and Leonie Pihama calls for *kaupapa Māori* as a holistic standpoint in the broken world of higher education (Tomlins-Jahnke et al. 63-82). Additional tactics in *Survivance, Sovereignty, and Story* include Sundy Watanabe's socioacupuncture—a method for breaking up the whitewashed curriculum of the academia (35-56)—and Qwo-Li Driskill's decolonial skillshare—a unique way of including Indigenous embodied practices in advanced rhetoric classes (57-78). On a larger scale, Jean-Paul Restoule and Angela Nardozi write about their experiences as part of the Deepening Knowledge Project, a collective of Canadian educators working to include Indigenous history and culture in teacher education programs (Tomlins-Jahnke et al. 311-337).

Although both books are fundamentally concerned with issues of Indigenous land rights, some chapters offer a more precise synthesis of Indigenous concerns about place and education. Because of the primary importance of place in *Indigenous Education*, several chapters deal more directly with the issue. First, Katrina-Ann R. Kapāʻanaokalāokeola Nākoa Oliveira discusses traditional Hawai'in understandings of place and metaphor as evidenced by Kānaka mapping practices (171-187). In the very next chapter, Spencer Lilley tells of the importance of the Māori language—actually, te reo Māori—in understanding relationships to place in New Zealand as opposed to colonized views of place (189-204). Similarly, Wiremu Doherty uses Kaupapa Māori to understand and explain traditional connections between language and place (405-425). These chapters all bear some similarities to Joyce Rain Anderson's chapter in *Survivance, Sovereignty, and Story* which urges writing teachers to include local tribal cultures as a sort of tribal place-based object-oriented ontology (160-169).

Much like issues of land and place, language is a central theme of both books, though it is examined more acutely in some chapters than others. K. Laiana Wong and Sam L. No'eau Warner argue that rhetorical sovereignty is a necessity when it comes to Indigenous language revitalization, lest the colonizer be given the authority to censor what language is "appropriate" (149-170). Frank Deer explains the struggles of students for whom identity and language are deeply connected; being forced to attend school in an English-only setting can be damaging to their cultural identity (Tomlins-Jahnke et al. 233-253). Conversely, the next chapter by Margie Hohepa and Ngarewa Hawera argues for the importance of training and preparing teachers to facilitate classes te reo Māori (255-276). This sets Mari Ropata-Te Hei up to write a reflective piece about her experiences in teacher education and the Te Aho Tātairangi immersion program (339-361). In *Survivance, Sovereignty, and Story*, Rose Gubele takes a look into history to interrogate the ways colonization changed language development for the Cherokee people (98-115) while Jessica Safran Hoover writes about codeswitching as an intentional act of sovereignty (170-187).

A few other themes present themselves in these collections. One such theme is the importance of multiple modes of learning and communicating. For example, in *Indigenous Education* Robert

Jahnke takes a closer look at Māori art and its global context (427-452) which relates to Angela Haas' argument about decolonizing digital and visual rhetoric classes (King et al. 188-208). Beyond the visual, Kimberli Lee explores contemporary Native American music as a space of survivance (116-137). Daniel Lipe takes us even further beyond the expected by relating Indigenous culture and ontologies to the weaknesses in current science curriculum and research practices (453-481).

Although there are many themes tying these books together, they were edited under different contexts for different purposes. Consequently, we must look at them separately to identify their particular strengths and uses. As mentioned above, *Survivance, Sovereignty, and Story* has already become one of the books on the forefront of the conversation about Indigenous rhetoric education. King, Gubele, and Anderson offer a thoroughly deep look into the practical application of Indigenous rhetorics in the writing classroom. This book is a must-have for any writing teacher who cares about developing a classroom ethos that values and respects Indigenous rhetorics. The authors give succinct, practical tactics for making small, positive changes in the writing classroom. However, this book might not be as useful or accessible for educators in other disciplines and positions. The insights about sovereignty and Indigenous rhetorics are obviously applicable to any interested reader, but some of the lingo and expertise make this book most suitable for a specific audience.

In contrast, *Indigenous Education* aims for breadth rather depth. The collected chapters cover a broad range of experiences, education levels, and expertise, which makes it more practical for a general audience. This book would be a useful starting place for Indigenous educators looking for solidarity and inspiration for making changes to the systems in place. Although the editors state that the primary audience is Indigenous people, this book would be just as useful for a non-Native reader looking for a foundational knowledge of the issues surrounding Indigenous education at large. The inverse of this, of course, is that the breadth of this collection can be somewhat overwhelming and less helpful in a practical capacity. Educators looking for day-to-day tactics for developing classrooms inclusive of Indigenous cultures might have a hard time engaging with any of the practical wisdom in these chapters. This book is most suitable for a general audience and purpose.

Both *Survivance, Sovereignty, and Story* and *Indigenous Education* have done necessary work for the inclusion of Indigenous epistemologies and cultures in education. Although these books offer theoretical insights, the editors make it clear that each book is a call to action: Indigenous and non-Native educators alike have a responsibility to support and include the Indigenous peoples on whose land our universities sit. The chapters in these collections offer ideas and encouragement to this end, and the hope is that readers will know and do better.

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Marcie R. Rendon. *Murder on the Red River*. Cinco Puntos, 2017. 208 pp.
ISBN: 9781941026526.
https://www.cincopuntos.com/products_detail.sstg?id=277

Marcie R. Rendon. *Girl Gone Missing*. Cinco Puntos, 2019. 208 pp. **ISBN: 9781947627116.**
https://www.cincopuntos.com/products_detail.sstg?id=310

Anyone interested in crime novels will find Marcie R. Rendon's Cash Blackbear books extremely difficult to put down. Rendon (White Earth) is also the author of two nonfiction children's books: *Pow Wow Summer* and *Farmer's Market: Families Working Together.* In addition, Rendon is involved in theater with four published plays and is the creative mind of Raving Native Theater. Her first foray into crime fiction, *Murder on the Red River*, won the Pinckley Prize for Debut Crime Novel in 2018. The novel was also a Western Writers of American Spur Award Finalist in 2018 in the Contemporary Novel category. Rendon's crime novels mix mystery, social commentary, and close character study with a deep attention to place.

In the canon of American detective fiction, most series featuring Native American characters and settings have been written by non-Native authors. However, there are a significant number of Indigenous authors who are embracing the crime fiction genre. Writers such as Sara Sue Hoklotubbe (Cherokee), Thomas King (Cherokee) writing as Hartley GoodWeather, and Victoria Nalani Kneubuhl (Native Hawaiian/Samoan) to name a few, are using the detective series format to provide important self-representation of Indigenous lifeways and cultures. Rendon's depiction of Cash Blackbear is a welcome addition to the genre.

There is a lot to like about the Cash Blackbear mysteries, one of the most prominent features being the protagonist. At nineteen years old, Renee Blackbear, who goes by Cash, is wise beyond her years. After being separated from her White Earth biological family at age three and forced into the child welfare system, where she was shuffled from one white foster home to the next, Cash's life has not been easy. Since the age of eleven, Cash has regularly performed farm work for cash—the origin of her nickname. Because Cash doesn't know where her biological family is, her biggest supporter is Sheriff Wheaton, a seemingly unlikely ally. Over the years he's consistently been there for Cash, and rescues her from an abusive foster father, securing her an efficiency apartment so Cash can exercise her independence.

Although Cash is quite young, she's extremely smart, resourceful, and brave. As a result, she's an engaging and likeable character. She bucks stereotypes about femininity as well as stereotypes of the time period in which the novels are set: the early 1970s. Cash refuses pot, but will drink endless amounts of beer and smoke carton after carton of Marlboros. She's a pool shark with a reputation that precedes her, and she's the only girl working the farm jobs. Her appearance is simple, and she's usually dressed in jeans, a t-shirt, and her jean jacket. She's not into free love, bell bottoms, or any of the things her white peers seem so passionate about; for example, she's critical of her professors because "rather than talk about the day's assigned reading material, class discussions often veered off into anti-war discussions or debates about civil rights. Cash wasn't sure what either of them had to do with her" (*Girl Gone Missing* 30). Cash is pragmatic, trying to survive in a world that has been so cruel to her in her short life. And she not only survives, but she thrives. Cash shows her smarts when she tests out of her English and Science

classes freshman year at Moorhead State in *Girl Gone Missing*, and she even wins a state award for an essay she wrote about Shakespeare and Langston Hughes. But there are also a lot of things Cash doesn't know, which rounds out her character as a sheltered girl from rural Minnesota. She's confused by the idea of prostitution, wondering why anyone would pay for sex, especially when "make love, not war" is the mantra of so many of her college classmates.

Both *Murder on the Red River* and *Girl Gone Missing* are as much diurnal catalogs of Cash's life as they are mystery stories. Because the reader spends every moment of each book with Cash—we know when she bathes, when and how she brushes her hair, the countless cigarettes she smokes, her large consumption of beer, and her sparse diet of coffee, tuna sandwiches, and Bismarck donuts—it's impossible not to root for her to succeed. She is incredibly endearing. And perhaps this could be a criticism some readers might have: that the mysteries seem secondary to Cash's daily life. However, the primacy placed on Cash is what propels each story.

In focusing on Cash's day-to-day activity, Rendon embeds in each novel a subtext that raises awareness of particular issues that face Indigenous communities. In *Murder on the Red River*, intergenerational trauma, particularly from boarding schools and placement into the state child welfare system, is highlighted. Because Cash's mother attended boarding school and because Cash herself was moved from foster home to foster home, Rendon conveys the lasting impacts that being separated from family and culture have done to Indigenous people. In *Girl Gone Missing*, while the main mystery revolves around the disappearance of blonde-haired, blue-eyed white girls, Rendon underscores the "worldwide epidemic" of the "trafficking and murder of women and children, of all races," and, in particular, how this issue impacts Native women and girls. In addition, Cash's brother, whom she hasn't seen or talked to since she was three, shows up at Cash's apartment; Cash learns he had been adopted by a white family, treated as one of their own until he returned from Viet Nam, and the family disinherited him. Through this character, Rendon again portrays the mistreatment of Native children as well as the imperative role of Native soldiers, particularly in Viet Nam.

One of the other prominent features of the books is place. Set in the Fargo-Moorhead Red River Valley, details and descriptions of the various North Dakota and Minnesota settings make the Cash Blackbear mysteries deeply regional. Throughout the two books—and hopefully there will be more, as the ending of *Girl Gone Missing* suggests—great attention is put into illustrating locality. Ada, the Red Lake reservation, Halstad, and the Twin Cities are just a few of the places the reader travels to with Cash in her quest for the truth. Topographic information and geographical elements round out the depth of the descriptions of place: "All of this land, as far as the eye could see was flat because some giant glacier had shaved it flat while moving north. And every year it flooded" (*Murder on the Red River* 20). As a result, the settings are far from being empty backdrops. In addition, because the Red River Valley is where Cash has spent her entire life, she knows this place extremely well.

While Cash has an intimate knowledge of the land and a close relationship with Sheriff Wheaton, her dreams and out-of-body experiences are what spur her investigations. For example, after seeing the body of a murdered Red Lake man in *Murder on the Red River*, in her mind Cash "saw a gravel road with a stand, almost like a food stand where one would sell berries, but this one had a basket of pinecones on it" (39-40). She follows these clues, which lead her to the home

of the Day Dodge family on the Red Lake reservation—the family of the man who was murdered. Some readers may take issue with Cash's investigative process and proclaim that it perpetuates stereotypes about "mystical Indians." However, Rendon's characterization of Cash is anything but mystical, and like all the other characteristics of Cash, her dreams and visions are part of her. They are not exaggerated or overplayed; they appear sporadically but do help Cash solve the mysteries. Furthermore, her visions are primarily about place; she must visit these places to get the information she needs.

Some may argue that the resolution of each novel is too easy or oversimplified. In each book, at the climax, Cash finds her way out of nearly impossible situations, saving the day just in time. With that being said, these high intensity moments are part and parcel of the crime fiction genre, and provide satisfying, closed-case endings that are the hallmark of detective fiction. It is good to see Cash succeed. Moreover, while these books could be read as standalone stories, Rendon makes connections to Cash's previous investigations, ultimately showing that Cash is growing and evolving. Cash is not a static character and at the end of each book, readers want to know what's next for her.

In all, *Murder on the Red River* and *Girl Gone Missing* are excellent novels, so compulsively readable that they are difficult to put down. They contain less gore and violence than other crime novels, but this does not prevent the texts from presenting compelling and engaging narratives that also touch on issues that face Indigenous peoples and communities. As Rendon states in the author's note in *Girl Gone Missing*, "It is my hope that you, reader, will search farther for the truths once you have read this story." Rendon's storytelling places her as a prominent contemporary Native American crime novelist, and there is no doubt that Cash Blackbear has many more mysteries to solve.

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Katherena Vermette. *Pemmican Wars*. Illustrated by Scott B. Henderson. Colored by Donovan Yaciuk. HighWater Press, 2017. 47 pp. ISBN: 9781553796787.
https://highwaterpress.com/product/pemmican-wars/

Katherena Vermette. *Red River Resistance*. Illustrated by Scott B. Henderson. Colored by Donovan Yaciuk. HighWater Press, 2019. 47 pp. ISBN: 9781553797470.
https://highwaterpress.com/product/red-river-resistance/

It's a massive understatement to say that being Indigenous is a vastly complex experience. Among many other contributing elements, Indigenous existence is made up of varied and disparate groups, points of view, and cultural influences. Thus, *representing* Indigenous perspective is an equally complex endeavor. Given this complexity, the medium of comics has historically struggled with adequately representing Indigenous culture and typically leveraged more stereotypes than not.

Reading and examining comics featuring Indigenous characters, one can view them through the lens of criteria synthesized from Raymond Stedman's *Shadows of the Indian: Stereotypes in American Culture*. The usual tropes, stereotypes, and misrepresentations he explores include *does the Indigenous character speak like Tonto*; *do they have magic, mystic, or spiritual powers, just because they are Indigenous*; *are Indigenous characters portrayed simply as either Noble or Savage*; and so forth.

Of Stedman's criteria, a notable item asks if the Indigenous character's *humanity* (or *human-ness*, if you will) presents. Thankfully, the *A Girl Called Echo* series delivers on this, offering a centralized Indigenous—Métis—protagonist imbued with complexity and depth, while also avoiding many of the other aforementioned stereotypes.

With Katherena Vermette at the helm of sequential storytelling, the series offers a unique glimpse of a young girl, Echo, coming to terms with being Métis in modern times as well as the historic events that contribute to that perspective. Echo does not have super- or meta-human powers or abilities, not even the stereotypic ones usually bestowed on Indigenous characters: she doesn't have mystic powers, isn't a great hunter or tracker, and she cannot communicate with the natural elements or animals. Despite lacking any noticeable powers, Echo is not only able to *witness* historic Métis events unfolding first-hand, she is somehow able *interact* directly with individuals from the past.

These visits to, and interactions with, the past offer a fantastic voyage for Echo; they both contrast with her daily life, filled with hardships, and intertwine with them, as many times the adventures coincide with lessons about the Métis history she learns in school. Echo seems to be living two lives: one life is in the present, where she struggles with self-identity amidst a troubled family situation; the other is steeped in exciting historic events of the past and individuals from that time period. While it's not clear whether Echo has a powerful imagination or is actually a time traveler, this juxtaposition of past and present offers an interesting story for readers.

Of course, one could argue that this portrayal of Echo interacting with the past contributes to a common stereotype of comic books, where Indigenous people are consistently shown as a part of history, making Indigenous people seem “immutable, forever stuck in the [past]…” (Kilpatrick 46). Yet, the series upturns this misrepresentation, especially given that Echo is presented to readers as a character from modern, present times. Thus, the series avoids stereotypes of Indigenous people existing only in historic times by demonstrating Métis continuance into a modern-day time frame.

Undoubtedly, this continuance into modernity is not without its own challenges for Indigenous people, especially as individuals try to negotiate Indigenous identity and strive for balance of their personal traditional culture and the complex nuances of modern life. The series highlights this struggle well—Echo vacillates between immersing herself in music from her portable electronic device and being seemingly transported to and immersed within historic Métis events.

Additionally, the complexity of modern Métis identity is explored as Echo and her mother compare cultural notes within the storyline. Within the *Pemmican Wars* storyline, after reaching out and expressing her limitations to what being Métis is, Echo’s mother also confesses that she herself does not know nor comprehend all the cultural significances. In popular media such as film, televisions, and comics, Indigenous “elders” (anyone older or more experienced than the central protagonist) are often portrayed as all-knowing guides of traditional culture. Having this moment between Echo and her mother gives a very poignant and human feel to the story and provides more support to the complexity of being Indigenous, rather than have a ready-made “guide” into it.

As with nearly all representation in media, comics must tread a delicate balance between good storytelling—which typically includes a sense of conflict of some sort—and oversimplifying Indigenous experience as a set of predefined cultural hardships. All too often, comics and other media focus primarily on the *hardships* within Indigenous communities, typically those associated with socioeconomic factors such as broken family structures, lower incomes, sometimes chemical dependency etc., in the same vein of what Vine Deloria, Jr. refers to as the Indian’s “plight” (1). Fortunately, the *A Girl Called Echo* series does a great job of lightly suggesting some of these cultural elements—Echo does not live with her mother, for some yet-to-be-revealed reason in the story, and must go visit her, for example—while still focusing on the main story: Echo’s travel and voyages into the past.

Moreover, the storyline itself has not been “dumbed down” to facilitate those readers unfamiliar with Métis culture and history. The series goes further by providing additional insight to Métis culture, including a timeline of important historic events that deepens the reader’s understanding of being Métis in modern times and focusing on Echo’s particular time-travelling encounters rather than overwhelming the reader by providing a wide survey of all Métis history.

The sequential art, illustrated by Scott B. Henderson and colored by Donovan Yaciuk, is solid and well-executed, with illustrations of stark modernity juxtaposed against beautiful landscapes and vistas within the historical sections. Indeed, the depiction of Echo’s day-to-day life and interactions provide a rich tapestry for readers: the public school system, public mass transit,

"pop culture" references on tee shirts, use of personal electronic devices, and many other elements provide a deepened visual presentation.

These visual nuances, coupled with the main character's oscillation between personal adversity and her quests to the past, make for good comic-book storytelling. The series does well to avoid common misrepresentations of Indigenous characters and provides an interesting take on what it means to be Métis, especially for Echo. Left with a cliffhanger in volume 2, readers will look forward to future volumes of the *A Girl Called Echo* series, as her adventures continue.

Michael Sheyahshe

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Linda LeGarde Grover. *Onigamiising: Seasons of an Ojibwe Year*. University of Minnesota Press, 2017. 201 pp. ISBN: 9781517903442.
https://www.upress.umn.edu/book-division/books/onigamiising

This book is a very nice read. Personally, I found the book to be very moving. One does not have to be Anishinaabe to appreciate the familial warmth that rises from the pages. The reader can bask in that comfort as one might have done with grandma's old wood stove. However, the book touches on some of the hard truths of Ojibwe history as well. Those hard truths recall those solemn moments of pain contemplated in silence and finished with a deep sigh in thinking about one's own family's history as an Anishinaabe.

The book is a collection of newspaper columns the author wrote for the *Duluth Budgeteer* and is organized around the seasons of the year, starting with spring. As the title indicates, the geographic focus is on the city of Duluth, MN, known in the Anishinaabe language as *Onigamiising*, the place of the small portage. The focus and the title are appropriate in that the author and her family have been in Duluth for a number of generations. The author is Anishinaabe. The Anishinaabe people are also known as Ojibwe and Chippewa. All three appellations are used in the book.

The book covers many aspects of the author's life, from childhood memories to her current status as an elder in the tribe and professor at the University of Minnesota Duluth. The author will often start a column making an observation about some details of her family life, such as a family gathering. She will then use that observation to let her memory wander to her own childhood experiences or to make some larger point about life for the Ojibwe people. Invariably, in good rhetorical fashion for the Anishinaabeg, she'll bring her discussion back to the original starting point, thus completing the circle of her thoughts. Given this stylistic method, a reader can approach and appreciate this work on at least two levels—the touching scenes of Ojibwe family life on the one hand and the history and culture of the Ojibwe people on the other. I will discuss history and culture first in order to lead up to the discussion of family life. No doubt, there are other ways of reading the book. But for the purposes of this review, that is how I will organize my thoughts and presentation. I will be speaking based on my status as a member of the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe enrolled on the White Earth reservation.

History weighs heavy on the Ojibwe people, and the author is not afraid to discuss the difficult times we had to endure. The issue that comes up the most is the boarding school experience. As Grover points out in a number of chapters, during the boarding school era, Ojibwe children were removed from their homes and sent to boarding schools, often far from their home communities. Without going into the details, the boarding schools were quite brutal, and the children suffered badly. That trauma continues to echo down through the ages and so the Ojibwe, along with other tribes, still suffer from historical trauma related to the boarding schools, as Grover rightly points out.

The history of the Ojibwe is not all negative, though. The author also discusses the many ways in which the Ojibwe of yore worked hard to maintain the culture. For example, one chapter is dedicated to an extensive discussion of treaties and the sovereign status of Native people in general and the Ojibwe in particular. The manner in which the Ojibwe leaders reserved land for

their people as well as the right to hunt, gather, and harvest wild rice in the ceded territories is explained in detail. The chapter on treaty rights is not the only place in the book the author discusses issues related to sovereignty and treaty rights. However, throughout the book, the reader can get the sense that the Ojibwe were not just passive victims of the U.S. government and the forces of colonialism. Instead, the Ojibwe worked hard to maintain their culture, language, and way of life to as great a degree as possible given the realities with which they were faced.

The culture of the Ojibwe is presented in at least two basic ways: the material culture and cultural practices. One good example of material culture is dreamcatchers. It is well known among the Ojibwe people that dreamcatchers were originally created by the Ojibwe. The author devotes a chapter to the history of dreamcatchers, including the origin story. In short, a spider wove a web in front of a baby to soothe it as the poor child was fussing and fidgeting. Grover points out that the spider did not have to take time out of its busy life to tend to the baby, and so expresses thanks to the spider for doing so. This is a good example because it includes an aspect of Ojibwe material culture, its origin story, and perhaps most important of all, the behavioral attitude of having gratitude. So, the example of the dreamcatcher captures well the depth of Ojibwe material culture.

For their part, cultural practices permeate the book. For example, there is a very nice discussion of the practice of respecting elders. Grover and her husband attend an event where the young people bring elders their respective plates of food. Of course, Grover is served. There is a twist, though, which I will not spoil by revealing it here. But, the twist points to another cultural practice of being polite. However, one aspect of this event I think is very telling. The elders are not just passive recipients of the food. They have a role to play as well, and their job is to be gracious in accepting the gift from the young people and to encourage them with kind words. In other words, the elders work to reinforce the cultural practice by making the young people feel good about following Ojibwe customs. I appreciate how this example demonstrates the holistic nature of cultural practices across the generations.

Of even greater importance, though, is the manner in which the history and culture discussed above manifest themselves in the many scenes of Ojibwe family life Grover paints. It is those scenes of family life that, in my mind, make up the strongest part of the book. The many examples of Ojibwe family life provided by Grover show how in reality the history and cultural practices of the Ojibwe are passed down from generation to generation. The examples are too many to go into here. However, two will suffice to make my point. The discussion of making ribbon skirts early in the book is very nice. The older, more experienced individuals work together to help the next generation learn the tradition of ribbon skirts. There is also a nice discussion of the history and cultural practices involved with ribbon skirts. For example, Grover discusses the ways ribbon skirt fashions have changed over the years. But, the one example I truly appreciate is so simple and yet so powerful—the revival of the language. She talks about how her Uncle Bob hears one of her grandchildren singing a song with Ojibwe words he learned as part of his Ojibwe language instruction at school. Her uncle comments how they were not allowed to speak Ojibwe in the boarding school he attended, but now they are teaching it in schools. The simple and powerful part is her uncle shakes his grand-nephew's hand just as a way of honoring the young boy and encouraging him to keep learning Ojibwe. It is those types of

simple, gentle, and kind ways in which the history and culture continue to be passed on. In that regard, the book provides an intimate look at how the culture really operates.

Before I close, I would like to add a few personal notes. Grover and I are from the same generation. So, when she talks about her childhood memories, and really her life in general, there is so much that I can relate to myself. Some of them are fun, simple things, like using the family's baby buggy as a toy. We had the exact same kind of baby buggy and used it as a toy as well. As kids we also always got so excited when we came back home from swimming or whatever and saw our aunt's camper parked in front of the house for a visit on their way up north in the exact same manner Grover details an impromptu family gathering. I also think about how the history of the boarding schools really did not come out when we were young. It was not until we were older that we heard some of the ways my family suffered in the boarding schools, again in the same way as Grover. The same is true for the Ojibwe language. It is pretty evident Grover did not grow up learning much Ojibwe. Neither did we. But as the years have gone by, both of us have worked to learn the language as best we can. One last example has to do with local knowledge. This was a subtle little thing. But, at one point, Grover mentions old Highway 61 outside of Duluth. I know old Highway 61, just as I know the old Cass Lake Road, old Highway 2, old Highway 71, and the old Red Lake Road around Bemidji. I love how the locals keep referring to roads and highways by their old names long after their names have been changed. Knowing the old roads and highways really marks one as a native to the area. One is part of the in-group if one knows those old names. I had to chuckle to myself when Grover mentioned old Highway 61 and all the memories that were sparked by its name. I really felt a kinship with Grover reading this book. I imagine other Ojibwe people would not have to belong to the same generation as Grover and myself to personally relate to the book. For many Ojibwe, reading this book will be like holding up a mirror to one's life. The reflection will validate Ojibwe culture and make one feel good about oneself. So, in some ways, it is worth reading the book just to feel that sense of validation.

There is much to commend for this book. It provides a lot of food for thought, and certainly if it were used in a classroom setting it would provide a wealth of material for discussion. I only touched on a few examples of the topics covered in the book. There is a lot more to explore in this wonderful collection. I will close by giving one last example, though. She has a whole chapter on making lugalette. So, if you ever want to know how to make lugalette, this is the book for you!

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Susan Devan Harness. *Bitterroot: A Salish Memoir of Transracial Adoption.* University of Nebraska Press, 2018. 335 pp. ISBN: 9781496207463.
https://www.nebraskapress.unl.edu/university-of-nebraska-press/9781496207463/

It seems important to identify myself before beginning this review. I am a non-enrolled member of the Confederate Salish and Kootenai Tribes (CSKT). I grew up on the Flathead Indian Reservation for most of my life, although, as an academic I have been more transient than I would like in my adult life. My síleʔ (grandfather) worked for the Tribes all of my life, and my t̓úpyeʔ (great-grandfather) was a cornerstone of the Séliš u Qlispé Culture Committee until he passed away in the spring of 2016. Because of these connections to the CSKT community, and the Flathead Indian Reservation more broadly, I am in a unique position to review Susan Devan Harness's memoir, *Bitterroot: A Salish Memoir of Transracial Adoption*. The following review has not been vetted or approved by the CSKT community, but rather reflects my individual engagement with Harness's deeply moving and powerfully honest book.

Harness's book showcases both her expertise as a cultural anthropologist researching transracial Native American adoption and her personal experiences with the difficulties of growing up Indian in a white world in Montana. *Bitterroot* is a profoundly personal account of what it means to battle two diametrically opposed versions of internalized and externalized racism. Harness's academic training as a cultural anthropologist makes the work feel widely accessible and universalizes a particular subset of the struggles associated with what it means to be Native in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The book is part of a series on "American Indian Lives" published by the University of Nebraska Press, a collection that spans genres: from interviews, historiographies, and community stories to biographies, autobiographies, and memoirs. *Bitterroot* fits nicely into this collection of first- and second-hand accounts of Native lives, with the added valence of telling a story that looks in from the outside and out from the inside. Harness's memoir captures what happens when you know you are an Indian, but do not have the privilege of knowing the sense of community and pride that should accompany that identity. In the absence of positive representations of Native people, Harness's childhood was punctuated with negative and racialized stereotypes of Native people that run rampant in Montana and the rest of the North America. Harness felt compelled to not be the Indian depicted in pop culture. She wanted to be a different kind of Indian, one who would be accepted by the white community she grew up in. This understandable compulsion manifested in a lifelong identity struggle that impacted her mental health, self-esteem, personal relationships, and, perhaps most importantly, her efforts to reconnect to the Salish family that she lost when she was a baby.

Bitterroot proceeds in a mostly chronological fashion, beginning with Harness's childhood in her white adoptive family and moving through her tumultuous collegiate and early adult experiences before focusing on the process of finding and reconnecting with her Salish family on the Flathead Indian Reservation. There are interruptions that sometimes flash forward—but, more often, backward—to provide context or provide historical explanations for major components of Salish identity and experience, like the Dawes Act of 1887, the Hellgate Treaty of 1855, and the Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978 (ICWA). These historical interventions are welcome reprieves from the autobiographical writing that, although moving, can feel overwhelmingly negative and a little repetitive when reading for longer durations. Furthermore, they make the text accessible

to Native and non-Native people who do not have a detailed background in the legal and governmental aspects of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes' colonial history.

Like many Native children born pre-ICWA, Harness, along with two of her siblings, were removed from their family home on the Flathead Indian Reservation and put up for adoption in 1960. She was adopted rather quickly by a white couple who moved around Montana, following her adoptive father's job as a wildlife biologist. Her parents were transparent about Harness having been adopted, but less so about why she was in the system to begin with. The chapters about Harness's childhood (roughly chapters 1-6) are shaped by the initial conversation with her father in 1974 when she was fifteen years old about her "real parents" (5). When she asked her adoptive-father what happened to her biological parents, she was told they died in a drunk-driving accident. Pressing on, Harness asked about what other family she might have left. Her father told her, "I don't know about brothers and sisters. I heard you had an uncle somewhere in Arizona. Phoenix, I think it was. But he was a drunk, no-good bum. It's better you don't get ahold of him… He and his family would leech off you for as long as you'd let them, and you have a kind and generous heart, they'd realize they'd hit the mother lode" (8). Her father's racist characterization of Native people seems to be validated by Harness's early experiences in the world as a brown child in a white family: being followed while shopping, being refused service in favor of white patrons, hearing stories from other adults about the difficulties of renting to Natives, etc.

It is these racialized stereotypes that fueled Harness's adoption in the first place. Natives were (and often still are) considered unfit parents due to poverty, addiction, non-traditional family structures, and absentee parents. It was assumed that Harness would have a "better life" growing up with white parents. The lie behind this assumption is, perhaps, the central point made by *Bitterroot*. Since she was taken as a very young baby from her biological (read Native) family, Harness's early stories focuses on the life she had with her adoptive family—many of these narratives show that problems often considered endemic to Native communities, are just as prevalent and traumatic in white families. As a young adoptee, Harness struggled with her father's alcoholism, her parents' unamicable divorce, and her mother's absenteeism resulting from undiagnosed and untreated bipolar disorder. Regardless of having grown up in a non-Native home, Harness was "uncomfortably aware of [her] role as a statistic: I am American Indian; I am from a 'broken home'; one of my parents was an alcoholic; and one of my parents had mental-health issues" (80).

This understanding was the backdrop to her first attempt at college at Montana State University (MSU) in Bozeman. After succumbing to the pressure of the party crowd as a form of escapism, Harness was put on academic probation, then academic leave, eventually dropping out of MSU. After working for a while at Yellowstone National Park, Harness returned to school at the University of Montana (UM) in Missoula, a short, forty-five-minute drive from the Flathead Indian Reservation. She majored in anthropology, "a forbidden discipline among Natives" because she "believes it is the only way [she is] ever going to learn about Indians, about being an Indian" (102). The successful completion of her degree at UM marks the transition from Harness's accounts of her youth to a more pointed recounting of her experience as an adult trying to find her way back to the Reservation and the Salish community in a meaningful and fulfilling way.

After finding out the details of her adoption and biological family, Harness makes several unsuccessful attempts to reconnect with her birth-mother, before a letter to the editor in the tribal newspaper, the *Charkoosta*, prompted one of her sisters to call her in May of 1993: "This is your sister, Roberta. Ronni Marie, your other sister is here with me. We've been looking for you since you turned eighteen" (141). However, this phone call was not the beginning of a fairy-tale ending to *Bitterroot*, but rather the continuation of a life-long attempt to figure out how Harness could understand who she is without knowing where she came from. The phone call and subsequent family reunion did not result in deep connections with her birthmother or siblings, but did help foster important connections to aunts, uncles, and other tribal members who have supported Harness in her personal life and academic work.

This final section of *Bitterroot* (chapters 10-19) integrates Harness's personal and academic experiences into a collage of self-discovery that is raw, honest, and equal parts elating and unexpected. These vignettes expose and articulate the revelation that has whirled like a deadly undercurrent throughout the whole story: "[t]he shame comes because living in white America hurts, [but] being rejected by my tribal people hurts more" (236). The conversations between Harness and her biological brother, Vern, that conclude the book show that "drinking and its consequences are the same worldwide" (205). Vern grew up with his and Harness's biological mother, and, much like Harness, suffered the effects of alcoholism. Harness and Vern meditate on the way that alcoholism effects both Native and White communities, but is stigmatized in much different ways. Harness's adoption into a White family did not save her from the trauma of alcoholism, but it did complicate her relationship with alcoholism and race-based stereotypes in a way that wasn't true for Vern. He was able to reconcile his experience of alcoholism within a community of Native people who understood the nuances and effects of tropes like the "drunk Native." Unlike the first two sections which are colored with Harness's internalized anti-Native racism, this final section, reframed by Vern through the lens of confession and understanding, escapes those traps and feels triumphant in its own ways. It's not the ending most readers would hope to find—the one that ends with a series of photos from years of big, joyful holiday gatherings— but rather the "real," untidy ending, reflective of transracial adoption and the Native experience as a whole.

Overall, *Bitterroot: A Salish Memoir of Transracial Adoption* will find an audience in both Native and non-Native audiences, not just because of its topic or genre, but because the bifurcated identity that did so much damage to Harness is the thing that allows a varied readership to engage and empathize with her experience. In this way, *Bitterroot* is a unique approach to Native American narratives. Most contemporary stories of Native experience focus on a central Native figure situated within a Native community. These narratives often showcase stories of success and triumph, of individuals and communities coming together to overcome whatever stigma or struggle they collectively have. Alternatively, Harness tells the story of a Native girl forced to confront all the same stigmas and challenges, but doing it alone, without the benefit of a Native community. While we never get a final image of Harness fully reconciled and at home in a wholly Native community, we do get a sense of clarity from her—clarity about who she is and how she can embrace her identity along with the trauma that forged it to help others who are in similar situations. She does not focus extensively on what she learned from tribal elders throughout her journey to reconnect with her Native family, but, as a person who has had

the privilege of learning from Salish elders, I find Harness's style reflective of these teachings. During language camps, coyote stories, and other gatherings we are often reminded that the young people among us are the most important, the ones who are learning and watching and listening. It is those young people who will remember and pass on our ways, and so it is for them that we heal. It is for the young people that we reconcile our pasts, write our trauma, tell our stories, so that they might know better how to carry on in the future. Harness's memoir tells a story that we are not often told, one that has taken a generation of knowledge from us and held it hostage, trapped in liminal spaces just out of reach, locked in government offices and files. Hers is a story that our old people remember, but cannot tell, and one that our young people need to hear. Her homecoming may not have been what she wanted it to be—she still remains slightly removed from her Native family. But this dissatisfying ending reminds us of what we lost in the generations before ICWA and what has remained lost in the years since.

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Drew Hayden Taylor. *Sir John A: Acts of a Gentrified Ojibway Rebellion*. Talonbooks, 2018. 98 pp. ISBN: 9781772012149.
https://talonbooks.com/books/sir-john-a

Drew Hayden Taylor. *Cottagers and Indians*. Talonbooks, 2019. 72 pp. ISBN: 9781772012309.
https://talonbooks.com/books/cottagers-and-indians

The latest two plays by prolific Anishinawbe writer Drew Hayden Taylor continue his long history of combining humour with political and social critique. The plays each look at a recent controversy that has hit mainstream press in Canada. *Sir John A.* is "a historical, musical, comedic, biographical, political piece of the theatre" (x) that examines a topic that was a source of debate as the nation approached its 2017 sesquicentennial: the place of Canada's first Prime Minister in history, and whether the nation should continue to honour a man whose legacy includes the attempted genocide of the Indigenous peoples. *Cottagers and Indians* deals with the conflicts over land use that began in 2012 between seasonal residents, mainly from the metropolitan Toronto area, and the Anishinawbe food activist James Whetung, who has been reseeding manoomin, wild rice, in the lakes of the Kawartha region. In an era when the rhetoric of the settler-Canadian government is one of "Nation-to-Nation agreements" and "reconciliation," Taylor's plays demonstrate the limitations of such lofty goals by dramatizing these relationships through individuals from both cultures who interact and debate an individual issue. The difficulties the characters, who do learn to respect each other as people, have in coming to a mutual understanding on the issues under debate have larger implications. In the two plays, Taylor shows how citizens of a country that preaches tolerance and inclusion are not yet ready to engage in non-metaphoric decolonization.

The impetus for the plays indicates the good will that does exist on both sides of the cultural divide. The two plays were initially, and separately, written as commissions, and the dramatic texts both begin with prefaces in which Taylor places their genesis at the feet of artistic directors. Jillian Keiley of the National Arts Center in Ottawa contacted Taylor when Canada 150 "was fast approaching and the NAC was feeling obligated to do something about our founding prime minister" but, given the Indigenous protests that countered the mainstream celebration of Canada's sesquicentennial, Keiley had "come up with the idea of telling his story through the eyes of the Indigenous community that he so traumatized via his policies" (ix); the result was *Sir John A.* Likewise, Richard Rose of Tarragon Theatre in Toronto asked Taylor to write *Cottagers and Indians* after reading an article about the ongoing wild rice wars. The commissioning of these plays says much about the current political climate in Canada and the complex work that imaginative literature is being asked to do. Both of the involved theatre companies are known for including cutting edge, political theatre in their programming, but both are also well-respected artistic companies with a primarily non-Indigenous audience. Mainstream Canada is becoming increasingly aware of, and sympathetic towards, the historic and contemporary injustices faced by Indigenous people. Taylor's ability to, as he puts it, "explore and teach through humour" makes such difficult subject matter more palatable (*Cottagers* xi). At the same time, there is a danger that the very humour that allowed an audience of Torontonians to have "an unexpected and overwhelming appreciation" for a show in which Toronto cottage-goers are the villains

(*Cottagers* x), also might allow them to distance themselves from the more radical changes that the dramas are asking them to consider.

Both plays imagine conflicts between settler and Anishinawbe societies through debates between individual Anishinawbe protagonists and non-Indigenous blocking characters. In *Sir John A.* Bobby Rabbit, a character who added much of the humour and conflict to Taylor's earlier play *alterNatives*, convinces his friend Hugh to accompany him to Kingston, Ontario, where they plan to dig up the bones of Sir John A. Macdonald and hold them for ransom until a medicine bundle that was stolen from Bobby's late grandfather when he entered residential school, and is now held in a European museum, is returned to its rightful home. Along the way they pick up Anya, a hitchhiker who defends Macdonald as "a man of his times, historically speaking" (39) and the specter of Sir John himself has his say at the start of each scene. In *Cottagers and Indians* Taylor stages the wide-ranging debate as a conversation between two people, each of whom addressed the audience directly, trying to demonstrate the validity of their point of view. The protagonist, Arthur Cooper, is a fictionalized version of James Whetung, pursuing the same quest to reseed the lakes of his ancestral home with the food that was at the centre of their lifeways. His antagonist is Maureen Poole who, Arthur explains, "has dedicated her life to bringing an end to the good seed renaissance I am trying to generate" (7). She stands in for the "Save Pigeon Lake" group who opposed Whetung. While Taylor "tried to present both sides as fairly as [he] could" (*Cottagers* x), both plays favour the Anishinawbe of view, and the contemporary settler characters hit many of the same notes that establish their limitations. Both Anya and Maureen accuse the Indigenous characters of reverse racism; and both establish their sympathy for Indigenous people and causes by claiming to have read Thomas King. Despite these broad strokes, all the characters are well drawn, and their individual quirks and backstories provide a humour and emotion that makes the plays entertaining, rather than simply dramatized essays on contemporary affairs.

Both plays break the fourth wall in order to bring the audience into the debate. Early in *Sir John A.*, Hugh imagines "Standing center stage at the National Arts Center, singing my heart out to throngs and throngs of excited and devoted fans (*gesturing to the audience*). They love me" (5). The audience thus becomes a part of Hugh's fantasy, and a character in the production. The positioning of the play as a response to Canada 150 thus implicates the audience in the chief's refusal to back Bobby's quest because it "Might screw up all the Canada 150 celebrations" (13). Likewise, while the opening staging of *Cottagers and Indians* makes it appear as if Maureen is on her cottage deck and Arthur in a canoe on the lake, the latter soon steps out of the canoe onto the stage floor and addresses the audience directly: "What? You thought I was out on the lake? Silly people. You don't have to be on the water to sit in a canoe" (10), reminding them both that they are watching a fictionalized version of the events and, more importantly, that they might have to question their own expectations and assumptions in the drama.

The positioning of the audience within the drama also asks them to consider the real-world implications of the conflicts they are consuming as entertainment. Maureen's claim to "support Native issues" "in principle" is undercut as soon as her own property is affected "without consulting us" (31), embodying the positions of many liberals whose support does not extend to anything that might inconvenience them. Even Anya, the most complex of the white characters in either play, suggests that Taylor knows the limits of his audience's sympathy. As she chastises

Bobby for involving Hugh in his crazy plan, she says "I'm not unsympathetic. First Nations people have every right to be pissed off. To want to burn bridges and blockade roads, I get that, but it doesn't mean you actually have to. It's a metaphor" (52). The idea that resistance should be metaphorical rather than literal is dangerous, and speaks to the limitations of current discussions of decolonization, reconciliation, and Nation-to-Nation agreements. As Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang put it in "Decolonization is not a Metaphor": "When metaphor invades decolonization, it kills the very possibility of decolonization; it recenters whiteness, it resettles theory, it extends innocence to the settler, it entertains a settler future" (3). While stories of decolonial activism can effect change by inspiring action, that process only works if they move beyond metaphor. Watching or reading a Drew Hayden Taylor play can—like reading the works of Thomas King—make Canadians sympathetic to Indigenous causes, but the plays asks them to do much more. If audiences read a call to action as a metaphor, they are missing the point.

The conflicts of the play are ostensibly about the return of a single medicine bundle, and the reseeding of manoomin in a string of lakes—both issues in which a liberal audience can comfortably support the Indigenous heroes (so long as they do not own a cottage on that particular lake). These individual conflicts are, however, part of larger call for a non-metaphorical decolonization. As Bobby puts it, "Not everything can be settled and placated with an apology and a couple of cheques" (*Sir John A.* 49). In asking his audiences first to de-mythologize the man who created the nation-state of Canada and then to take the side of an Anishinawbe man over a white property-owner in a dispute over land use, Taylor is asking them to rethink the existence of the nation itself. As readers and viewers we are being asked to deny Maureen's claim that "We are all this lake" because "We are all Canadians" (*Cottagers* 8) because it erases the reality of Arthur and his family's history that predates the country, and to instead agree with Bobby's stance that "Your average Canadian is celebrating everything Canada has given them while we are still dealing with everything Canada took away" (*Sir John A*. 15).

The focus on land in conversations of nationhood, implicit in both plays, becomes explicit in the published version of *Cottagers and Indians*, which ends with a reprint of Leanne Betasamosake Simpson's essay "Land & Reconciliation: Having the Right Conversations." Simpson places the rice wars firmly in the realm of non-metaphorical decolonization, and emphasizes the importance of land in that process. She asks "How can we 'advance the process of Canadian reconciliation' without talking about land?" (68), and explains that "Land is an important conversation for Indigenous Peoples and Canada to have because land is at the root of our conflicts. Far from asking settler Canadians to pack up and leave, it is crucial that we think about how we can better share land" (69). The only way to achieve reconciliation, she argues, is "to dismantle settler-colonialism as a system. Our current government needs to move beyond window dressing and begin to tackle the root causes of Indigenous oppression in Canada… It means giving back land, so we can rebuild and recover from the losses of the last four centuries and truly enter into a new relationship with Canada and Canadians" (Simpson 72). The inclusion of this essay provides a context in which to read the two plays, to think beyond sympathy for individual characters and their losses, and to imagine the structural inequalities that created the conflicts not only in the imagined literature, but also in the country Taylor depicts. Taylor's plays provide a call to action, but there is a danger that these calls will go unheeded by an audience that comes for the pure entertainment that the plays also provide.

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